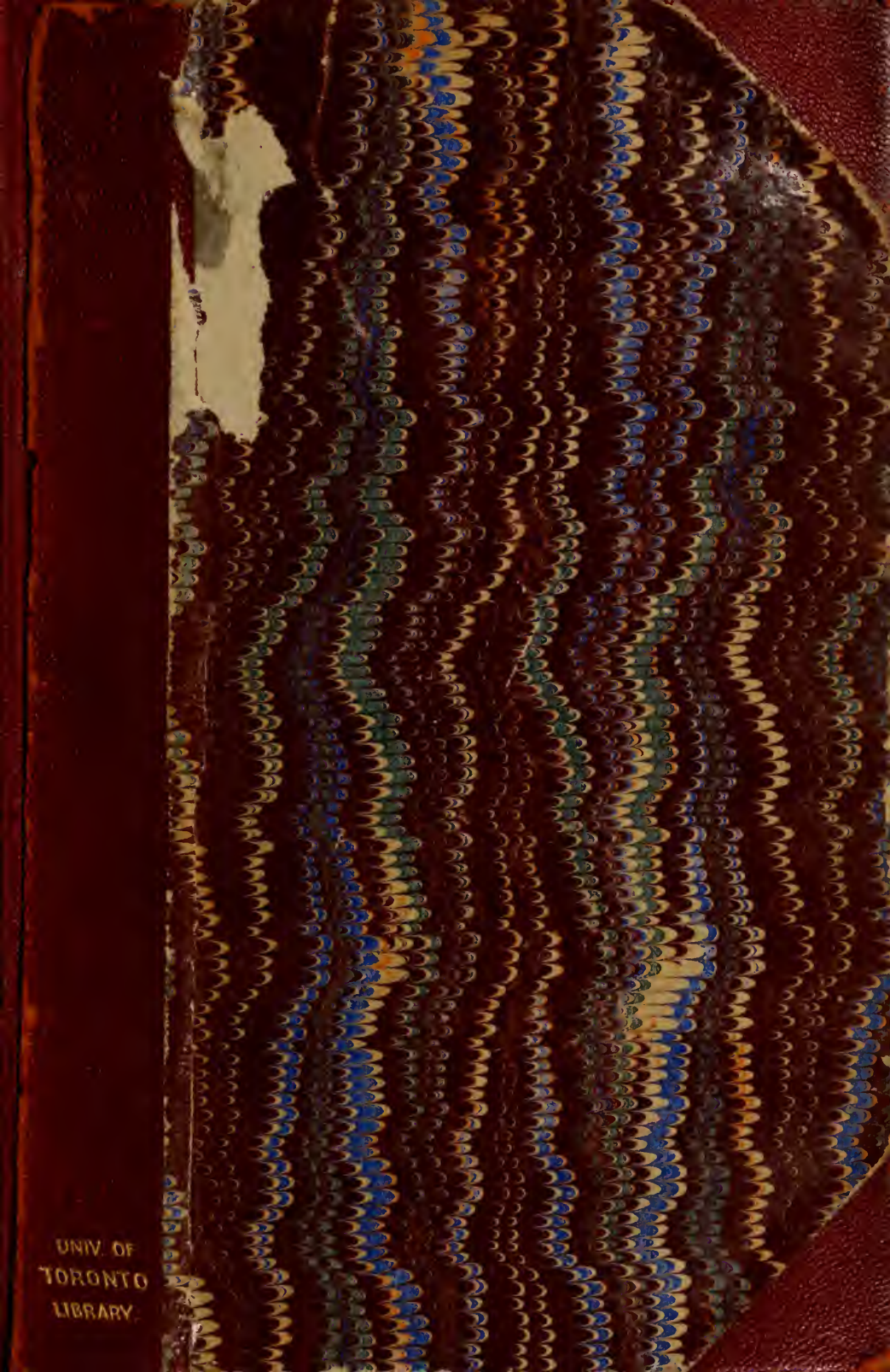




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THE
EDINBURGH REVIEW,
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FOR
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THE
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- ART. I.—1. *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe.*
By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL. 2 vols. London: 1896.
2. *Governo e Governati in Italia.* Vol. I., 'Fatti;' Vol. II.,
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3. *La Sicilia e il Socialismo*, di PASQUALE VILLARI (Senatore
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terremoto della Calabria e di Sicilia ecc., presentati dal
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Roma: 1896.

FIFTY years ago Italy was, as now, the favourite playground of Europe. The cultivated traveller wrote of the charm of Italy, of her wrongs, of her hopes, of the great and good qualities of her sons, of her aspirations after freedom, after unity, which, if realised, would give back to the land of beauty and romance some at least of the old Roman strength and virtue. Their merits were their own, their faults and miseries those of their tyrants and misrulers. If Italy were free, was the burden of their lamentation, she would again be great and happy. To-day Italy is free; Italy is united. Her unity is no longer dependent on the predominance of a party or the fortunes of a dynasty. It is an indissoluble bond, riveted by community of race and language, of habits and prejudices, by the experiences of a generation which has lived together under the same institutions, and, above all, by the great welding force of common military service.

Italians may have different aspirations for their country's future. Some may dream of a Radical republic, or a

Collectivist paradise; others of military glory, or material prosperity, under the discipline of an orderly despotism. But the scene of all their visions is a single Italian State, in which there is no room for the foreigner. The very priesthood itself has developed national sympathies, perhaps unconsciously. Family ties are strong in Italy, and priests have fathers, mothers, brothers. Common adversity may be a stronger tie than common prosperity; and the blood of the men who fell side by side at Custozza, at Dogali, at Adowa is a cement that will not quickly perish. Those few of the older men who sighed for the fallen dynasties are fast passing away. Of course there is provincialism, but it is the provincialism of France or of Spain. No portion of Italy feels itself so distinct from the rest as Scotland and Wales do in Great Britain. Sicily, always ready to rise against Neapolitan oppression, is as integral a part of Italy as Tuscany or Venetia. Socialism, not separation, is the cry of her agitators. Calabria and Apulia no longer look to Naples, but to Rome. Nor is the position of the Papacy any longer a menace to Italian unity. The great age of the present occupant of the Papal chair, and the complete uncertainty as to who may succeed him, make it impossible to forecast even the immediate future; but it is not conceivable, in the present condition of Europe, that the temporal power should be restored by foreign arms forcibly wresting territory from the Italian Crown and nation, and handing it over to be governed by a small number of privileged priests, themselves practically all Italians. And in any other sense the relation of the Government to the Papacy is but an internal problem of Church and State, requiring, indeed, to be handled with the greatest tact and regard for the feelings of Catholics throughout the world, but by no means the gravest or most pressing that the nation has to solve.

Physical and geographical conditions, indeed, do not allow of Italy being at the present time very rich or very powerful, but she should be prosperous and contented. Nowhere have the professional and cultured classes greater freedom of thought, of teaching, and of speech. Local liberties seem to be secured by communal autonomy. Trial by jury is universal. The penalty of death is abolished, and the mildness of the criminal code is the boast of Italian jurists. Italy has all, and more than all, that the men of 1848 ever hoped to obtain for her. Yet she is not happy; she is not prosperous. Taxation is crushing. Crime has

not decreased. Socialism is a bugbear. She distrusts her public men. She has no faith in her representative system. Poverty, too, is more felt than of old. We do not speak of the condition of the dregs of the population in the great towns, which, except in Naples, is perhaps not worse than in other lands, but of the continuous struggle for existence of the tiller of the soil, and the straits to which many middle-class families are reduced.

These are not the mere fancies of a splenetic traveller. The whole tone of social and political literature in Italy is desperately pessimistic. Signor Turiello declares that, with the exception of the press, he does not know of one Italian publication on social or political subjects which can be called cheerful, and it is but a few days since the Chamber listened to the following words from the lips of the Prime Minister:—

‘My ear is strained to catch the distant murmur of discontent, and I hear, in the words of the poet,

“Diverse lingue, orribili favelle,
Parole di dolore, accenti d’ira,
Voci alte e fioche e suon di man con elle.”

Yes, there is deep and menacing discontent in our land, and this discontent arises solely from the deplorable economical conditions with which the country is struggling and the fiscal exactions from which we cannot yet free our system of finance.’

Grave words, indeed, although they do not reveal all the sources of dissatisfaction. Other causes are disclosed in Signor Turiello’s work, the great value of which lies in the wealth of illustrative facts he has collected, and in his honest determination to conceal nothing that he knows. His slightly pedantic style, the absence of any very orderly marshalling of his details, and some peculiar psychological generalisations of his own, not likely to meet with frequent acceptance, have prevented his book receiving so much attention as it deserves.

Signor Villari’s brilliant little sketch of the condition of Sicily in the spring of 1895 lacks none of the usual grace of his pen. He visited the island after Signor Crispi’s drastic measures had quelled the agrarian disturbances and relegated the Socialist agitators to enforced quietude. His absolute freedom from bitterness or party spirit, and the honest and tender sympathy with his suffering fellow-men, which overflow from every page, make us feel safe under his fascinating escort, although the land question is more exhaustively and, perhaps, more competently treated by

other writers. The general reader will find a short and accurate sketch of Italian institutions, followed by a very judicial estimate of their working defects, in the two chapters of his book which Mr. Lowell has been able to devote to Italy.

Our authors, like the generality of Italian writers on the practical outcome of the political system, are chiefly pre-occupied with the state of Southern Italy and the islands, and in this respect we cannot but follow them. Signor Turiello epigrammatically remarks that Italian peculiarities are most easily studied where they are magnified, as in the Neapolitan, who is an Italian to the *nth* degree. The institutions are the same all over the country; but it is the strain that tests the rope, and the strain on Italian institutions is greatest in the south. The events of 1859 and 1860 gave to the north what it wanted—liberty and freedom from the foreigner. But, as a condition of these boons, the north had to undertake the political tutelage of a country of almost equal extent and population, in a totally different stage of civilisation, but with a people of individual capacity and force of character at least equal to their own; and this without any exceptional powers. The problem was a difficult one. It would have tasked the energies of races of far greater organising and administrative power. The extent, the population, the resources, and the traditions of the south all combine to make its developement and prosperity absolutely essential to the well-being of the nation. Its unification in sentiment and aspirations with the rest of the country is complete, but its maladministration is, next to over-taxation, the heaviest millstone that hangs round the neck of Italy. Moreover we may say, in a modified sense, ‘*Græcia capta ‘ferum victorem cepit.*’ The blemishes born of the long servitude and low social organisation of the south have eaten their way northward. Let it not be thought that the southerners are without their virtues; but there is less mutual confidence among them, less straightforwardness and plain dealing, less belief in honesty, either as a duty or as a policy.

Education should have done more than it has for this generation. It has not supplied the lacking moral stimulus; it has not given any training in conduct, except in the military schools, where discipline bears its good fruit, and in those managed by the clergy, where, however, it is needless to say that the Jesuitical model does not meet the needs of the age. This deficiency is the more unfortunate in a country where re-

ligious sentiment and teaching have little practical connexion with morality. Be it said, by the way, that both religious sentiment and religious observance are far commoner and deeper in the south than in Tuscany and the north, where militant atheism and passive agnosticism, both usually of a crudely materialistic type, are very widely spread. But worship is almost confined to attendance at Mass, a ceremony regarded with mystical reverence and awe bred of habit, with little understanding of its meaning and none of the beautiful words pattered in an unknown tongue. Such religious teaching as there is has no reference to conduct. Sermons consist mainly of panegyrics of the saints—useful rhetorical exercises for the young clergy, but with no bearing on life. Reverence for the Church, attendance at Mass, some not very onerous Lenten observances, and, in the case of women, confession and some form of devotion to a favourite saint, such as keeping an oil lamp perpetually burning, are the essence of religion as taught to the people. Yet even this is morally preferable to the teaching of the public schools, for it does comprise the performance of certain duties, to which no present material reward is attached, even if it be only in the form of a few trite observances. The teaching of the schools may be summed up in the formula, ‘Thou mayst know,’ to the absolute exclusion of ‘Thou shalt do.’ What can be looked for from the young lad who goes forth to meet a rough world so ill prepared? He soon finds that life means that the power to know is conditional on his own energy, his own leisure, whilst the command to do is imposed on him from without by many a hard exigency. He may think himself lucky if the needs of the body are his only tyrants. The command too often comes to him from some stronger will on which he is dependent, from some Delilah, or from some secret association in which he becomes entangled through his youthful vanity; and then too often the words are, ‘Thou shalt lie,’ ‘Thou shalt steal,’ ‘Thou shalt slay.’ He is too apt then to remember thus much of his school learning—to wit, that ‘the criminal code of Italy is the mildest in Europe.’

The long centuries during which government in southern Italy was at once weak and oppressive, relying on soldiers of fortune for its defence, at times even calling in the bandit and the criminal to its aid, completely eradicated all respect for law, all sense that the functionaries of the State are the individual’s natural protectors. And so within the rotting framework of society began to form the bud of a

different system, a sort of embryo feudalism, which might have blossomed into some new and possibly nobler form of social organism had it been isolated from external influences. Men came to look to each other for that support which the State did not afford them, to take refuge under the protection of stronger individuals, and to extend shelter to others weaker than themselves. But the forms of the modern State, however decrepit, are absolutely hostile to any healthy developement of such a tendency, and this relation of superior and dependent, patron and client—call it what you will—naturally took an evil bend, and shaped itself in the secret societies which honeycombed Italy during two-thirds of the present century. The fraudulent and the violent pay no heed to a law which is not strong enough to crush them. They distort its provisions to their own ends, and they meet its sanctions with sanctions more terrible. In the lower classes this tendency is at the root of those strange predatory organisations which have to answer for so much of the crime of Italy—the Camorra of Naples, the Mala Vita of Bari, the Mafia of Sicily. In other ranks of life the same phenomenon shows itself in the *clientèle*—those cliques, connexions, and rings which are interwoven with every branch of local and national politics.

Italians, and especially the southern, are commonly apt to assume—most unjustly to themselves and their countrymen—that into every transaction and relation of life, outside the family, there must perforce enter more or less of favouritism, injustice, oppression, deception, or treachery. The natural outcome of so pessimistic a view of life is a determination not to be worsted in the struggle, come what may to others: ‘Thou shalt want ere I want.’ Self-assertion, ‘*farsi valere*’ in Italian phrase, is the object of the members of the *clientèle*, between whom there need be no formal tie, and who do not deliberately and avowedly set themselves to misuse public authority for their own benefit. Yet it is easy to see how they end by debasing the whole political life of the country. They are the outward expression of that profound moral scepticism and want of faith in their fellow-men of real flesh and blood which in the middle classes of Italy form so strange a contrast to the belief in the excellence of human nature preached by her doctrinaire school.

In this connexion we must allude to the masonic societies, which are another disturbing element in Italian institutions. They are, of course, the special bugbear of devout Catholics, but the uninitiated at large look on the masons

with great suspicion. Some ordinary mortals speak of them as if they had organised a sort of reign of terror in the land. And, indeed, there can be no question that in Italy free-masonry has been diverted from its proper ends. It is a mutual benefit society, but in this sense: that the members help each other at the expense of the rest of the world. We hear strange stories of candidates for the civil service and other appointments being warned that it is useless to present themselves for examination unless they are masons, because, forsooth, his Excellency will hear of none other being appointed. Convictions can hardly be obtained against masons. Threats, persuasion, and vengeance are freely employed towards jurymen; yet we fancy that the more violent crimes of this sort are unjustly charged to the masonic lodges as such. We know of no evidence that they actually exercise power of life and death. There are masons who have withdrawn from their sect, on account of dishonest practices required of them by their superiors, in a fashion that would surely have been visited with signal vengeance, did the fraternity really wield those terrible penalties which belong to secret societies of a more drastic kind.

Let us trace some of the effects of such an atmosphere as we have described on public life in Italy; on local government, on the civil service, on the representative system, and on public men. Italian local institutions are in the main a copy of the French. Introduced into Upper Italy in the Napoleonic era, the model was not unnaturally extended to the whole country on its union, without any very searching discussion or criticism.

The communes, which are the real unit of local government, have a very large measure of autonomy, and their working is most remarkable. There are over 8,000 of them, varying in size from Naples, with its population of 535,000, to hill communes of 100 or even fewer inhabitants. Yet the organisation of all alike is distinctly urban. Every commune has an elected council, a junta, and a syndic. The council is the local deliberative body, the junta an administrative board. It is composed of the syndic, with from two to ten assessors, chosen by the councillors from their own number. The syndic is the chief officer of the commune, and he is at the same time a government official. Until two years ago, in communes of less than 10,000 souls, he was nominated by the Crown. Now, in all communes alike, he is chosen by secret ballot within the council itself, and holds office for three years, when he is re-eligible if still a

councillor. Among the many and complicated powers and duties of these local bodies is that of managing the communal property, where there is any, and of making up the deficiency of revenue from it by taxation. They also have certain limited borrowing powers, which have been much abused. The complicated restrictions imposed on them have not been stringent enough to prevent the communes from running into excessive debt, but yet have so much impaired the security they can offer that they have usually had to borrow at exorbitant rates of interest. Councils may be dissolved by royal decree for grave reasons of public order, and their functions entrusted to an extraordinary commissioner, but a new council must be elected within six months.

In Upper Italy, where the tradition of the local liberties of the past survived, the system adopted has had a fair measure of success. But that tradition was lacking in the south, where so great a degree of communal autonomy was never desired, and education was, and still is, far more backward. In this part of the kingdom there is endless evidence that these institutions have led to innumerable abuses. The canker of speculation and jobbery eats into the healthy growth of the organism, and the worst feature is that in many cases the poorer and weaker members of the community bear the burden of the malpractices of the middle class—the *cappeddi*, or ‘hat-wearers,’ as they are called in Sicily. Symptoms of the disease in the larger towns are jobbery in the concession of contracts, the abuse and often the irregular exercise of borrowing powers, and the most lavish extravagance on theatres and fêtes. In rural districts we hear more of oppression of the poor in regard to local taxation, the administration or division of the communal lands, and diversion of charitable funds. In all alike the law is a dead letter as far as the ring in power is concerned, while it is rigidly and sometimes tyrannically carried out against their opponents. There is the greatest remissness and inactivity in the use of powers and enforcement of regulations for the public good alone, and whenever there is no question of personal advantage, of helping a friend, or of harming an enemy. Want of public spirit, want of the power of taking trouble, want of perseverance in encountering difficulties, opposition, and unpopularity, a desire to stand well with all men, an even greater anxiety to avoid giving offence to the powerful or the dangerous—these are the characteristics that turn the faintly well-intentioned individuals who compose the majority of the directing classes

in the communes into mere tools in the hands of the men who dominate the local *clientèle*.

Signor Turiello constantly reiterates these charges against the communal administrations. The newspapers are full of allusions to such abuses. They are matters of common knowledge. Signor Villari writes:—

‘There is no need of evidence, for the evil forces itself on everyone’s notice. . . . Was it really needful for Palermo to squander thirteen or fourteen millions on the Teatro Massimo, when there already was the Politeama, and the prefect was away at Rome begging for the insufficiently endowed hospital? At Caltanissetta, too, was it necessary to spend a million for a prefect’s residence that would be too large for Florence? In another town they said they had only just increased the toll on flour by 30,000 lire, and were devoting two-thirds of the sum to completing their theatre.’

One of Signor Villari’s interlocutors related to him the following tale:—

‘In the little commune where I was born the party in power does not pay the *dazio di consumo*. Some days ago an individual refused to pay at the gate, because he was a friend of the financial assessor. Not being known to the officers, they had him escorted to the town house, where he was recognised and *did not pay*. The party in opposition do not protest, because when they come into power they do the same. But verily the poor always pay. My family takes no part in local politics, does not aspire to office, is a favourite with all, and so we never pay. Well, what would you have me do when I reach the gate, and they say to me, “Pass on, sir, pass on; you are known”? Am I to force them to let me pay?’

Some officers to whom Signor Villari recounted this conversation told him that more than once, and not in Sicily alone, they had had to insist repeatedly before they could succeed in paying. ‘You, Major, are entitled not to pay.’ ‘You, sir, are in command here, and must not pay.’

It may be remarked on these stories that they are not quite so bad as they seem, for the *dazio* being farmed by a contractor, if individuals are exempted through favouritism, it is his own pocket and not the communal purse that is the loser. Yet the unfairness is the same. It is the rankling sense of injustice that makes farmers of the *dazio*, their officers, and communal tax-collectors the objects of the bitter resentment of the poorer classes, a feeling in which the syndic and his assessors are too often included. In the words of another of Signor Villari’s Sicilian friends—a country joiner of Partinico—‘this people long for justice, but never can get it.’

The province of Basilicata has been the scene of some of the wildest excesses of local maladministration. It was there that one syndic did not summon his council for three years, but drew upon his own imagination for the minutes which he regularly forwarded to the *sottoprefetto*. In another town, in the year 1876, no less than forty-two persons who had been municipal councillors and managers of the foundling hospital were arrested for having gradually appropriated to their own use the sum of 20,000 lire, by means of charging for foundlings long since dead.

Nor are such irregularities peculiar to the little hole-and-corner communes. Several of the larger cities have had their councils dissolved more than once. At Salerno, in 1874, it came out that a municipal assessor was filching away a large proportion of the communal payments for foundlings. In November last there was an inquiry into the municipal affairs of Palermo, which revealed a deficit of no less than 615,000 lire, for which the cashier was unable to account. The Commissioners reported that for years he had been allowed to delay rendering full accounts, whilst the monthly verification of his balance had been omitted—or rather it had been periodically reported to the financial department as having taken place, but the money had never been actually counted.

The great charitable endowments of the city of Naples have long offered a deplorable spectacle of mismanagement, despite the optimistic terms in which the municipal authorities have often spoken of them. Much has been written, in many languages, about these *Opere Pie*, as they are called. They were 349 in number, with an annual revenue of 7,154,859 lire, when Madame Mario wrote her well-known ‘*Miseria in Napoli*.’ Yet a Royal Commissioner, appointed to investigate them, reported towards the end of 1891 that, though few towns are so well furnished with charitable institutions as Naples, there are few where they so utterly fail to accomplish their mission. They would be sufficient to succour nearly all who are in real need, were it not for the enormous waste in excessive salaries paid to incompetent servants, for bad management of their property, remissness in collecting rents from favoured tenants, and extreme indulgence to debtors. But a far graver indictment is the report of the commission which has recently inquired into the state of the famous ‘*Annunziata*,’ the foundling hospital of Naples. No people, no age has known so monstrous a hell of cruel neglect as it reveals. The details are re-

volting. We quote one set of figures alone. During 1895 the hospital received 1,879 infants. Compared with these poor creatures *Œdipus* himself was a spoilt child of fortune. After deducting the number identified and returned to their parents, and those put out to nurse, there remained a total of 856 to be brought up within the walls of the institution. Of these no less than 696 died within the year, and 157 more during 1896, so that the number remaining alive on December 31, 1896, was exactly THREE! Of these three only ONE now survives!

Provision has indeed been made for checking municipal abuses. The communal administrations are under the surveillance of the prefect, to whom a copy of the minutes of the proceedings of the council and junta has to be transmitted within eight days. This supervision was very effectively exercised during the first fifteen years of the kingdom's existence. The prefect's difficulties were of course greatest and his activity most beneficial in the old kingdom of Naples, where a strong hand was constantly required to cope with the semi-political brigandage of those days and its secret maintainers, known as *manutengoli*, with the machinations of the reactionary party, who were often in sympathy with the brigands, and with the obstinate reluctance of the communes to make those roads the construction of which the law made obligatory on them. But after 1870, when the unity of the kingdom was finally assured, and brigandage had been reduced to insignificant dimensions; still more in the years which followed the fall of the ministry of the Right in 1876, prefects became less active in controlling local abuses, more absorbed in the electioneering functions imposed on them by the central Government, shifted from post to post at constantly diminishing intervals, and more dependent on the goodwill of local deputies, whose own position requires the favour of the cliques. So their voices have been less frequently uplifted in the provincial council, and they have gradually assumed a more passive attitude towards abuses.

Sundry powers of the commune are subject to the approval of the provincial administrative junta, and one of the most valuable functions of the provincial deputation should be its guardianship of the local charities. But on this subject we must again hear Signor Turiello:—

‘One of the respects in which the inefficiency of the Italian provincial deputations is most universally recognised is the guardianship of the *Opere Pie*. When I attended the first Italian Congress on

public charities, held at Naples in 1879, I could see that in the Neapolitan provinces confidence in that guardianship was completely lacking.

We have more than once heard their office discussed by members of provincial deputations, and of local *congregazioni di carità*. They all alike complain that the management and surveillance of charities is the most irksome of all their duties. They are well aware, as honest and public-spirited men, that they fall short of the ideal of their office, but they dwell on the lukewarmness of their colleagues, on the little support they receive from the public opinion of their own class, and, above all, on the rancorous personal enmities they would incur if they really exerted their whole energy in compelling others to do their duty. Yet quite lately the provincial junta of Naples has proved its mettle by instituting the inquiry into the Annunziata hospital, to which we have referred, and demanding the dismissal of its board of managers.

Enough has been said of local institutions. Does the canker eat into the civil service? Are the deputies themselves beyond the reach of corruption and jobbery? Any one who listens to the general tone of conversation on these matters will come away with the impression that things are fully as bad as in the communal administration. But positive evidence is neither so plentiful nor so definite. As in most Continental countries Government employés do not regard themselves as servants of the public, whom they are apt to treat rather superciliously. But, unlike the same class in France or Germany, their official discipline is very lax. They are irregular in the observance of office hours, although constantly complaining of their length, and dilatory in their work, of which they get through very little. There seem to be too many of them for the work they have to do, and this is partly cause, partly effect of their inefficiency. As far south as Rome there is little to criticise in their outward courtesy. But beyond the capital their manners are bad. Smoking over their work is universally allowed, and they will hardly deign to look up from their cigar, or the private concerns with which they are whiling away their time, to attend to a stranger or a fellow-townsmen of low degree. They are at once full of zeal and effusive offers of their assistance on the entrance of a friend or a local notability. The fact is they are underpaid, and, as a rule, discontented with their calling in

life. Italy still waits for her Stein to introduce discipline and efficiency into her public offices.

In all respects they compare most unfavourably with the army. The tone and behaviour of the soldier of every degree in Italy is superior to that of any other class in the country. There is an admirable feeling between private and officer. The mill of discipline and the instruction given in the army schools do wonders for the intelligence, general handiness, self-reliance and self-respect of the peasants who pass through them. To the general cry of lamentation which Signor Villari heard all over Sicily, ministers, deputies, prefects, syndics, communal and provincial councils, Senate and Chamber being overwhelmed in the same flood of abuse, he notes one striking exception. In spite of popular risings having been suppressed by the troops, in spite of the ringleaders having been tried by military courts and sentenced to heavy penalties, no one had a word to say against the army. It had always done its duty without partisanship or favouritism. 'If you want to see us all happy, dissolve the municipality and send a soldier as commissioner; then you will not hear another complaint.' Such are the terms in which the discontented inhabitants of more than one town addressed General Mirri. And Signor Villari, himself the gentlest, most peace-loving, least military of men, adds his own testimony in these words: 'In the midst of the general moral disorder that is invading our country the army holds its own as the impregnable citadel of national duty and honour.'

From so low an estimate of the Italian civil service must be excepted the department of Posts and Telegraphs. This is the best organised service in Italy. It works as well as anywhere else in Europe. It is otherwise with the fiscal officers. Not only are the taxes excessive, but the very stringent powers given by law for their exaction are inquisitorially and oppressively exercised. Do the officials use their powers to feather their own nest as well as to harass the tax-payer? Popular belief on this subject differs somewhat in the north and in the south. In the north the various agents for assessment and collection are thought to be hard, exacting, aye, overreaching, but not usually corrupt. In the south it is commonly supposed that every man who does not make his peace with them will have more than his due extracted from him, and that all who can—that is to say, the rich and influential—generally make very good

terms for themselves. No doubt there is some exaggeration in this popular opinion, and even in the south many officials do their duty very fairly well by the exchequer, if not by the public; that is to say, on the average they impose and collect the full dues, although they occasionally exceed in harshness and fiscality towards the ignorant and the weak, whilst drawing the tooth by the gentlest and most flattering methods from those whose favour they desire or whose gifts they accept. Of even-handed justice they are certainly quite guiltless.

That there has been peculation among the staff of several of the ministries is notorious. Last November the newspapers reported that an inquiry into the expenses of the Ministry of Agriculture had revealed numerous irregularities. For instance, 100,000 lire had been spent in ten years for carpets alone, and the mere correction of the proofs of Signor Zanardelli's revision of the commercial code had cost half a million!

The diversion of moneys voted or subscribed to relieve sufferers from earthquakes has been the cause of various scandals. Fifty thousand lire voted by the province of Naples in 1884, after the disaster at Casamicciola, in the island of Ischia, were squandered on fêtes at Pompeii, but no one was called to account. In March 1896 a commission was appointed to inquire into the application of the large sums—over a million and a half of lire*—collected for the relief of sufferers from the earthquake that had devastated the provinces of Reggio and Catanzaro, in Calabria, and part of that of Messina, in Sicily, in November 1894. Their report, issued in December last, is a very grave document. The distribution of these moneys was, unfortunately, most active at a moment when the general election of 1895 was imminent. The general management of the relief was entrusted to the then Under-Secretary for the Interior, Signor Galli. Large sums were paid to the prefects of the three provinces, and by them divided among subordinate officials, syndics, and others for ultimate distribution. But no proper system of account was ever enforced, or even prescribed. When the commission attempted to trace the moneys in detail it was defeated by the confusion in which the papers at the Ministry of the Interior were found. Some had been lost, some removed and could not be produced. Each prefect rendered to the commission a brief statement

* 140,000 lire were given by the King himself.

of the sums he had received and the persons to whom he had paid them over. After they left the hands of the prefects no account whatever could be obtained of them, except when they had been administered by the military officers in charge of the different relief works. We cannot wade through all this mire. Suffice it to say that one syndic admitted having divided the whole sum entrusted to him among the notabilities of the commune, himself included. Much was used for electioneering. The prefect of Messina, Senator Saladini, was unable to account for 37,788 lire of the moneys that had passed through his hands. He has refunded this sum, and it may be added that he has been placed 'en disponibilité.'

But the most sensational revelation of all was that on May 24, 1895, a telegraphic order for 8,000 lire on the earthquake account with the Bank of Italy was sent to the prefect of Reggio from the Ministry of the Interior, then held by the Premier, Signor Crispi. These 8,000 lire were excluded by the prefect from the first account he rendered to the commission, because he had at the same time received a private autograph letter from Signor Crispi himself, desiring him to hand over this sum to a person who would present himself with a card of identification. The mysterious individual duly appeared, presented the card, and received the sum. His identity has never been revealed. It requires neither a Machiavelli nor a Mephistopheles to divine that the sums charitably subscribed were being tapped for secret service purposes—probably to influence elections in Sicily. No one dreams that Signor Crispi pocketed the money himself. In spite of pressure from Signor Cavallotti and the Radicals to pursue the investigation further, the subject was shelved by the Marquis di Rudini declaring in the Chamber that, although he had felt bound to lay the report on the table, he did not intend to take action upon it, as such a course on his part might be thought to argue rancour against members of the late Government whose characters were involved. And there the matter rests.

It was, however, during the ministry of Signor Giolitti in 1892-93 that corruption in the upper political and administrative ranks reached high-water mark. Since then there has been gradual improvement. The fall of that ministry was brought about by the report of a committee of inquiry into the scandals connected with the fraudulent mismanagement of the Banca Romana. The exact truth has never been fully revealed. Signor Giolitti, whilst still in office,

had seized some of the most compromising papers at the office of the governor of the bank, and put them out of sight. A year later he created a fresh scandal by producing some of these documents in support of a charge against his successor, Signor Crispi, of having himself unduly received moneys from the bank. Nor has the full truth as to this accusation ever been made public, with the consequence that by Signor Crispi's detractors it is believed to be true in the worst sense, whilst his admirers declare it to be a baseless calumny.

The peculiarity about these Italian bank scandals is that, on the whole, it was not the financiers who corrupted the politicians, but the reverse. The management of the banks of issue had long been irregular; their note issues exceeded the limit allowed by law. Large sums locked up, not always in accordance with their charters, in building speculations in Rome and elsewhere rendered their position very shaky. The politicians, partly from fear that a full disclosure of the position might cause such a panic as would be disastrous to the national credit, already compromised by excessive expenditure, partly from less honourable motives, condoned and helped to hush up these irregularities, thereby obtaining a most unfortunate leverage on the management of the banks. But in this respect too the bottom seems to have been touched. The banks have been recalled to the strict observance of their charters, and are being purified from their least reputable elements. It has never been so much as whispered that any of the present ministers have illicit relations with them. On May 12 this year Signor Luzzatti, who is no inflationist, was able to assure the Chamber that at the last inspection the amount of the metallic reserves was found to be in perfect conformity with the law. The note circulation is now well within the legal limits.

Before discussing the qualities of the national representatives themselves let us cast a glance at the manner of their election. Strangely enough, the fundamental law of the Italian constitution is still that charter, called the 'Statuto,' which was granted to his people by Charles Albert of Savoy on March 4, 1848. The second article declares that 'the State is ruled by a monarchical representative Government;' the third, that 'the legislative power shall be jointly exercised by the King and two Chambers—the Senate and that of the Deputies.' In practice the Senate has little power. The elective Chamber of Deputies consists of 508 members. The franchise was formerly very narrow, but in

1882 was extended to all citizens of full age who can read and write, and have passed an examination in the subjects comprised in the course of compulsory elementary education. This last condition is not a very severe one, as school attendance is only compulsory between the ages of six and nine. It is dispensed with if the voter falls within one of certain numerous categories, which practically imply an education at least equal to the compulsory course, or a very small stake in the country, as owner or occupier. At first single-member constituencies were adopted; in 1882 a change was made to larger districts returning two to five deputies apiece; in 1891 the single-member plan was reverted to.

But the practical working of any franchise depends on the manner in which the register of voters is kept. In Italy this is under the charge of the municipal junta, and is revised every year. The aggrieved elector can appeal from the junta to the communal council, and from the council to the provincial electoral committee; but these are the very local authorities that are so deeply stained with partisanship and intrigue, and the prefect who presides over the provincial committee is nowadays little more than a general election agent for the Government. Consequently the registers are gerrymandered in every conceivable fashion. The existence of definite political parties, with an organisation for the defence of their own interests, as in England, would check this. And in Northern Italy, where the socialists and republicans are organised, the registers are in a better condition.

It was in prospect of the general election of 1895 that Signor Crispi's Government effected a great expurgation of the registers, on which many unqualified voters had from time to time been inserted, especially under the auspices of the Giolitti Administration. But the opportunity was taken to strike off, in the interests of the Government or of the local *clientèle*, not only the really unqualified, but political opponents and quiet men who could not be relied on to do the bidding of the wire-pullers. Illiteracy was the disqualification usually alleged. Merchants, advocates, men with University degrees were freely struck off on this pretext, together with others whose qualifications were less obvious. The very offensiveness of the aspersion, and the difficulty of getting themselves reinstated, in the face of technicalities skilfully wielded by hostile officials, prevented many men of this class from even attempting to reassert their rights.

At that same election of 1895 direct bribery by the can-

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didates reached an unprecedented figure, though it has probably been equalled, if not surpassed, by the bribery at the election of last March. But this does not lie at the door of either of the ministries in office. It is only, as once in England, a natural result of the slackness of public opinion and the inefficacy of the law on the subject. It was most conspicuous in the southern constituencies, where all the candidates were more or less friendly to the Government in office, because they none of them had any real opinion on national issues, and were only anxious to be on the winning side in the Chamber. Hitherto from 5,000 to 10,000 lire had been considered ample for a candidate's election expenses, and five a fair consideration for the individual elector's vote. In 1895 sums of 50,000 and even of 70,000 lire were spent in a few cases. In one hot contest 20,000 lire went in the week between the indecisive first voting and the second ballot. The syndics of small communes, who had their electors well in hand, would offer the votes of the locality to the highest bidder, pocketing sums of five and ten thousand lire, of which a very small proportion reached the ultimate voters. A *capo-elettore* of one very remote Little Pedlington—a priest to boot—offered the votes of the place to A, who was in favour there, for 7,000 lire. Having been promised this sum, he used it to extort 12,000 from B, and at once used all his efforts to turn over votes to B. But the electors happened to be stubborn, and voted for A after all. Our friend the priest, however, was not to be beaten. He succeeded in destroying the votes! An inquiry was instituted, but led to no result, for reasons which we cannot state without revealing the identity of the place. During the election of last March money again flowed very freely. From 100 to 150 lire were paid for individual votes, when contests were hot, and influential electors who had rattled during the night might be watched, half wheedling, half compelling their flock to turn their coats with them. In England this sort of thing used to mean that only rich men could enter Parliament. Should it continue in Italy for any number of years it will tend to the same result, but it also has the much more sinister meaning that the money spent during the contest—often borrowed for the purpose at high interest—must be recovered with interest from the point of vantage won.

Corruption is, of course, made easier by the political apathy of the great mass of the electors. Abstentions are frequent. More voters poll and more interest is excited by elections of

provincial councillors, which are the great battlefield of local politics, than by those for the Chamber, although no questions of national interest—indeed, none of vital local importance—are at issue between these modern Guelphs and Ghibellines. What happens is the exact contrary of what takes place in England. Local politics are not subordinated to national but personal jealousies, and the rivalries of cliques dominate both. Many qualified persons have never come on the Parliamentary register at all. The number who, of their own motion, claimed to be inserted after the extension of the franchise was ridiculously small. In the city of Naples they were only 61! This is partly accounted for by thoroughgoing political scepticism, men of all classes, in no sense of the word reactionaries, holding the Chamber and its members to be no better than a public nuisance, and ministers and their offices an inevitable but scarcely tolerable evil. ‘Away with them! Let ‘us have Humbert for our absolute king, and Crispi for ‘his minister!’ was the sort of ejaculation frequently heard two or three years ago in the heyday of Signor Crispi’s power. Others abstain from a desire to stand well with all men, and a dislike of making enemies; but the instructions of the Vatican to all good Catholics to hold aloof from politics influence most of all. This prohibition, it must be remembered, does not apply to local elections. The greater interest excited by these is in some degree due to this fact. Indeed, there are communes where the line of division between local parties almost follows that between clericals and their adversaries. It is sometimes argued that Italian politics would be redeemed by a change of front on the part of the Vatican. If the clericals went to the poll, it is said, a sound Conservative element would be introduced, which would sweep away the chicanery and intrigues of the existing Parliamentary groups. But the character of the local contests, when the influence of the clergy is exercised, does not bear out this view. It is doubtful whether the supposed advantage would not be counterbalanced by the increased danger of the nation separating, as in France, into two extreme parties of ultramontane clericals and bitter anti-Christian secularists, to the exclusion of more moderate schools of thought.

Election machinery is very unlike what we know in England. The ballot is not really secret. A few days before the polling every elector receives from the syndic of his commune a certificate that his name is on the register.

This he has to produce at the polling room, where he is identified by signing a list, and his signature is witnessed by one of the returning committee present who knows him. This committee, consisting of four scrutineers, chosen by a curious method, and of an *ex-officio* chairman, is so often packed by the Government officials or by the intrigues of the local *clientèle* that its impartiality cannot be relied on. The voter next receives a square piece of blank paper, on which he writes the name of any individual whom he may fancy for a representative, as there is no nomination of candidates. This paper he then folds in two and hands to the chairman, who drops it into a glass urn. Besides the name he may write on his voting paper the candidate's paternity, profession, dignity, title, academic degree, and an indication of the offices he has held. No other writing is admissible. This curious provision facilitates the rejection of many votes, for the elector is fond of laying the titles rather thick upon his favourite, and any little slip he makes in them may invalidate his vote for ambiguity, if it so suits the wire-pullers. But it has another and a quainter result. It amounts in some places to a cypher between the elector and the agents of the candidate to whom he has promised his vote, and who have their creatures among the scrutineers. For the string of adjuncts may be written in any order, and may precede or follow the name, which itself may be written with the surname first or last. We leave it to the reader to calculate whether the permutations that can be formed may not be as numerous as the number of shaky voters, who can thus reveal the fidelity with which they have carried out their instructions. Another way in which the voter often proves that he has kept his word is by bringing out with him a strip of blotting paper, with which he has blotted the name he wrote. Whole bundles of votes are often made away with when they are unfavourable to the interest that is dominant in the polling room. In the south it has not been very unusual for the syndic, or the notables of a commune, to fill up the voting papers as they choose, the electors staying quietly at home. The same frauds have been practised, though perhaps less grotesquely, in the north. During the local elections of 1879 at Milan the ballot was 'watered' by throwing handfuls of imaginary votes into the urn, a practice which does not speak well for the efficiency of the presiding officers.

These are only a few of the endless tricks by which the secrets of the ballot have been divulged, or its results

falsified. The law—not a severe one—against electoral malpractices is rarely enforced, partly from the great difficulty there is in getting trustworthy evidence, partly because disputed elections are still adjudicated on by a committee of the Chamber, and not by an independent tribunal. And it must in fairness be remembered how freely the most circumstantial allegations of fraudulent practices are made by a defeated party. These quickly find their way into print, and, in the absence of any searching public investigation, are perpetuated as established truth.

Last autumn, before there was any prospect of so early a dissolution, ministers announced a scheme for the reform of the voting machinery, which would have assimilated it in several respects to the British system, and would certainly have struck at the root of the frauds we have described. Candidates were to be publicly proclaimed beforehand, and voting was to consist, as with us, in making a mark on a blank space beside the candidate's printed name, whilst new regulations were to be made as to polling places and presiding officers. But no more was heard of the proposal when the dissolution approached, and this election has been in all respects like its forerunners. The Government, it is true, at first assumed a position of neutrality, alleging their desire to ascertain the genuine feeling of the country, and to exercise no undue pressure in any form. And this determination seems to have been pretty well adhered to, as far as regards the Socialists and extreme Radicals, who for the first time seem to have had fair play, and were able to capture a few more seats in consequence. But the adherents of Signor Crispi, who came off very badly indeed at the polls, declare that no stone was left unturned, no form of pressure unexercised, to turn the scale against them. To some extent we suspect that this is but the usual cry of the defeated, especially when they have been accustomed for some time past to sail with the stream; but it is probable that the Ministry of the Interior, which manages these things, could not resist the temptation to exert its power; certainly the prefects and their subordinates did not always abstain from interference, whether under superior orders or from mere habit. In other cases the hand of the Government was forced by the exigencies of local *clientèle*, and they were constrained by their powerful supporters to belie their own professions. This is the more unbecoming in an Administration whose chief title to confidence, when summoned to power in a moment of national peril, was the

inflexible uprightness of its leading statesmen. It is an instance of that want of self-confidence and backbone in carrying out their high principles in the face of difficulty and opposition which is commonly thought to constitute their chief danger, and it explains the opinion so widely, though we believe unjustly, held that the Prime Minister has lost his faith in straightforwardness, and set his heart on playing a part, for which he is little fitted, in emulation of the successes of Depretis as an old Parliamentary hand.

The preponderance of local interests over national issues has the worst possible effect on the Deputies themselves. The majority of them do not occupy their time or their thoughts with questions of national welfare at all. They rarely address their constituents in public, even at election time. The real business of their lives is to conduct an endless correspondence with their district, which wants impossible lines of railway and public works, and with their supporters, who want contracts, appointments, and promotion, not only in the Government service but in that of the railway companies, and even in private undertakings. The rest of their time is busied with perpetual calls at the ministries to press these interests and their own, and with all the engrossing details of the art of lobbying. The strongest local ring returns the man who best can serve it, or who has most thoroughly mastered it. He comes to Rome unpledged to any definite policy. He allies himself in the Chamber with the group he thinks most likely to advance his own interests and those of the local connexion to whom he owes his seat. The Deputy from the south, where he is looked upon as a mere conduit pipe for the distribution of jobs and patronage to the right people, is the freest to shift his party position and to follow his own conviction or his own fancy on national questions. Italy has been pictured by one of her own Senators as ruled by an oligarchy of some hundred or so of the most forcible Deputies, associated by self-interest into ever-changing groups, that melt away and unite again, as the individuals who form them change their attitude in the game of tripping up rivals, be they colleagues or opponents.

In the earlier years of unity the Chamber was divided into two parties—a Right, composed of moderate Liberals, the heirs of Cavourian tradition; and a Radical Left, with a decided republican leaning. The reactionary party in the country has never had a footing in the Chamber. With two very brief intervals the Right were in power con-

tinuously from January 1861 till March 1876. To them is due the thorough unification of the country, the defeat of regional and reactionary sedition, the war of 1866, with the consequent acquisition of Venetia, the repression of the premature Garibaldian attempts on Rome, and the final annexation of that city in 1870. To accomplish these ends they had been obliged to burden the country with an immense public debt, and had conferred oppressive powers on their fiscal agents to ensure the collection of the reluctantly paid taxes. Moreover, in order to keep in check the forces of the revolutionaries on one side and of clerical and dynastic reaction on the other, they had recourse to an over-centralised administration, to control of elections through the prefects, and to filling offices with their own most trustworthy followers. Edge tools these, which, after the election of 1876, passed into the hands of their opponents. But the great problems of national existence and unity were already solved. In dealing with those of internal reform, financial, administrative, and legal, the Left did not prove successful. The defeat of the Right had been so complete that there was no effective opposition in the Chamber to ensure unity within the dominant party itself. Moreover the triumph of the Left was greatly due to its having swept the southern constituencies, not from any real prevalence of Radical opinion there, but because all the different elements of accumulating dissatisfaction, often in their own nature more really conservative than the supporters of the Right, saw no banner under which to range themselves but that of the Left. Conservative in spirit, though casting their vote with the progressists, this phalanx of southern Deputies led the way to the 'Transformist' ministries of later years. There is no doubt, too, that the Left, as a whole, and especially the southern group, were men of a somewhat lower standard of political integrity than their predecessors. Drawn from rather a lower social grade, and of less pecuniary independence, they were more tempted to abuse their position as Deputies to better their own fortunes. Many had belonged to the revolutionary and republican secret societies of an earlier day, and were too much disposed to carry their methods into the humdrum business of wire-pulling. The predominance of sentimental doctrinaires among the Left was, and has continued to be, another cause of administrative failure. Advocates and journalists, alike bred on almost exclusively legal studies, this class of politicians is subtle and rhetorical, with little

practical sense of the country's needs. 'We must not be 'the last to carry this reform,' 'We must keep pace with 'the progress of science,' are the sort of phrases that have carried many a measure. The anxiety that Italy should distinguish herself, by being the first nation to abolish capital punishment, did more for its abolition than any positive arguments.

The rapid decay of the Left from internal causes—for the Right never recovered the blow of 1876—was followed by a gradual obliteration of the dividing line between the two parties. The absence of any really distinctive political creed on either side made it possible for members of the Right to accept office in Cabinets of the Left, whilst premiers of the latter party modified their programmes to admit them. Mr. Lowell succinctly traces this process through successive administrations until we find, 'instead of two great parties, 'a number of groups, sometimes united and sometimes 'hostile to each other, ever forming new combinations, until 'it becomes almost impossible to follow their evolution.'

Two men only, both of them thorough masters of the game, have succeeded in maintaining their hold on such an assemblage for any length of time. But they both did so at the cost of sacrificing the internal prosperity of Italy to the Cerberus they had to appease. Signor Depretis, by sheer skill in fence and manœuvre, managed to retain the premiership, with brief intervals, from March 25, 1876, till his own death in July 1887. He was only out of office for thirteen months during the whole of those eleven years, for he was himself Minister of the Interior in his rival Cairoli's third Cabinet.

Signor Crispi, who attained the same mastery over the Chamber by his fearless attitude and predominant force of will, is made of very different stuff. A Sicilian of the Sicilians, an advocate by profession, an old conspirator in the cause of his country's freedom, one of the thousand who landed with Garibaldi at Marsala, his is by far the most striking figure that has appeared on the stage of Italian politics since the death of Cavour. He has, indeed, a master will rather than a master mind. His patriotism is genuine, but the scale of his ambition for Italy has been so little proportioned to her resources that his 'Megalomania' has added a new term to the daily vocabulary of his countrymen. He is not free from the national love of rhetoric, and the apparent temerity he has at times shown has been attributed to a lack of general information. Deeply infected

with that cynical suspicion of all men's motives and virtue which we have alluded to as being so common in Italy, and trained in a political school that was never too squeamish in its selection of means, it is probable that he never has been fully conscious of the vital importance to good government of strict discipline and scrupulous honesty in every nook and cranny of the public service. His family relations have been a hindrance and not a help to him in public life. And his more intimate circle of personal adherents are not thought to have been clean-handed, whatever may be the truth as to his own personal integrity. Had he been as anxious to reform the internal conditions of his country as he was to make its name, coupled with his own, resound in Europe, his splendid energy and resolution might easily have overcome the dull resistance of interests, traditions, and habits, which are likely to defeat any half-hearted reformer, and he would have left a far deeper mark in the affections of Italy, a far greater name in history than can ever now be his. But he made no real effort to purify public life, or to discipline the servants of the State. He was satisfied to suppress by drastic methods the agrarian revolt in Sicily and the Socialistic upheaval of the quarrymen of Carrara. No financier himself, he showed good judgement when he entrusted that vital interest of the State to Signor Sonnino. Unfortunately his reluctance to admit any trenchant reductions gave no fair field to the great capabilities of the latter. Yet neither the exhaustion of over-taxation nor the deep dissatisfaction of all good citizens with the degradation and inefficiency of their institutions, nor even the lava fury of repressed anarchy, would have sufficed to oust him from his high seat, had he listened to reason and remonstrance in his Abyssinian policy. For his fall marks a new epoch in Italian history. It was not due to desertion by electors or Deputies, nor to the intrigues of shifting groups. It was the great disaster to Italian arms and ambitions at Adowa on March 1, 1896, that fell on him like a lightning stroke.

The responsibility for those fatal African errors, which in Signor Crispi were undoubtedly due in no small degree to ignorance, must be shared by others. Perhaps it lies most heavily on the shoulders of the financier of his Cabinet. Sidney Sonnino, with his Hebrew descent, his almost English education, his upright principles, his long and thorough political and financial training, was not unaware of the danger. He had been thoroughly averse to the whole Abyssinian cam-

paign. He knew its hidden risks. He knew how empty was the dream of a golden Ethiopian empire. He knew it must be the death blow to the financial equilibrium for which he had worked so hard. Yet, although more than once on the verge of resigning, he allowed his objections to be overruled by the master will of his chief, and the country which looked to him for counsels of wisdom and prudence to believe that he approved. Possibly personal loyalty blinded him; perhaps he was tempted by the hope of the mantle—the mantle which now seems to have passed away from him, and to be more likely, should the Rudinì Ministry fall, to wrap the shoulders of Signor Zanardelli, the doctrinaire, or to envelope the land in the pall of a second Giolitti Administration.

Summoned as it was to face a moment of imminent national peril, although at the time in a minority in the Chamber, the most hopeful feature in the present Ministry seemed to be its independence of the balance of political groups and changes of personal allegiance. Many of its friends at the time based their hopes for it on the known tenacity of will and inflexibility of character of General Ricotti, who went to the War Office. But within six months he resigned on the question of army organisation and expenditure. The Duke of Sermoneta and Signor Colombo followed him into private life, but this severe blow was compensated by the Marquis Visconti Venosta's acceptance of the portfolio for Foreign Affairs in succession to the Duke. Visconti Venosta had held the same office in the Ministry of the Right, until that party's fall in 1876. From that day he withdrew into the quiet retirement of thought and study, never consenting to accept either Cabinet office or diplomatic post from ministries of whose conduct of affairs he disapproved. His return to politics at this juncture was the highest testimonial that his colleagues could receive to their integrity of character and purpose. In England and America his name is well known as a member of the Court of Arbitration on the Behring Sea question, which sat at Paris in 1894. His dignified impassiveness of manner and perfect diplomatic courtesy—the result of a gentle nature and long training in the best of schools—his experience of foreign affairs when the international position of Italy was far more difficult than it has since become, and above all his absolute single-mindedness in her service, make him acceptable to the foreign statesmen with whom he has relations, and a bulwark and ornament to his country.

Another minister who is doing good work, and making

headway in the favour of public opinion, is Signor Prinetti, the energetic young Minister for Public Works. But he has an Augean stable to cleanse, and unless strongly backed by his colleagues may not prove himself the Hercules for whose appearance all well-wishers of Italy are longing. Admiral Brin, the Minister of Marine, has held the same post in no less than seven previous ministerial combinations—five under Depretis and two under Crispi. His professional and technical competence is generally admitted. We trust that in his present harness he may exercise a closer supervision over the inception of naval contracts, and that he will see that the country gets good value for its money. But he is clearly attached to office, and his colleagues may find him a broken reed when friends begin to fail them.

Of the Prime Minister himself it is more difficult to speak. A high-bred gentleman, whose personal integrity is beyond all breath of suspicion, he is, like Signor Crispi, a Sicilian. But, unlike him, he is a great landowner instead of an advocate. His wide information and moderate opinions mark the man who is born into politics, and has made them his study from his youth. His calm nature, more like that of a northern statesman, is devoid of southern exaggerations of manner and expression. But the impression made during his previous tenure of office was not altogether favourable. He was thought to show some want of self-reliance and tenacity of purpose, and he then made the great mistake of trying to conciliate some powerful groups by giving the Home Office to the late Signor Nicotera, a man of considerable energy, who at one time had risked his head in a premature attempt to overthrow the Bourbon tyranny, but the very incarnation of the spirit of the Neapolitan *clientèle*.

The support given to Rudinì in the late Chamber by the Radical and Republican groups in combating the common enemy—African adventure and internal corruption—and his undoubtedly neutral, if not almost friendly, attitude towards them during the last election, have been thrown in his teeth and interpreted as a shabby electioneering intrigue which must lead to disastrous surrender to the forces of disorder. We do not conceive this to be a fair criticism, the real danger of the country for the moment not being Socialism, which has no peculiar features in Italy, and is certainly a less grave phenomenon there than in France. But the support of the extreme men can obviously be only temporary and spasmodic, and when it fails the cohesion of the majority will much depend on the solidarity of the Ministry and on the power the Premier may show of holding his own.

Meanwhile we may ask what use the Government is making of its opportunities. The excellence of its intentions no one doubts. It is fully alive to the mischief done by local and administrative abuses, and to the necessities of the financial position. A Bill has been introduced to preclude communal and provincial councillors and employés and their relations from having any interest in municipal contracts, and to make local authorities personally answerable for sundry irregularities, in which they have hitherto been encouraged by their practical freedom from responsibility. A second Bill provides that, when a communal council has been dissolved three times within ten years, the Government shall nominate half the councillors, and the new council thus composed shall sit for three years. Other proposals are the formation of new rural communes or *borgate*, with ten years' exemption from sundry imposts, and the division of the existing communes into two classes, one composed of the larger towns and the other of smaller communities with more limited powers.

These intended reforms seem to be in the right direction, as far as they go. More disputable schemes are the introduction of a 'referendum,' enabling communal councils, and also the provincial junta, to consult the electors on particular measures of taxation and expenditure, and an alteration of the local franchise, giving one or more extra votes to the heads of middle-class households. We cannot here discuss the merits of this proposal or the probability of its ever being seriously pressed. If it is it will undoubtedly be hotly contested, and those Radicals who give a loose support to the Government will fight it tooth and nail.

Some degree of decentralisation is to be aimed at by making the province the final authority on various matters now submitted to the central Government at Rome. A bolder step has been the appointment of Count Codronchi as civil commissioner for Sicily, with wide powers and a seat in the Cabinet. This new departure elicited a storm of criticism; it was a concession to a vanishing regionalism; it was impossible for a minister to be at once at a council in Rome and at his post in the island. But of course it is an obvious advantage to ensure that the commissioner's views shall have full weight with the Ministry and not be defeated by intrigue. And the position is no more anomalous than that of an Irish Chief Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet.*

* Rumours are afloat that Count Codronchi is to be recalled during the month of July.

Some, at any rate, of the ministers are exerting themselves to check the waste through speculation and jobbery, at the risk of incurring the odium of a class whose influence at election time is considerable. Signor Prinetti is active in this respect. He has also been taking drastic measures with his budget of public works, and counts on effecting a saving of nine millions of lire in 1897-98, and of eight and a half millions in 1898-99. With regard to expenditure on railways, which for years has been, next to the army, the heaviest drain on Italian resources, the more recent lines being hopelessly unremunerative, he declares that, with the exception of a few miles required to connect branches already completed, he has not conceded, and will not concede, the construction of a single new line. Indeed, his general views on the subject will commend themselves to English ways of thinking, for he holds that in Italy railway construction and working should have been left to regulated private enterprise, and excluded from the direct functions of the State. The necessity of moderating the harsher fiscal exactions, which add little or nothing to the revenue, whilst tormenting the taxpayer, is also recognised, and Bills have been introduced to mitigate some of the grievances connected with the tax on buildings and the income tax. The income-tax reforms include some provisions hostile to foreign capital employed in Italy, and are chiefly aimed at the relief of agriculture, much to the disgust of the chambers of commerce of large towns, such as Genoa and Milan, which, however, are quite able to take care of themselves. It is said that instructions have been circulated to the fiscal agents to avoid unnecessarily harassing the public whilst executing their duty.

By arriving at an understanding with France on the thorny subject of the Tunisian capitulations Signor Visconti Venosta has given a new and happier turn to relations with the French nation generally, and has paved the way to the possibility of a new commercial agreement with that country, formerly Italy's best customer.

The gradual amelioration of the general financial position begun by Signor Sonnino, but interrupted by the unforeseen African expenditure, has now resumed its course. It is testified to by the price of 'Rentes' and the state of exchange, in spite of the anxiety that has been caused by Eastern affairs. The problem is greatly simplified by the abandonment of the policy of adventure in Africa, which is, of course, the very *raison d'être* of the present Administration. It is no sudden determination arrived at in a fit of panic or

of parsimony. The Marquis di Rudinì has constantly shown his aversion to the scheme of an Erythræan dominion. The truth is that Massowah was originally occupied in 1885 with a purely political end in view, but so rapid and unexpected was the march of events at the time that this end almost immediately became unattainable. To escape such an avowal, which might have been damaging to the Ministry then in office, the new acquisition was represented to the country as a promising base for colonisation. This delusion having been once started led to the extension of the occupation to the high tableland—a possible though not a hopeful field for the emigrant—to consequent friction with Abyssinia and the Dervishes, and to all that followed. Some of the most persistent advocates of the acquisition of a suitable opening for Italian emigration—Signor Brunialti, for instance—have always condemned the Erythræan scheme. It has cost 8,000 men and between 400 and 500 millions of lire. It has weakened the position of Italy in Europe. It has attracted no emigrants. It has given absolutely no results. In a recent debate the Marquis di Rudinì deliberately declared to the Chamber that, even had he a surplus of 100 millions, he should hold himself a traitor to the interests of the country if he spent another farthing of the sum on Erythræa. All thoughtful men, who are true friends to Italy, must agree with him. But, although there could be little doubt that the real feeling of the country was with him, the complete approval of the Chamber remained a matter of uncertainty until the division of May 22, when the Government received a vote of confidence in its African policy by 242 votes to 94, with 20 abstentions. And now, should no grave European complication supervene, there will be little difficulty in maintaining the equilibrium between revenue and expenditure.

But in the same speech already quoted the Premier has proclaimed aloud the real duty of the Government—to take thought for the suffering workers, to lighten the taxes on articles of consumption, to come to the rescue of the small freeholder, to cast aside those hateful weapons of fiscal oppression which have become an odious necessity. His words are only too true, but the relief cannot come without retrenchment of the most heroic nature. The resources of the country are too much strained to allow of great improvement from a rearrangement of taxation. Temporary decrease of revenue cannot be risked. Where can really great reductions be made? The waste on unprofitable public works seems to be already checked; but

there are endless useful works crying aloud for means. There remains the army, most voracious mouth of all. But will the knife really be applied here? We fear not. The question lies in a nutshell. The large army is beyond the resources of the country. It is now larger than needful for defence, and Italy has no longer vast schemes of aggrandisement beyond the sea. But public opinion, which moves slowly, does not fully recognise these facts, and still lives in the past. Until national unity was crowned by the entry into Rome in 1870, it demanded of all patriotic Italians the utmost military efforts. That entry, whilst France was under a cloud, offended the sister country so deeply, touching to the quick the reverential feelings of devout sons of the Church and the vanity of the rest of the nation, that reduction of the army remained out of the question. Then the French occupation of Tunis, after the mistakes of Italian diplomatists during the Congress of Berlin had led to the isolation of their country, gave rise to an even greater sense of irritation in Italy, and brought about her entrance into the Triple Alliance. The feeling between the two nations was further exasperated by workmen's rivalries, and above all by the misogallic language and policy of Signor Crispi, who continued to use France as a bugbear long after any real danger from her had passed away. With his fall that particular irritant ceased to act, and the present Ministry may justly boast that Italy has not an enemy in Europe. Nor need she ever have one, unless through aggressive policy of her own. But the army is popular, and public sentiment is not ripe for serious retrenchment, which it would unjustly regard as cowardly. Military prejudices, too, as well as the vested interests of army furnishers and of countless decent families, that would not know what to do with their sons, for whom the army provides an honourable though not luxurious livelihood, are an obstacle to reduction on a large scale; and last, but not least, it could not be so much as named to the King. The incompatibility between the needs of the twelve corps of which the Italian army has been composed since 1882 and financial resources was long veiled by the system of keeping a small number of men with the colours in time of peace, whilst maintaining the large 'cadres.' Two hundred and fifty men is the strength of the company on a war footing, but only 80 to 90 in time of peace. Stores and equipments, too, had been allowed to fall to a dangerously low level. Abyssinia burst the bubble. The utter breakdown of the transport and commissariat services, and the

want of cohesion among troops two-thirds of whom had only just been recalled to the colours, more than counterbalanced striking instances of individual courage and self-devotion.

The first anxiety of General Ricotti on accepting office was to restore efficiency within the limits of financial possibility. He accordingly proposed a return to ten corps, with sundry lesser changes. But he met with opposition in high quarters. It is believed that the King would not hear of the reduction which he thought incompatible with the honour of his house. Other ministers would not stake their existence to overcome this reluctance, and so in July 1896 General Ricotti resigned. His place was taken by General Pelloux, a steadfast advocate of the twelve army corps, whose Army Regulation Bill came before the Chamber in the month of May. It was made a question of confidence, and in the actual state of public opinion, which had remained unaffected by Ricotti's resignation, the debate was merely academic and the result a foregone conclusion. On a division there was a majority of 109 for the Government. And so seems to have vanished, for the present at least, all hope of real military retrenchment. In vain may ministers strain their ears to hear the voice of discontent. Funds may rise and financiers may flourish again, but Italian industry, Italian land, and Italian peasants remain the most heavily burdened in the world.

Yet Italy has overcome greater difficulties than those that now hem her in. Surely the land which so easily won her national liberties, when her sons for a short moment showed themselves really united in passionate determination, which so quickly rose above regional jealousies to a true unity of sentiment, can put the knife to the canker of extravagance, can impose restraints on crime, can purify her administration and reform her municipalities, can ensure fair play for the marvellous industry* of her workers. The men of Italy have not lost their brilliant powers of mind, their cunning, or their tact. Let them but convert their deep love for their fatherland into moral fibre; let them but prove themselves men indeed, and all will yet be well.

* It is, of course, an exploded fallacy that the operatives and peasants are lazy or idle. Judged not only by their long hours, but by the actual effort they put forth, there are no workers like those Italians who actually live by the sweat of their brow. Laziness, idleness, and worthlessness are confined to the classes whose hands are smooth, from the half-starved copying clerk to the dandies who loaf about smart cafés and promenades. They indeed toil not, neither do they spin.

- ART. II.—1. *Climbs in the New Zealand Alps, being an Account of Discovery and Travel.* By E. A. FITZGERALD, F.R.G.S. London: 1896.
2. *The Alps from End to End.* By Sir WILLIAM MARTIN CONWAY. London: 1895.
3. *The Scenery of Switzerland and the Causes to which it is Due.* By the Right Hon. Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M.P. London: 1896.
4. *The Exploration of the Caucasus.* By DOUGLAS W. FRESHFIELD. London and New York: 1896.

FIFTEEN years or so ago few publishers would have had the temerity to accept a book dealing with mountaineering. Twenty years previously the demand for this description of literature had been strongly pronounced; but the mine then so successfully exploited was supposed to be exhausted, and there seemed no probability that for a long time to come it could be worked again with advantage. It is beyond our purpose now to inquire into the causes that led after so short an interval to the renewal of a demand for mountain literature. It is sufficient to note the fact that books dealing with mountain travel, even with the well-known Alps, have been during the past few years increasingly popular, and that at present the fashion—if it be no more than a fashion—shows no sign of decay. Our present purpose is rather to consider how far the literature has become modified. In one respect a change may be noted that is matter for regret. Alpine books are now too often commercial speculations. Every possible means of directing the attention of the public to the author is employed. The interview, the puff preparatory, or any other anticipatory form of advertisement is constantly adopted. Preliminary articles appear in the newspapers and affect the tone of the completed work, which too frequently suggests the style of the journalist. Perhaps the newly adopted methods furnish at once the explanation why the new books are in such good request, and why they have in such great measure lost the charm of the older works.

The volumes published by the earlier members of the Alpine Club, which came into being at the beginning of 1858, were undeniably those that first attracted the attention of the general reader and created a public who had scarcely heard of De Saussure, and looked on the writings of Forbes

or Gottlieb Studer as belonging purely to the domains of science. The authors of '*Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers*' dealt with mountaineering as a new kind of sport, and revealed an unworked field for adventure and travel. The men who wrote these accounts managed to tinge their pages with that glow of exhilaration so familiar and so attractive to the mountaineer engaged in his favourite pastime. The very freshness of the narratives carried the reader away. One of the great charms of mountaineering lies in the ability to recall in after years every detail of an expedition with the utmost vividness; to feel almost the same thrill that was experienced at the actual time of magnificent views suddenly opening out to the gaze, of successes won after long hours of suspense and doubt, of dangers grappled with and overcome by skill and foresight. It mattered little that to the non-mountaineer the accounts of the expeditions might be held to vary but little; every reader who had passed through a similar experience was able to call up a host of pictures of the same nature in his mind.

It is tolerably evident indeed from some of the modern literature that lack of variety in the style of description need not necessarily become a weariness to the reading public. In many of the accounts recently published the method of treatment is scarcely altered at all from that which was first adopted some forty years ago. Since the publication of '*Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers*' the developement of the technique of mountaineering has been very great. Far more difficult climbs are now accomplished, and the whole art of climbing mountains has been rendered tolerably precise. Yet the principles have undergone no material alteration.

Alpine literature readily falls into a few well-marked categories. There are books dealing with the subject solely as a holiday pastime. In such the personality of the author counts for much. We may instance Mr. Leslie Stephen's admirable '*Playground of Europe*,' Mr. Justice Wills's delightful '*Wanderings in the High Alps*,' or the equally charming record by Mr. Hinchliff of '*Summer Months among the Alps*.' In another class we have travel combined with mountaineering; while yet another—of which Professor Bonney's '*The Alpine Regions*' or Professor Tyndall's '*Hours of Exercise in the Alps*' are familiar examples—draws attention to the scientific problems that the mountains suggest, and endeavours to expound them in a simple or even in a popular form. The recent works men-

tioned at the head of this article are good examples that fall readily into the recognised classes.

There exists, it is true, a 'new' school of mountaineers, inclined to question some of the maxims laid down by the pioneers of the craft, and disposed also to regard as antiquated rules which the older mountaineers held it absolutely necessary to observe in order to ensure the maximum degree of safety in a pursuit from which the element of risk cannot be wholly eliminated. The late Mr. Mummery was regarded as the leader of this school. In his 'Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus,' published in 1895, he is said by some to have upset many of the old theories, and to have laid down the doctrines of the new school. Mr. Mummery, however, was perhaps the most accomplished climber who ever joined the ranks of the Alpine Club. He was one of those who by wide experience and long practice was fully justified in pursuing his own line, and being undeniably qualified to make rules was perhaps privileged to break them. Many of his feats were of a very daring and very remarkable nature. In the Alps he achieved successfully climbs which none of the pioneers of mountaineering either could or would have attempted, and no doubt, with his exceptional skill and power, he ran no more risk in his most difficult feats than the earlier mountaineers did in ascending Monte Rosa or traversing the Schwarz Thor. Allowing for the altered conditions and for the accumulated experience, the accounts he gave of his mountain climbs really differ but little from those first given to the public, and only experts could properly appreciate the contrast between his feats and those of the earlier climbers. Mr. Mummery adopted frankly the old literary style, and sought to stimulate his readers, never to instruct them. Authors were, however, seeking how they might vary what even an enthusiast must sometimes feel a monotony of description. The older contributors to Alpine literature wrote because they seemed to have it in them and could not help themselves. The effort to keep up the high pressure was more evident in later works. With the demand for a plentiful supply of Alpine literature arose a class of book, of which previously there had been but few examples, in which it was recognised more definitely that mountaineering might be treated as a form of travel. A definite journey could be undertaken, mountainous districts hitherto little known visited and the glamour of the explorer thrown over the mountaineer. What had hitherto been sport it was perceived might be turned into a business and into a profit-

able business. Mr. Whymper led the way again in his visit to the Great Andes of the Equator, a journey undertaken primarily with scientific objects, of which the principal was to study the effect of diminished pressure on the human frame. The outcome of that journey was a very admirable work, which has never perhaps achieved quite the popularity it deserved, largely, no doubt, owing to the fact that the volumes were published so long after the completion of the expedition. Here was a reversal to the style of Forbes and De Saussure. Mr. Whymper's book was weighted perhaps with too much solid science to be acceptable to the general reader, who in mountain literature seems to prefer that the scientific observations should be relegated to appendices, about which he need not trouble himself. Of a similar character to Mr. Whymper's book, omitting the science, is the description of a visit to the Alps of New Zealand by Mr. E. A. FitzGerald. It labours under the defect—one that the greatest art is required to conceal—that the author seems to have his book in mind from the moment of starting to the very end of his expedition. No work can ever be so free and spontaneous as one in which the traveller has merely kept notes for his own interest during his journey, and which he finds on his return are really worth developing into a volume. To deliberately organise an expedition with the main object of producing some sort of book at the end is to seriously prejudice the success of the work. The artist, the botanist, and the student of natural history may all figure as *dramatis personæ* in the work, but it is impossible to keep out of sight from the beginning to the end one functionary whose name is never mentioned, and that is the publisher.

Mr. FitzGerald has only then partially followed the example of Mr. Whymper in the Andes and Sir Martin Conway in the Karakoram, for his book on New Zealand is essentially a work dealing with the country from the climber's point of view. The book is described as an account of travel and discovery. The extent to which he succeeded in the latter object has been questioned. It is far from our intention to re-open a controversy of no wide importance, and now, by the good sense of all parties, presumably closed. Impartial judges seem to agree that, on the whole, Mr. FitzGerald has vindicated his claim to discovery. One of the most practical results of Mr. FitzGerald's exploration was the crossing of a pass comparable, perhaps, in its nature to the well-known Monte

Moro, over the southern portion of the chain. The route lies between the Hermitage, a refuge by the Hooker river, on the E., and the valley of the Copland river which runs down to the W. coast. It is of small moment to inquire who first noticed the route. In such matters a remark made by Sydney Smith applies forcibly, that credit for originality should be assigned not to the man who first devises something new, but to him who forces the value of the discovery on others.

Of the excellence and variety of the mountaineering accomplished by Mr. FitzGerald there can be little difference of opinion, and no one can gainsay that he discovered many routes up peaks which had either been neglected or discarded as impossible. Measured by an Asiatic or even by a European standard, the heights of the peaks climbed may seem comparatively low.* But it is abundantly clear from the experience of others who have climbed mountains and explored glaciers in New Zealand—for instance, the Rev. W. S. Green, the late Emil Boss, and the members of the New Zealand Alpine Club—that the snow and ice conditions are as unfavourable as might be expected in a country where the range is precipitous and close to the sea. The rock peaks, too, are evidently difficult. Moreover, a climber has to estimate the height of a mountain by the elevation of the part that presents serious climbing difficulty, not by the mere height above the sea-level. Thus Mount Sefton is stated to rise from the valley to fully as great a height as does the Matterhorn from the village of Zermatt, and at a far steeper angle.

Mr. FitzGerald's book suffers from the disadvantage common to most of the recent works dealing with mountains in that it is too large, and as a volume too pretentious in general get-up for the matter which it contains. A book professing to be a monograph or a work of reference may not suffer by being printed on very thick paper and with a ponderous binding; but an account which appeals to the general reader chiefly anxious for spirited and graphic descriptions of mountain adventure ought to be cast in a more readable form. The inclusion of many illustrations in the text may require stout paper in order to do them justice;

* The height of Mount Cook is given in the well-drawn map that accompanies Mr. FitzGerald's book as 12,348 ft. In passing, we regret to learn, on Mr. FitzGerald's authority, that it is wrong to apply the poetical name of Aorangi to this peak.

but in this case the bulk of the illustrations in the text are initial letters, and might well have been spared altogether. The author is a young writer—a fact which is abundantly evident throughout his pages. He does not turn the advantage to full account. It is only here and there that he contrives to impart any of that freshness to his narrative which would amply condone any want of literary experience. Rightly or wrongly, the reader is apt to judge of the contents of a book by his impressions of the exterior, and is prone to resent the disappointment if the perusal does not fulfil his expectation. In this matter the publisher is more to blame than the author, and the fact should not be overlooked that the modern tendency to get up a volume in what is called very handsome style leads to a prejudiced opinion of the contents when they are revealed. A judicious artist does not entrust the setting of his picture to the taste of the frame-maker.

Mr. FitzGerald was very fortunate in one respect. He had with him a guide of the very first rank; one who has certainly never been surpassed in his ability to show the highest qualities of a mountaineer in unfamiliar countries. As a rule Swiss guides when taken to the Andes, the Himalaya, or elsewhere far afield, have, with exceedingly few exceptions, disappointed their employers. Guides judge of the mountains they have to confront too much by the standard that they have acquired at home, and are constantly unable either to correctly estimate the scale they have to deal with or to adapt themselves to unusual surroundings. Mr. FitzGerald was, of course, the official leader of the expedition, but he acknowledges to the full that his success was mainly due to the guide Zurbriggen, who fitly wound up a series of remarkable mountaineering exploits by ascending Mount Cook alone. For the first ascent of mountains like Mount Sefton and Mount Tasman, it is quite plain from the accounts that a guide of Zurbriggen's calibre was really needed; and if the circumstances of the descent from the Silberhorn—a point on the ridge lying just south of Mount Tasman—in a storm in any way resembled the astonishing illustration which forms the frontispiece, even Zurbriggen must have had his powers taxed to the very utmost.

Mr. FitzGerald's book is likely to have a considerable effect on mountain exploration in New Zealand. Some years ago when a small band of our countrymen, resident in New Zealand, decided to form an Alpine Club, it was suggested, we believe, to them that, however limited the funds

at their disposal might be, they would do well to devote the greater part of their resources to engaging a Swiss guide, who might teach them how to attack their mountains. The advice was not followed. The members of the Club displayed extreme energy and perseverance in the exploration of the New Zealand Alps, and in attempting the ascents of some of the most difficult peaks; but, as was to be expected, they did not at first utilise their power to the best advantage. Strength, pluck, and determination count for much; but there is a great deal that must be positively learnt in mountaineering. Mr. FitzGerald does not fail to point this moral in his pages, but the lesson is driven home somewhat harshly and without any particular endeavour to avoid wounding a very natural *amour propre*. Still the lesson had to be learnt, and the outcome will be but good if it leads to the better husbanding of power, to more systematic plans of attack in devising mountain ascents, and to the achievement of better results with diminished risk. There is plenty left for the New Zealand mountaineers to do, and they are not the men to throw up the game merely because they may have lost a few points at the outset.

A few brief notes inserted in the form of appendices on 'Some Rock Specimens,' by Professor Bonney; 'On the Flora,' by Lady E. Fitzmaurice; and 'On Birds and New Zealand Trout,' by Mr. Claud Barrow, are all the items of science that the book contains, and even these seem a little out of place. There are but few notes of any consequence on the physical geography of the country. The general material of the work can be gathered from the index. Only the scantiest references can be found to any information which might be of general value to an explorer, or even to other works dealing with the mountains of New Zealand. There is some unintentional humour in the index. Some of the entries relating to a young native named Clark, who was employed to carry provisions and look after the camp and to do odd jobs generally, are ridiculously trivial. Thus we notice 'Clark (slips) 91, 92, (his carelessness) 93, ' (falls on the ice),' followed by so many references that we cannot enumerate them; or again, later on, 'Zurbriggen (in 'a rage) 10, (catches his foot),' followed by nine references, 'loses his hat,' followed by ten. This is surely the very *reductio ad absurdum* of an index. It is only fair to say that the compilation does very scant justice to the interest and the numerous merits of the volume. Regarded as a series of sketches recording some very interesting, well-

planned, and difficult mountain climbs, the book deserves well of the public; but something more than ability in climbing, or energy and courage in planning mountain exploration, is needed for a volume whose chief defect is that it is too ambitious. Mr. FitzGerald commits the same fault in literature which he ascribes to his New Zealand companions in their mountaineering, that of burdening themselves with too much weight, and without literary experience or literary skill of attempting a higher flight than he is capable of reaching. Yet there is evidence throughout of a true love of mountains and of that enthusiasm which will condone in the eyes of the reader the defects which seem to loom large in the judgement of the reviewer. We may hope that the volume which will doubtless follow the expedition to the Andes, on which the author has been recently engaged, will be conceived in a rather more chastened style, and that added experience will tone down crudities which, after all, are but small defects in a work dealing with travel and adventure where the author is necessarily his own hero.

Very different in conception and widely different in execution is Sir Martin Conway's account of his journey through the 'Alps from End to End.' Starting from the Colle di Tenda in the Maritime Alps, thence by Mont Blanc, the Northern Oberland ridge and its eastward continuations, the party made their way to the eastern extremity of Switzerland, and thence across the Tyrol, the final goal being the Ankogel, some 200 miles from Vienna. Mr. FitzGerald and Zurbriggen were also members of the party. The route lay at a high level throughout. The idea was a thoroughly good one and decidedly novel, being the practical expression pushed to the greatest possible extent of Sir Martin Conway's often expressed views on the undesirability of mountaineering solely from one central spot. The author was fully possessed of the literary skill to weave a connected story out of his journey. Even though no 'new expedition,' as a climber would phrase it, might be accomplished, the journey for purposes of description, having a definite aim and object, was certain to be free from the monotony now inseparable from all Alpine literature which endeavours to treat of the pursuit in the style of the writers of forty years ago. The work of organisation was of course child's play to one who had shown himself fully capable of dealing successfully with the difficulties of planning a journey through wholly unknown and far remote glacier districts,

such as those in the Karakoram. From beginning to end the plan of campaign was thoroughly well arranged, so that the programme was faithfully performed.

We need not follow the details of Sir Martin Conway's journey, which covered, roughly, a thousand miles, accomplished in sixty-five days of actual marching. The book suggests, indirectly, in a very striking manner the minuteness with which the topography of the Alps has been worked out by mountaineers, and the extent to which mountaineering is now practised.

The advantages of a tour such as the author describes are well summed up. He points out with truth that 'a long mountain traverse consisting of a series of ascents and descents conveys a truer idea of any mountain region than can be yielded by a number of climbs radiating from a centre.' The traveller acquires a more correct idea of the scale of any view that may be unfolded, and is able to appreciate better the relation of the ranges to each other, if he has constant opportunities of looking back on the ground he traversed the day before and looking forward to the route for to-morrow. Moreover, as the author justly remarks, the wanderer has the obvious advantage of 'being enabled to observe and compare the qualities of scenery in different parts and of gaining a clear idea of the larger natural features.' All this is true enough. The sentiments are those of the traveller and explorer. The great majority of those who visit the Alps annually have little taste in either direction.

Sir Martin Conway notes, incidentally, the interesting fact, that he was attacked at a height of only 7,000 feet with the symptoms, in a mild form, of mountain sickness. Experience in the Karakoram led him at once to recognise the 'peculiar fatigue and the discomfort if the regularity of breathing were interfered with.' He asserts roundly that the cause of mountain sickness is diminution of the supply of oxygen, adopting, that is, the view that M. Paul Bert insisted on so strongly. Modern researches seem to indicate that this is only part of the truth. The question is too complex to be fully discussed here, but we may note that the author adopts unreservedly the logical conclusion of his opinions. He believes 'that the vigour of every man begins to be diminished at a very moderate height [amount not stated] above sea-level, and diminishes further with every increment of height till a level is reached where even the dullest observer perceives that something

‘is wrong.’ The explanation is summary, if not hasty, while it takes no account of physiological disturbances of the circulatory and nervous systems, of the altered tension of the gases of the body, or of the conditions that combine to induce fatigue.*

For the benefit of those who may be disposed to follow the author’s example in traversing large districts of the Alps a chapter is contributed by the Rev. W. A. B. Coolidge, suggesting various lines for similar journeys. No one could give better advice on such a subject than Mr. Coolidge, whom Sir Martin Conway justly describes as ‘the most ‘learned expert in Alpine topography that has ever lived.’

Of late years there have been few attempts to deal with the scientific aspect of the mountains in a more or less popular manner. Learned and valuable treatises by authorities like Professor Heim,† of Zürich, and Professor Bonney‡ we have had; but these do not and are not intended to satisfy the requirements of those who, taking an intelligent interest in natural phenomena, wish to have these explained in a simple manner in works that are neither primers nor technical monographs. No one recognised the demands of this class more fully than the late Professor Tyndall. His best scientific work in the mountains dealt with the phenomena of the snow and ice world, with the behaviour of glaciers—in short, with the various forms of water, their action and influence on the mountains. Such a subject had the advantage of lending itself readily to demonstration by experiment, and he did not fail to make the most of this feature. His strength lay largely in his power of making science attractive, and he most judiciously adopted a style of writing which, though no mere transliteration of lecture notes, always suggested consciousness of an audience. His works on Alpine subjects give the impression of having been written in the lecture-theatre rather than in the study. It

* Possibly the recent ascent of Aconcagua by members of Mr. FitzGerald’s party may add to our knowledge of mountain sickness. In a report from a member of the expedition communicated to the Daily Press, the height of Aconcagua is given as ‘over 24,000 ft.’ If so, it is the highest peak yet reached by mountaineers. But, as a writer in the ‘Alpine Journal’ (February, 1897) points out, the height assigned to the mountain by Dr. Güssfeldt, and which was determined by trigonometrical measurement, is only 22,869 ft.

† Heim, ‘Untersuchungen über den Mechanismus der Gebirgsbildung.’ Basel, 1878.

‡ Bonney, ‘Ice-work, Past and Present.’ London, 1896.

matters little whether some of his theories are in accordance with the views of the day; whether fracture and regelation, for instance, can account as fully for the phenomena of glacier motion as he is supposed to have maintained; or whether he did not hold an altogether exaggerated estimate of the power of glaciers as digging and scooping-out agents. The graphic vigour of works such as 'The Glaciers of the Alps' and 'Hours of Exercise in the Alps' fully achieved the object with which the former work was written—namely, 'to interest intelligent persons who may not possess any special scientific culture.' Naturally, such writings appealed very directly to mountaineers, who recognised that they might further the developement of their favourite pursuit by the practical application of scientific facts. Tyndall's books were published just at the time when mountaineering, as a pastime, was rapidly increasing in popularity. Accepted at once as standard authorities, they achieved a vogue which had been denied to the not less brilliant, but more academic and subdued, works of authors like Forbes on similar subjects. The views enunciated by Tyndall and the explanations put forward of glacier phenomena were and are still disseminated in quarters where the actual books are unknown. Some twenty years ago lecture societies were being started all over the country. Mountain travel and adventure formed admirable subjects for lectures, and mountaineers displayed no great disinclination to appear on the platform. A mixture of narrative of personal adventure and science formed the staple of these lectures, and in the latter branch the quotations from Tyndall's Alpine writings were frequently so extensive as to suggest wholesale borrowing. It resulted that Tyndall's works became almost text-books of Alpine science. The influence of such lectures, delivered as a rule before highly receptive audiences in large provincial towns, public schools, and the like, was not only largely instrumental in popularising science, but it also created a new reading public for Alpine literature. Tyndall undoubtedly achieved his aim in interesting a large class, primarily attracted by the adventurous aspect of the new pastime, in the scientific questions suggested by the Alps, and in blending, happily, sport and science; for Tyndall was a highly skilled mountaineer. It seems strange, therefore, that no endeavour had been made to follow out the line indicated, by treating the problems of Alpine geology in the same spirit as Tyndall had dealt with the snow and ice world. Sir John Lubbock in 'The Scenery of Switzer-

'land' has endeavoured to fill the gap. Few writers were better qualified to undertake the task. He has just the requisite gifts of a sound knowledge of his subject and a light touch. To the experience of a lecturer practised in presenting to a mixed audience scientific facts in a form at once palatable and easily assimilated he unites the controlling discretion of one who respects science.

It cannot be said that the book fully answers expectation, and the reader has an uncomfortable sense that the author has not given of his best. This arises probably from the fact that the writer seems to have been in two minds—uncertain whether to deal with his subject from the severely scientific or the purely popular point of view. The result is to leave on the reader the impression of science diluted rather than expounded. There is too much technicality for the general reader desirous of understanding the physical conformation of the Alps, and the work is too fragmentary to satisfy the expert. Meanwhile, there is so much that is good in the book, especially the chapters on rivers and lakes, that we may accept it gratefully as an instalment in a field of mountain literature too little cultivated of late. The geological portions of the work amount, essentially, to a summary of the views held by the leading authorities. More of the author's own opinions on vexed questions would have been welcome. The explanation of the physical fact that rivers after running for long distances in the main axis abruptly, in some instances, change their course, and break away into cross valleys at a right angle to their former direction, is plausible. Rejecting, in the main, the view that the change of course is explained by the transverse streams cutting their way back, and thus tapping the valley, Sir John Lubbock suggests that the phenomenon is due to tectonic causes, and that in the process of cooling and contraction of the earth's crust the resulting formation of elevations and depressions took place in two directions at right angles to each other. The amount of folding might be much greater in one direction than the other, but presumably, if we correctly understand the author's view, in places might be equal. At such places the river might naturally bend along the line of depression formed at a right angle. The bending is not, therefore, properly speaking, a change of direction, and implies no sudden deviation from a former line. This view is of importance, for it implies that valleys are not due wholly to erosion, however much they may have been deepened and widened by the

destructive agency of water. The most notable examples of rivers so deviating are those of the Rhine, near Chur, and of the Rhone, at Martigny. In both cases the rivers turn northwards abruptly, after pursuing a straight course along the main diagonal trough of Switzerland, interrupted only by the boss of the Furka and Ober Alp, which forms the water parting interposed between the two river systems.

The Rhone, as is well pointed out, really runs at Martigny into the cross valley formerly occupied by the Dranse, whose bed it has annexed. It might be correct, therefore, on grounds of physical geography to consider that the Rhone ceased at Martigny. But annexation in the case of rivers, as sometimes happens also with nations, is but the prelude to extermination of the former occupier; and the ancient river, the river Dranse, is but a name now to the geographical archæologist.

As might have been expected, the author holds with Tyndall as to the part fracture and regelation plays in the movement of glaciers. At a time when the viscous theory seems again to be gaining adherents, the expression of opinion from so weighty an authority is important. But, after all, the viscous and regelation theories only account for the moulding of the glacier to its trough. The weight of ice acting as a *vis a tergo* is the determining factor of the movement. Such is the opinion of observers of the glaciers like De Saussure, Forbes, Tyndall, and Heim. Professor Heim goes so far as to express his belief that a mass of lead spread out like a glacier would behave in precisely the same way as ice.

Reference to Sir John Lubbock's book would be rendered easier, and the usefulness of the work would be much increased, by an index—an addition that, it is to be hoped, will be made in subsequent editions.

If we have dealt a little harshly with the works considered, and dwelt on their defects more than on their merits, it has been more to illustrate the difficulty of producing a satisfactory book on mountain travel than of merely disparaging the authors. To write a good book of travel is a task that demands really very special qualifications. Yet there is no branch of literature to which people wholly unsuited to write a book at all have contributed so much. The mere expansion of diary notes, supplemented by gleanings from collateral sources of information, and padded out by technical contributions from scientific experts, makes but a patchwork fabric, unfitted to stand the wear and tear of

perusal by any save the desultory reader. Such works may and do find a market, largely because the taste for collecting works on special subjects—of which mountain travel is for the moment a very prominent one—is widespread. A man of moderate means can with little trouble soon collect a very fair Alpine library. An Alpine department is to be found in the bookshelves alike of those who are interested in the pursuit as a sport and those who, affected to some extent by the book collector's craze, like to have a special department which can easily be made to attain respectable dimensions. So the books are supplied, and the actual quality is not too rigidly investigated. Few writers on travel possess the nice discrimination, sense of proportion and variety of literary method needful for conspicuous success. Thus, it comes about that their pages are flooded with a superabundance of detail. The petty discomforts and insignificant hardships incidental to travel which may serve as topics of conversation over the camp fire are not worth reproduction. The efficiency of the commissariat department, the incompetence of the native engaged to indicate a local track or carry a load, the excellence of the long deferred meal, all seem matters of profound importance at the time to the mountaineer; but they have no interest to the reader, and, indeed, would have none to the writer did he not perceive an opportunity of lightening his narrative by dilating, often at considerable length, on such topics. Too often the writer fills a great part of his book with incidents of the domestic life of the party, forgetful, apparently, of the country he is in. The personality of the author and his companions should everywhere make itself felt, or the thread of what should be a continuous narrative is lost, and the style becomes merely that of the guide-book, valuable to refer to, impossible to read. But the reader wants to know the effect produced by travel on the traveller's mind, not on his body. Far too many writers on travel—and conspicuously on mountain adventure and exploration—are prone to ignore altogether the class whom they should most study to keep in mind: those who are likely to follow their footsteps. Their works are more egoistic than they imagine. Again, descriptions of mountain climbs necessarily resemble one another, a drawback which is intensified when the expeditions of a party engaged in exploration of a new district form the subject of record. The same *dramatis personæ* step on to the stage with too uniform regularity, and the accessory characters appear too

constantly to be of the same type. Now, to avoid monotony and to impress the reader with a sense of constantly varying effects, such as are inevitably unfolded to the observant person in the mountains, requires literary skill of no mean order. Local colour has to be suggested by very unobtrusive touches. The writer must always be in sympathy with his environment; as keen to appreciate the snow mountain that closes in and gives the distinctive character to the landscape as viewed from the valley, as to admire the valley, with its suggestion of human interest, viewed through the soft distant haze from the mountain-top. He must be able to admire scenery from the point of view of the painter, the sculptor, and the physicist alike. Colour, gradation, form, modelling, should alike appeal to him. Then no valley walk can be merely a weary trudge, and the mountain will be something better than an exercise ground for the display of gymnastic skill. Meanwhile, his intelligence must ever be on the alert to note nature in its relation to man.

Difficult as it may seem to fulfil such exacting conditions, it seems to us that Mr. Douglas Freshfield has fully satisfied them in his fine work on the exploration of the Caucasus. No better book of travel has appeared for many years, and the volumes take at once a foremost, if not the first, place in records of mountain travel. No one was so well qualified to deal with the subject, for probably no one living has so intimate a knowledge of the mountain range that traverses the Caucasian provinces from the Black Sea to the Caspian. This is the Caucasus of the physical geographer. It is in this restricted sense that Mr. Freshfield deals with the exploration of the country; in the political sense, as he points out, the name covers all the Caucasian provinces lying roughly between Lat. 40° and 45° . Much has been written about the political Caucasus, and the country has been for long well mapped. But of the mountain chain, prior to the author's first journey in 1868,* very little indeed was known, and many of the statements made by accepted authorities were wildly inaccurate. For instance, in the 'Dictionary of Geography' (1860) it was remarked that 'the existence of glaciers is uncertain;' according to the new survey of the Russian Government the glacier area is over 600 square miles. The journey in 1868 undertaken with three skilled mountaineers as companions led first to

* The Central Caucasus and Bashan, by D. W. Freshfield. London, 1869. See also 'Edinburgh Review' for October, 1869.

the dissipation of such errors. The main mountaineering results were the first ascents of Elbruz and Kasbek and the crossing of the main chain by a formidable glacier pass at the eastern extremity of the central group. From the mountaineer's point of view Mr. Freshfield undoubtedly was the 'discoverer' of the Caucasus. But he is justly entitled to far more credit than attaches to one who has merely indicated a new playground. Previously to 1868 'nothing had been certainly or accurately ascertained as to the structure or characteristics of the central range, the extent of its snows, the height of its peaks, the character of its passes, the relation of its groups, or the peculiarities of their scenery.' Here was work that only travellers who were skilled mountaineers as well could successfully accomplish, and the task was rendered harder in that the region had not been simply ignored, but, worse still, had been inaccurately described by writers and cartographers alike.

Throughout his pages Mr. Freshfield claims that the travels of English climbers have been the principal means of promoting a better knowledge of the chain. This is the keynote of his pages. With the results of his own journeys and those who followed him, animated by the same spirit of exploration, before us we may readily agree with him that 'it is, or ought to be, obvious that a chain cannot be fully or scientifically described until its essential features above as well as below the snow-line have been discovered and examined.' The work is that of a man who is a traveller with a keen geographical instinct, but who never fails to reveal the spirit of the mountaineer; who can enjoy climbing and difficult exploration above the snow-line for its own sake, but is ever ready to gather to the full all the information that such special travel affords; and who seeks 'to promote genuine research by emphasising the necessary connexion between mountaineering and the physical investigation of great ranges.' This higher view of the possibilities of mountaineering is nowhere permitted to detract from the readable character of the book. The language and style of the work place it distinctly above any book on mountaineering published of late years, and we must go back to Mr. Leslie Stephen's 'Playground of Europe' to find its literary parallel.

Necessarily, political questions are excluded from a book of mountain exploration, and Caucasian travellers have judiciously refrained from expressing any opinions on

subjects which, while they must have been brought under their notice, lay without the scope of their main objective. But at a time when men's eyes are much directed to Eastern Europe, and when the future of Asia Minor occupies the attention of thoughtful people all over the world, this solid contribution to the physical geography of the Caucasus acquires an added interest, and may stimulate many to study a little more closely this strange country. After the Crimean war the boundary line between Europe and Asia was fixed along the watershed of the Caucasus range. Politically, if not geographically, the line has since then extended a good deal further south. About the centre of the chain a military road crosses the main chain by the Darial Pass. A second road lying not far west of the Darial traverses the chain by the Ardon Gorge. Nominally, it is possible to drive from Kutais to Vladikafkaz, but, as a matter of fact, the road is liable to constant damage, and long stretches are frequently broken up and the bridges washed away even in summer seasons when there has been no excessive rainfall. The organisation for the up-keep of this alternative road does not seem very satisfactory. To the west of these roads stretches out the long and lofty chain traversable only here and there by snow passes. Over some of these, under favourable conditions, animals can be forced, but even a Hannibal or Napoleon would hesitate to regard these routes as of possible military importance. On the east coast of the Black Sea a railway line has for long been in contemplation which would join up Batum with Novorossisk and thus place European Russia in direct railway communication with Tiflis on the south of the Caucasus. Quite lately the Odessa correspondent of the 'Times' wrote that a line joining Tiflis and Kars was either about to be commenced or just commencing. Russian railway schemes are apt to remain for a considerable time in this nascent state, but there can be little doubt that before long these projects will actually be realised. Command of the sea will afford adequate protection to the coast line along the Black Sea, and such a line, it is obvious to the merest amateur, must possess the highest strategical importance. Fully as important from the same point of view as increased facilities of communication is the gradual peaceful subjugation of the Caucasian mountain tribes. Thirty years ago when Mr. Freshfield and his party first visited some of the villages on the south side the lawlessness of the natives had to be reckoned with, and on one or two occasions cool-

ness and tact were needed on the part of the explorers to extricate themselves from uncomfortable surroundings. Now the traveller may go where he pleases unarmed, alone if he likes, in perfect safety, and has only himself to blame if he meets with any unpleasantness. Intercourse with the villagers is now, too, a much easier matter than it was when mountaineers first visited the Caucasus. In most places men can be found who have served in the Russian army, and who have materially widened their perceptions and improved their condition by so doing. The traveller of to-day reaps the advantage by finding with ease natives who can speak Russian, and who are ready to display a more active and intelligent sympathy with his objects. Travel is not so cheap, but it is more simple. All these points are fully brought out in Mr. Freshfield's work, and are none the less striking because they are not insisted on—indeed, are only unconsciously set forth. The contrast between the conditions of travel described in Mr. Freshfield's first book and his second is very remarkable; and if, as he contends, some of this improvement is due to English mountaineers, they have achieved a work of which all Alpine men may be proud.

Mountain explorers in the Caucasus have, fortunately, never forgotten what is too often lost sight of by frequenters of the Alps—namely, that they are really the guests of the people in whose country they are journeying. It is safe to say, and it is pleasant to think, that our countrymen have met with uniform courtesy and often with the most cordial aid from the Russian officials, and they may count now on a friendly welcome from the natives on the north as well as on the south side.

At the risk of appearing unduly lavish of praise, we may draw attention to the obvious pains the author has taken to give us of his best. This is no work in which the author has, as in so many books of travel, trusted orthography to a type-writer and punctuation to a compositor. Nor is it written in the too prevalent style of the journalist, which, however adapted to the requirements of the daily or weekly press, always seems jejune and superficial when served up in book form.

The map that accompanies the volumes is an excellent piece of work, and furnishes the most complete and reliable guide to the topography of the chain. The value of this compilation, founded on the hitherto published sheets of the new 1-verst survey, on the author's own observations,

on the photographs (few have utilised photographs as aids to map-making more successfully than Mr. Freshfield) of M. de Déchy, Signor Sella, Mr. Donkin, and others, can best be appreciated by those who have endeavoured to work under the guidance of the old 5-verst survey. In making the 5-verst map the Russian surveyors did not, unhappily, pursue the judicious course of leaving blank the regions which at the time may have seemed of no practical importance. They did not reckon with mountain explorers, and filled in in a sketchy and inaccurate manner the details of the high mountain districts. Their delineation of the glacier regions was a sore puzzle to the traveller, and led writers of such eminence as Réclus and Heim into serious error. Unfortunately, the errors for which the 5-verst map was responsible on certain points are hard to eradicate, having been copied from one to another. It is to be hoped that Mr. Freshfield's map and Signor Sella's photographs together will lead at last to a better understanding of the physical geography of the chain.

Full justice is done to the work of those who, like Dr. Radde, the Director of the Museum at Tiflis; M. Ernest Favre, the geologist; M. Jukoff and M. Bogdanoff, the Russian survey officers, who have been chiefly responsible for the new delineation of the Central Group; M. Levier, whose work on the flora is of high merit; and others who have contributed materially to our recent knowledge of the Caucasus.

The actual mountain exploration of the chain which forms the main subject of the volumes is, it should be remembered, very recent. Six years elapsed after Mr. Freshfield's first journey before an English mountaineering party again visited the country.* They ascended the western cone of Elbruz, some 120 feet higher than the eastern summit, crossed a glacier pass to the head of the Rion, and in particular drew attention to the magnificence of the Central Group. It is in this district that the most conspicuous successes were afterwards achieved. The first of the peaks of this group—Gestola—fell in 1886, and then in rapid succession the other giants were scaled. Prominent among the climbers and explorers of the central group was the late Mr. A. F. Mummery, whose remarkable feat of ascending Dykhtau by the rocks of the southern cliff has been described elsewhere,† Messrs. Hermann Woolley, J. G.

* See 'The Frosty Caucasus,' by F. Craufurd Grove.

† 'My Climbs in the Alps and Caucasus.' A. F. Mummery.

Cockin, and H. W. Holder, who severally contribute chapters to the second volume. Dykhtau for the present ranks as the highest point of the group, but Mr. Freshfield hints that the neighbouring snow peak of Shkara is not unlikely to be reinstated as the result of further survey. There is little difference between the heights of the two. It will thus be seen that there is no lack of matter of high mountaineering interest, which, in the case of Mr. Cockin's ascent of the northern peak of Ushba—the 'double Matter-horn' of the Caucasus, and surely one of the most striking mountain forms in the world—almost verges on the sensational.

In the accounts Mr. Freshfield gives of his own climbs and passes, the purely mountaineering element is judiciously not made too conspicuous. The inevitable note of warning as to the risk attendant on all mountaineering, if practised recklessly and without due observance of the recognised rules, is sounded here and there; but the author rather assumes that the new playground will not attract the novice, and for such only is the reiteration of the counsel, so constantly given and so commonly disregarded, held necessary. Perhaps, prompted by a desire to see the work of exploration which has already progressed so far still more completely carried out, the author makes somewhat unduly light of difficulties overcome. It is evident, for instance, that the first traverse of the Salynan Pass leading from the Bezingi to the Shaour-tu Glacier and thence to Chegem was a rather risky expedition, owing to falling stones. The pass itself was of little value, and was merely undertaken to ascertain the topography of the Shaour-tu Glacier, which at the time had not attracted the attention of the surveyors. The mountaineers crossed at a high level the ridge intervening between two lateral valleys. A horse track which crosses the spur at a lower level would have led them more quickly to their destination. The expedition was, therefore, one at which the mountaineering purist might cavil, but it is quite evident from the account that, though considerable risk was run, it was not of a nature that could have been readily foreseen. Such difficulties are often inseparable from new expeditions in any mountain regions. The adventure serves to point the advice given by that admirable mountaineer the late Mr. A. W. Moore, and which Mr. Freshfield quotes with approval, of not attempting a new pass until you know what the other side is like. Enough has been said to show that for those who enjoy

stirring stories of mountain-adventure there is abundance of good reading in the volumes. The descriptions of the mountain-expeditions are not less attractive because they are written in a spirit more common in the earlier than in the later books. The reader is, as it were, invited to join the party, to share their hopes and fears, to participate in the true enjoyment that the genuine mountain-lover feels in every step of a long expedition, and not merely to witness the performance of others on a stage to which he is debarred from access, and where his chief function is to applaud on the fall of the curtain.

We can only afford space to quote briefly some examples of the skill with which Mr. Freshfield indicates the local colour, and thus indicates the strongly marked characteristics of the scenery in different parts of the chain. Of the general features of the view from the summits of one of the higher peaks an excellent picture is sketched:—

‘The heaven overhead is of a deep gentian blue; the neighbouring snows are dazzlingly white; as the range recedes the peaks shine golden, until on the horizon the farthest crests and the thin streaks of cloud take a rich amber tint, shading off into faint sunrise pinks. A luminous opalescent, transparent haze spreads over the lowlands, softening, but hardly obscuring their features. About our solitary pinnacle all is still and silent, save for the lapping of the little waves of warm air that rise up to us from the valleys. . . . There is a vigour, an extravagance, one might say, in the mountain structure [of the Central Group] that may recall the Alps of Dauphiné.’

Or, again, in the description of a brief halt on a height above Karaul, facing directly the valley down which the great Dykhsu ice-stream sweeps in majestic curves that irresistibly suggest at once the deliberate movement and power of a glacier:—

‘The river flashed into life from the icy cave at our feet. Wherever we looked our retreat was fenced off from the world by snowy walls and towers of primeval rock. The delicately iced air was fragrant with the scent of the fading blossoms of the highest azaleas, the lights and shadows played softly on the faces of the great peaks as the afternoon vapours from Suanetia streamed up across the cliffs of Shkara.’

At the risk of appearing unduly to pile up excerpts, we cannot refrain from quoting a characteristic passage which shows the author well in his triple rôle of lover of scenery, geographer, and practical mountaineer. A mountain ramble above Ushkul in Suanetia led him

‘to a lovely meadow, the nearest to the snows of an army of green hills, unbroken by copse or wood, except here and there by a slender

birch or a tangle of the cream rhododendron. The surface was one sea of flowers, pink and white daisies, gentians, forget-me-nots, and waving grasses.'

Here two stone-men were found.

'Could they be the work of the Russian surveyors? Hardly, for at that time the new map was only in contemplation in this district, and it would be an insult to the maker of the 5-verst map to suppose that if he had really visited the ground he would have misrepresented it as he has. . . . The view is unsurpassable of its kind. The source of the Ingur lies below; the spectator stands on a level with the snow-basin out of which rise the great rock-walls and buttresses that support the five peaks of Shkara. They carry snow and ice to an extent hardly ever seen in the Alps. This richness of frozen hangings is a joy to the traveller, but a terror to the climber. To the right stretches the long and formidable crest, reached from this side by an Alpine party in 1893, and in 1895 from the Dykhsu basin, which extends to Nuamquam.'

The most dramatic chapter in the book deals with the search made in 1889 to ascertain the fate of Messrs. Donkin and Fox, who, with two Swiss guides, were lost on Koshtantau (then called Dykhtau) in the previous year. The story forms rather painful reading, but it was perhaps worth reproducing, and the narrative could certainly not have been told in a more simple manner or in better taste. The disaster aroused widespread interest at the time, and many who possibly credited the first wild rumours may not have seen the formal accounts of the search read before the Alpine Club and the Royal Geographical Society, and published in their organs.* When it first became known in September 1888 that the travellers had mysteriously disappeared, conjectures not unnaturally took the form of suspecting foul play. Unfortunately, these views were more or less adopted by Russian officials. The result was that a burden of suspicion was cast on the natives. The search expedition had therefore the twofold object of ascertaining the exact fate of the lost mountaineers and of exonerating the natives. These objects were very fully attained. The evidence of the nature of the disaster though—happily—only circumstantial, was very clear, and to the mind of anyone acquainted with mountains and mountain travelling absolutely convincing. It is satisfactory to learn that the mountain dwellers in the district fully appreciated the motives that had prompted the search, and recognised the service that had

* Alpine Journal, February 1890.

been done to them in removing a most undeserved reproach from their name.

Mountaineers who read the account will not fail to be impressed with a lesson which still needs to be driven home—namely, the value of making a preliminary reconnaissance from the height of a peak it is proposed to attack and the danger of omitting any such survey. Had the lost party, composed as it was of highly skilled and careful mountaineers, had an opportunity of seeing their peak from a suitable point of view, they would almost certainly have adopted the line of ascent afterwards successfully taken by Mr. Woolley: and had not the search-party been in possession of the information gained by Mr. Freshfield from a height above Karaul a day or two before the bivouac was actually found, they could scarcely have climbed straight, at the first attempt, to the point they wished to reach. Seldom has mountaineering experience been used to better purpose, and it is noteworthy that in this instance the plan of operations was in no degree the work of the Swiss guides who accompanied the party. We have left ourselves no space to speak of M. de Déchy's contribution on the Sources of the Kuban, or of Mr. Freshfield's remarkable journey through the forests of Abkhasia from Suanetia to Sukhum Kaleh on the Black Sea. The latter expedition made no demands on the mountaineering skill of the travelers, but led them through a practically new line of country. The journey was boldly planned, and carried out with much determination. The chapter contains also some useful hints to climbers in the Caucasus generally. Whether Mr. Freshfield's book will stimulate climbers to carry on the work of exploring the mountain chain remains to be seen. The volumes do not profess to be a complete monograph. They aim only at summarising the information hitherto amassed, dwelling especially on the part that mountain-climbers have taken in the exploration of the region. The number of these from first to last does not exceed thirty. There is plenty left to be done by a new generation of Caucasian explorers. With the exception, perhaps, of the Central Group, no part of the chain has been worked out with anything approaching to the minuteness familiar to those who take their pleasure in Switzerland, Dauphiné, the Dolomites, or the Tyrol. To those accustomed to the Mid-European Alps it may seem a far cry to the Caucasus. No one who visits the country is likely to grudge the time necessary to reach it. The reward will be ample. North or south, east or west, the climbing-

traveller will find beauties of scenery, to the best of which mountaineering experience forms a ready pass. Mr. Freshfield paints the attractions at times in glowing colours, but none who have seen the country will deny that the pictures are as faithful as they are graphic. The exhortations will, we hope, not fall on barren soil. The work so well begun, and so ably carried out as far as it has gone, must not languish. Let the peak-climber reflect that there are between fifty and sixty heights in the chain over 14,000 ft., that no one of them probably is inaccessible to modern mountaineers, and that a comparatively small proportion has hitherto been ascended; while passes—accepting the present-day acceptance of that term—innumerable remain to be made. It remains only to be shown that the superior skill of the mountaineers of to-day has not ousted the grit and enterprise of the forefathers of the craft.

Modern Alpine books are all profusely illustrated—to an extent, indeed, which almost suggests a desire to thrust the text into the background. Contrasted with the illustrations that appeared in the early volumes of Alpine literature, there is of course a very marked improvement shown in depicting realities. In works like those of Scheuchzer,* dedicated ‘*perillustri Societati Regiæ Anglicæ*,’ at a time when Sir Isaac Newton was President, many of the drawings are simply grotesque. The time has gone by for a book illustration purporting to represent the Val de Sennes and the Martinsloch to depict a series of jagged pinnacles of imaginary form, most of which are crowned with the conventional chamois or steinbock. But such pictorial oddities should not blind us to the merits of an author like Scheuchzer, who was not only a pioneer but an able and faithful recorder according to his lights of what he observed. In De Saussure’s volumes† illustrations scarcely less like the reality are to be found. Witness, for instance, the large engraving in the second volume of De Saussure showing the profile of Mont Blanc as seen from the Val de Ferret, or the view of the Brenva Glacier in the same volume founded on a drawing by M. Jallabert. Likely enough, however, these drawings executed in the conventional style of the day satisfied the authors as fairly correct representations. Yet such engravings contrast

* ‘*Οὐρεσιφοίτης Helveticus, sive Itinera per Helvetiæ Alpinas regiones.*’ J. J. Scheuchzer, 1723.

† ‘*Voyages dans les Alpes.*’ H. B. de Saussure, 1779.

strangely with a drawing so admirably faithful as that of the 'Plan des Aiguilles' seen from the north side of the valley of Chamonix in the same volume. It is certain that a man of science like De Saussure would have avoided anything like sensationalism; and, indeed, the pictures are much more than curious, and to modern eyes grotesque. The mountains exercised a fascination over these pioneers which is not likely ever to be felt again. The traveller who first scales Mount Everest will not experience quite the same thrill as Jacques Balmat when he first reached the summit of Mont Blanc. So the illustrations ought rather to be looked upon as some sort of a guide to the impression that the leaders in mountain climbing experienced.

In the early part of this century most of the volumes of mountain literature published dealt with special ascents of Mont Blanc. Here a personal element began to come in, and the illustrations, generally from the authors' drawings, were mere burlesques.* Perhaps the climax of absurdity was reached in the illustrations which did duty in Albert Smith's narrative of his ascent. These, however, were merely designed to attract the public, and probably no one was more aware than the lively author of the utter absurdity and unreality of his diagrams. In the first volume of 'Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers,' published at the time when mountaineering was beginning to develop apace, an endeavour was made to illustrate the pages by something better than mere fanciful sketches. Chromo-lithography was largely employed, and photography began to be called in to assist. Where the artist alone had to be depended on the results still were rather curious—e.g. the coloured drawing of the upper part of the Schwarze Glacier, illustrating a paper of Mr. John Ball's on Zermatt in 1845. It is curious that so able a geologist, and one possessed of such intimate knowledge of the snow and ice world, should have been satisfied with such a drawing.

A great improvement in illustrations began with the second volume of 'Peaks and Passes,' for it was then that Mr. Whymper's work first made its appearance. Nearly all the drawings were engraved under his personal superintendence, and some reach a point of excellence which is

* Witness, for instance, the 'Narrative of an Ascent to the Summit of Mont Blanc,' by John Auldjo, 1828, or 'Der Mont Blanc, Darstellung der Besteigung desselben am 31. Juli u. 2. August 1859.' Geneva, 1864,

surpassed only by Mr. Whympers himself in his 'Scrambles amongst the Alps' and has really never been attained since. It is questionable whether any book has ever been better illustrated than the volume alluded to. The combination of qualities that the writer possessed of a skilled mountaineer with a real knowledge of the mountains and an admirable artist and superlative wood-engraver is not one likely to be often met with, and in addition he was illustrating his own writings. Illustrations to the more recent work by the same author on 'The Great Andes of the Equator,' though they do not reach quite the same level as in his former work, are still far in advance of anything that has been accomplished in mountain literature. Wood-engraving, however, seems destined to die, and the over-production of illustrations now held to be necessary by the publishers is likely to be fatal to its revival in mountain literature. A new class of artist came to the fore skilled in black-and-white work and willing to draw for the workers in process blocks, though this method seldom, if ever, succeeded in doing the artist even the scantiest justice. Photography was more and more called upon, ostensibly to aid, but really to undermine and ruin the work of the book illustrator. It is lamentable to find that in a modern book, well got up from the publishers' point of view, the photographer is allowed to take the first place and the artist as a rule to frankly take the second. In Mr. FitzGerald's and Sir Martin Conway's books black-and-white drawings appear which are nothing more than replicas of photographs. It is difficult indeed to see what is gained by employing accomplished black-and-white artists to copy and do nothing more than copy, as far as the brush can do it, an ordinary photograph; and it appears a little degrading to Art. It may be legitimate we suppose, though we make the admission with reluctance, to found drawings on photographs and, to ensure accuracy of detail, it may even be necessary under the exigencies of mountain travel to refer to the productions of the camera. But even a bad photograph will form a better illustration than drawings in which the artist has allowed his personality to be wholly eliminated and has permitted himself to be merely an intermediary between the photographer and the process-block maker. In this modern style of book illustration foreign publications show, as might be expected, a distinct superiority over works issued in this country. The reproductions are of a higher class and the artists consequently have found more inducement to take trouble in their work. Some of the best illustrations

of recent Alpine works published abroad, it is satisfactory to know, have been the work of an English artist, Mr. E. T. Compton. Many of the drawings furnished by him to the late Dr. Zsigmondy's book* are very admirable, and it must be admitted that, in respect of getting atmosphere and the sense of space into the landscapes, they are at times an improvement on even the best of the wood-engravings.

But in many of these drawings the same baneful influence of photography makes itself felt, and the artist too often contents himself with employing conventional means to heighten the effect he wishes to produce; such, for instance, as the introduction of fanciful foregrounds into well-known scenes. So difficult is it now to escape from the tyranny of the process-block maker and to obtain illustrations which do not suggest that Art is subordinated to photography, that Mr. Freshfield boldly took a new departure in his work on the Caucasus and sought the aid of the photographer alone as his illustrator. He argues that 'if the work is a book of travel and if its aim is to present an adequate and accurate picture of a new country, there can be but little doubt that the photographer supplies the better material. The sun records with precision far more facts than any artist can, and its rays have no personal idiosyncrasies.' Mr. Freshfield hints that 'to pages so prosaic as his' photographic illustrations form the best pictorial accompaniment. To this few who have read the book will accede. The aim and object was to reveal as far as possible by writing and illustration the mountainous district of a country which is little known. Signor Sella is admittedly the most successful of all Alpine photographers. But more than this, he has travelled widely and climbed much and has the mountain feeling as strongly as Mr. Freshfield himself. Author and illustrator were never more happily associated, and undoubtedly, from the geographical point of view, the value of having illustrations of which the actuality and accuracy cannot be questioned is very great.

* Im Hochgebirge. Dr. Emil Zsigmondy. Leipzig, 1889.

ART. III.—1. *Autobiography of Sir George Biddell Airy, K.C.B.* Edited by WILFRED AIRY, B.A. Cambridge: 1896.

2. *The Scientific Papers of John Couch Adams, F.R.S.* Vol. I. Edited by WILLIAM GRYLLS ADAMS, F.R.S. With a Memoir by J. W. L. GLAISHER, F.R.S. Cambridge: 1896.

WITHIN nineteen days of each other, in January, 1892, the two greatest English mathematical astronomers except Newton passed off the sublunary stage. Sprung from the same vigorous yeoman class, they started along the same line of brilliant academical distinction; yet their eventual careers were as different as their characters. Adams moved on the higher plane of thought and feeling; his life was a tissue of magnanimities. But they were of the silent and unobtrusive kind which make no scenic display; and he meditated and calculated in a retirement from the notice of the crowd as complete as if he dwelt with Arthur in the Vale of Avalon. Airy, on the contrary, stood out before the world as a stirring official—an official stern and unbending in discipline, rigid in duty, heedless of amenities. He showed to the public, so to speak, nothing but rocky foreground; the verdant nooks in his composition were not insisted upon in the picture which he presented. With Adams he came into contact but once, and then disastrously for the younger aspirant. The incident is now more than half a century old. It is, however, one which ‘time cannot stale;’ and it has been brought into renewed prominence, no less by the celebration, last year, of the ‘Neptune Jubilee,’ than by the almost simultaneous publication of the two works named at the head of this article.

Unfortunately, neither of them is, from a biographical point of view, wholly satisfactory. Dr. Glaisher’s ‘Memoir’ is excellent for its purpose, which is that of supplying a prefatory notice to Adams’s works. It is, accordingly, concerned rather with the mathematician than with the man, although we often find the man in the mathematician. In the ‘Autobiography of Sir George Airy,’ however, a volume of four hundred pages is expressly devoted to the delineation of a single personality, and a strong conception of that personality can undoubtedly be gathered from it by laboriously disengaging the vital features from the mass of *débris*

in which they are embedded. The record that Airy chose to leave behind was one of facts, not of emotions or impressions. The elaboration of a method for classifying documents, a change in the form of the Observatory estimates, the rating of a clock, the dropping of a time-ball, bulk as large in his annual jottings as investigations of lasting importance. The entries on all subjects are, with the rarest exceptions, equally cool and curt. In the presentation of his life's work there is a total absence of the artistic sense of proportion. Yet, to be commonly intelligible, every biography, whatever form it may take, must be in a measure artistic. Selection and sympathy must have been exercised in its construction. A catalogue of heterogeneous items leaves the mind a blank. It provokes the criticism passed upon Johnson's Dictionary by a Scotch idiot, who, after reading it attentively from cover to cover, declared it to be 'a varra 'disconnected wark.'

Not that this sagacious verdict applies without qualification to the present volume. For the hero of it imparts, although in the hard and nipping style which he affected, or which alone was at his command, a reasonably full and coherent account of his early life. In reading it we are continually struck with the courage, self-reliance, and industry employed to array for successive victories his irresistible mental forces, and thus secure, with room for their continued exercise, a settled position in the world. By degrees, however, the autobiographical stratum thins out, and gives place to a compact documentary formation. Extracts from the Annual Reports to the Visitors of the Royal Observatory fill page after page, scantily diversified with the dates of customary excursions. Readers have, in short, to make their way as best they can through nearly fifty years of *Fasti Grenovicenses*. We cannot but regret that the editor, Mr. Wilfred Airy, did not trust more to his own literary resources. He can write agreeably and to the point. His 'Personal Sketch' of his father shows a considerable faculty of appreciation. His account of the last, 'superfluous' decade is touched with a sympathetic sense of the pathos that surrounds old age. But his modesty has forbidden him to speak except where silence was impossible. Ample materials were in his hands for a narrative, comprehensive yet succinct, of Airy's life, personal and official. They were not, however, of the kind to be printed *literatim*. Their true meaning needed to be drawn out and underlined. The regulation-drone, in which the

members of the Board were now informed of the erection of a pigeon-house for chronometers, now of the crash of a counterpoise, or the foundation of a shed—again, of the creation of a new department, or the inception of an irrevocable change—should not have been allowed to reach the ear of the general public. It is true that these arid statements are not wholly devoid of animated passages, in which their author displays innate vigour and sound judgement; but they are barely discoverable in the uninviting context of business details. Thus, the essential peculiarity of Airy's career—the manner in which unswerving fidelity to tradition was combined in it with obedience to novel tendencies—has failed to obtain its due prominence.

George Biddell Airy came of a long line of Lincolnshire farmers; but his father, William Airy, cut the agricultural connexion, and entered the Excise. He married Anne Biddell, daughter of a Suffolk farmer, and was appointed, in succession, to Collections in various parts of England. So it came about that his eldest son was born at Alnwick, June 27, 1801. The boy was of a steady, serious turn, subject to no aberrations through exuberance of animal spirits; and while content to remain 'nowhere' in the playground, came well to the front in the class-room at Colchester, where his formal education was begun. His talent for constructing peashooters and other detrimental appliances doubtless won for him the esteem of his youthful associates, although his continual application alienated their attachment; for his impeccability in spelling, arithmetic, and geography spoiled the market, as it were, for produce of inferior quality. He imbibed knowledge everywhere, and through every conduit that he could tap. At home, he found in an old cyclopædia a mine of information; in the intervals of his lessons he picked up snatches of old songs and ballads, learned by heart a surprising quantity of standard English poetry, and forgot nothing.

His first friend was his uncle, Arthur Biddell, a kindly and able man, prospering in business connected with land at Playford, near Colchester. 'I cannot express how much 'I owed to him,' Airy wrote on his death in 1860. His influence was decisive over the destiny of his nephew, who managed, in and out of vacation times, to spend half the year at Playford. His education progressed there rapidly. He devoured the books in Biddell's library, studied mathematics with a private tutor whom he quickly outstripped,

and got trained into a respectable classical scholar at the Colchester Grammar School.

‘I distinguished myself,’ Airy wrote afterwards, ‘particularly by my memory. It was the custom for each boy once a week to repeat a number of lines of Latin or Greek poetry, the number depending very much on his own choice. I determined on repeating one hundred every week, and I never once fell below that number, and was sometimes much above it. It was no distress to me, and great enjoyment. At Michaelmas 1814, I repeated 2,394 lines, probably without missing a word.’

From a celestial globe bought for him in London by his father, he gained acquaintance with ‘the birth-stars of his ‘astronomical knowledge.’ He made paper models of geometrical solids, of batteries, and entrenchments; learned accurately the properties of lenses—‘one of the most ‘charming attainments that I ever reached;’ and once enjoyed ‘the extreme felicity’ of examining the interior parts of a sliding-valve steam-engine opened for cleaning.

Thomas Clarkson, the abolitionist, came to reside at Playford Hall about 1814. He had business relations with Arthur Biddell, and was struck with the uncommon abilities of young Airy. He had him examined, and by his strong advice he was sent to Cambridge, and entered as a sizar at Trinity College in October 1819. His reputation had preceded him; Peacock, Sedgwick, and Musgrave (the future Archbishop of York) patronised him, and ‘I was soon ‘known by sight,’ he tells us, ‘to almost everybody in the ‘University.’ His college career exemplifies remarkably the granite firmness of his mind. He had his way to make, and was in dogged earnest about making it. At the end of his third term he attained the primary object of his ambition—pecuniary independence. No obstacles were allowed to stand in his way. He lost nothing by omitting to ask for it, and his requests, being recommended by blameless conduct and rare talents, were usually granted. If not, he waited, nowise discomfited, and asked again. To himself he was a rigid law. He ate and slept, he read, walked, and lounged, according to the measure meted out by his own cast-iron resolve. Nothing was left to impulse or irrational caprice. He was as methodical before he was twenty as after he was forty, when he devoted an afternoon to labelling empty barrels at the Royal Observatory. And whatever he did, he did *carefully*—a word of perpetual recurrence in his journal. He counted no precaution insignificant where success was at stake. About the result

of his first trial of strength in the classes, he allows that he was 'anxious, but only in such a degree as to make my 'conduct perfectly steady, and to prevent me from making 'any extraordinary exertion.' He headed the list, although mathematics held a subordinate place in the examination, and Field, Romilly, Drinkwater, Bethune, Tate, and Strutt were among the competitors.

Nothing now stood in Airy's way. He was the giant of what was called an 'impudent year.' As a foregone conclusion, he came out, in January 1823, Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman, the brilliancy of his answering becoming a long-lived undergraduate tradition. He had taken a scholarship in 1822, and was elected a Fellow of his college on the same day with Macaulay, October 1, 1824. A trip to Scotland with his only sister in May 1823 'opened a completely new world to' him. He had never before crossed a country divided by stone walls into fields; he had never seen rocks *in situ*, clouds clinging to hill-sides, or snow capping the summits of mountains. Above all an excursion in a steamboat on the Clyde afforded him his first experience of modern modes of travel.

A walking tour in Derbyshire in 1824 was otherwise memorable. He had an introduction to the Rev. Richard Smith, ex-Fellow of Trinity College, Rector of Edensor, and father of seven daughters, the eldest of whom was commonly said to have been pronounced by the Duke of Devonshire 'the most beautiful girl he had ever seen.' 'Good wine needs no bush;' yet a ducal encomium must be allowed to count for something, and, whether prepossessed by it or not, Airy fell in love, and, with characteristic promptitude and decision, offered himself, after two days, in his actual impecunious condition, to the fair Richarda. Encouraged by a benign refusal, he came away, determined to win the lady, were it by a Jacob's service. It was then that 'the cares of life began to press him 'heavily.' He was totally at sea about his future. A letter asking Mr. Clarkson's advice on the subject of a profession elicited a reply which, its kindness notwithstanding, 'amounted to nothing.' A conversation with Peacock proved equally unsuggestive. But no stress of circumstances weakened the fibre of Airy's pluck. He held out indomitably for a great career. He would not enter a *cul de sac*. He could, for instance, assuredly have had for the asking a high-class assistantship at Greenwich; and he repaired to London to make inquiries, as well as, incidentally,

‘to be present at one of Sir Humphry Davy’s Saturday evening soirées.’ ‘But when I found,’ he adds, ‘that succession to the post of Astronomer Royal was not considered as distinctly a consequence of it, I took it coolly, and returned the next night. The whole proposal came to nothing.’ He was, however, elected to the Lucasian Professorship of Mathematics December 7, 1826, and, seated in Newton’s chair, thus reviewed the situation :

‘The commencement of 1827 found me in a better position than I had before stood in ; yet it was far from satisfactory. I had resigned my Assistant Tutorship of 150*l.* per annum, and gained only the Lucasian Professorship of 99*l.* per annum. I had a great aversion to entering the Church, and my lay Fellowship would expire in seven years. My prospects in the law or other professions might have been good if I could have waited, but then I must have been in a state of starvation probably for many years, and marriage would have been out of the question. I much preferred a moderate income in no long time, and I am sure that in this I judged rightly for my happiness. I had now in some measure taken science as my line (though not irrevocably), and I thought it best to work it well, for a time at least, and wait for accidents.’

Before the close of that year he at length ‘saw his way clearly.’ On the news reaching him that Dr. Woodhouse, the Plumian Professor of Astronomy, was *in extremis*,

‘Instantly,’ he records, ‘there passed through my mind the certainty of my succeeding him ; the good position in which I stood towards the University, the probability of that position being improved by improved lectures &c., and the power of commanding an increase of income by increased reputation from the matters in which I was then engaged. I should then have, independently of my Fellowship, some competent income, and a house over my head.’

The vision was realised ; he was elected unopposed, and instantly demanded an increased salary. ‘The University,’ he wrote, ‘had never before been taken by storm in such a manner, and there was some commotion about it. I believe that very few persons would have taken the same step. Mr. Sheepshanks wrote to me intimating that it was desperate. I had no doubt of success.’ His confidence was justified. He got his 500*l.* a year, and everything else that he wanted. *Audaces juvat Fortuna.* Meanwhile his assiduous suit to Richarda Smith had been quietly prospering, and in the spring of 1830 he brought his bride to Observatory House. She was then five and twenty, but looked much younger. ‘Her beauty and accomplishments, her skill and fidelity in sketching, and,

‘above all, her exquisite singing of ballads, made a great ‘sensation in Cambridge.’ Mrs. Airy did not need to be set off by marital partiality. Her sweet and gracious nature rendered her attractive long after her girlish charms had faded. Airy made her a devoted husband during five and forty years. His family affections were strong. The loss in their youth of the three eldest of his nine children wrung his strong heart. He brought his mother and sister to live with him at the Royal Observatory, and eagerly exerted his influence for the promotion of his brother’s interests in the Church.

The Plumian Professor was now thoroughly committed to astronomy. He was a master but no devotee of the science. His unimaginative way of contemplating the heavens as—let us say—a grand expanse of spherical triangles, chilled Sir William Rowan Hamilton, who was a poet as well as a mathematician, to the bone. Yet his prosaic industry went further than his Irish friend’s bardic fervour. Airy was not indeed without some modified intellectual enthusiasms. From his boyhood he regarded the theory of gravitational disturbance as a promised land, flowing, in lieu of milk and honey, with integrals and differential equations. And this taste remained with him to the end. His administration of the Cambridge Observatory brought him merited distinction. He introduced the valuable custom of thoroughly ‘reducing’ before publishing observations, which are thus presented to investigators fit for immediate use. Their accumulation in the rough state has too often proved utterly useless. The equipment of the institution, furnished only with a transit when he took it in charge, bore the marks of his inventive skill; and the mounting of the ‘great Northumberland equatoreal’ was both devised and superintended by him. This fine instrument of twelve inches aperture, the gift of the third Duke of Northumberland, was employed by Professor Challis in his luckless search for the planet Neptune. But that circumstance belongs to another series of events.

Airy was by this time also eminent as an author and investigator. His ‘Mathematical Tracts,’ published in 1826, immediately became a text-book in the University; his treatises on the ‘Undulatory Theory of Light,’ on ‘The Figure of the Earth,’ and on ‘Gravitation’ were, and are, acknowledged masterpieces; his detection of the ‘Long Inequality of Venus and the Earth,’ communicated to the Royal Society November 24, 1831, gave the perfecting

touch to solar theory. The discrepancy, for the rectification of which a long process of inquiry had been carried through with infinite pains, amounted to just one-fifth of a second of time.

On June 22, 1835, Airy was appointed to succeed Mr. Pond as Astronomer Royal. His tenure of the office lasted forty-six years. It was in many ways memorable. By principle he was strongly conservative. He expressed again and again his determination not to be diverted 'from a steady adherence to the meridional system which both reason and tradition have engrafted on this Observatory.' Again: 'Our line of conduct is sufficiently well traced. There can be no doubt that our primary objects ought to be the accurate determination of places of the fundamental stars, the sun, the planets, and, above all, the moon. Any addition whatever to our powers or our instrumental luxuries which should tend to withdraw our energies from these objects would be a misfortune to the Observatory.' Charles II. had committed to Flamsteed the task of watching the skies in the interests of his seamen; and this continued to be the 'standard and staple work' of Flamsteed's successors.

George Biddell Airy, however, could not belong to a 'stupid party.' He was not one to ruin a cause for the sake of a flag. While he protested, accordingly, his mind was moving. In 1838 a Magnetic and Meteorological Department was created at Greenwich, automatic registration by photography being introduced in 1850. From 1854 transits were timed by electricity. In 1859 a new thirteen-inch equatoreal was ready for use. Its erection had cost him some misgivings lest any neglect should ensue of the Observatory's 'ancient and traditional responsibilities.' A 'prismatic spectrum-apparatus' was added in 1868; the spectroscopic delineation at the edge of the uneclipsed sun of the gaseous objects called 'prominences' began to be attended to in 1874; about the same time the daily photographic record of sun-spots was set on foot; the establishment, in short, 'became, *pro tanto*, a physical observatory.'

In carrying out these innovations, Airy was the agent of a far-reaching scientific revolution. Had he been a lesser man, he might have obstinately resisted it; had he been a greater man, he might have personified and intensified it. He adopted instead the proper official attitude; he yielded, but did not originate. Considering his early prepossessions and the native tenacity of his mind, we can only

feel surprised that he embarked in so many novel enterprises, and went so far along untrodden paths.

For sustained and diversified energy his administration must long remain unmatched. The reduction of all the planetary and lunar observations made at Greenwich between 1750 and 1830, for which he received the Gold Medal of the Royal Astronomical Society in 1846, was in itself a colossal performance; from the mass of materials provided by it modern theories of celestial motions have been in great measure constructed. He set the first example of observing the moon off the meridian, thus obtaining a more exact acquaintance with the minute vagaries of our satellite than had been possible when she was obliged to report herself only at the moments of culmination. He had an altitude-and-azimuth instrument constructed in 1847 for this special purpose, with improvements of his own devising. In 1851 a new transit-circle, of great optical power and enormous mechanical stability, superseded Troughton's masterpiece of 1812. In its construction Airy's demands strained to the uttermost the resources of workmanship. He would tolerate no error amounting to $\frac{1}{30,000}$ of an inch in the cylindrical figure of the chilled iron pivots. After many failures, sheer hand-friction was resorted to, every metallic grain and film being in this way slowly and painfully removed. 'Each of the pivots cost six weeks of such labour.'* The makers were Ransome & May, of Ipswich.

The Royal Observatory became, under Airy's rule, an admirably planned machine kept going by his untiring energy. The human element seemed almost eliminated. Method ruled supreme. Each member of the staff daily received written instructions, from which no hairbreadth deviation was permitted. The chief himself was subjugated by his own system. He was enslaved by his passion for order. Its bonds, however, pressed upon him only in his decrepitude. In the time of his vigour he wore them complacently, taking particular delight in his devices for banishing confusion from his vast store of records and papers. He is not known to have ever destroyed a document, were it only an invitation to dinner. Hence, consummate ingenuity was required to avert the periodical 'snowings-up' experienced by De Quincey.

His industry was appalling. The volume before us is a

* The Observatory, vol. xv. p. 85.

record all but incredible of miscellaneous labours. Successful governments exploited without mercy his marvellous capabilities. He was their universal referee, not merely on scientific matters, but on every conceivable topic with a practical bearing. Having 'hired' for astronomy, he had thrust upon him jobs by comparison sordid, and productive neither of fame nor of pelf. Yet he did them with alacrity, and so thoroughly as to give finality to the settlement of many difficult questions. He presided over Royal Commissions, drew up exhaustive reports, settled the provisions of Bills. By devising a successful method for the correction of compasses in iron ships, he rendered, at an untold cost of time and pains, a great public service, for which the Admiralty refused him any acknowledgement or reward. He was deeply concerned with the construction of the new standards of weight and measure, with the delimitation of Canada and the United States, with surveying operations in Europe and Africa, with tidal investigations in India, with the improvement of lighthouses in Great Britain. He was consulted about Babbage's calculating machine, about the chimes of Westminster Clock, about the smoky chimneys of Westminster Palace. The business of the Railway Gauge Commission all but shattered his steel-strong nerves. Yet it sank into insignificance compared with that involved in the organisation of the 'Transit of Venus expedition of 1874. 'Only those engaged in the enterprise,' Mr. Dunkin affirmed, 'can have any adequate conception of its requirements.'

Nor was Airy indifferent to the claims of the general public. He regarded it as part of his duty to popularise science by lectures and journalistic communications. They were always impressive. In spite of a weak voice and a hesitating delivery, the clearness of his expositions and the striking nature of his themes held his audiences enthralled. He carried on, too, many controversies, and found them enlivening exercises; and his prodigious correspondence was conducted personally and punctually.

Severe toil did not blunt his faculty of enjoyment, and he took ample holidays with zest and regularity. From the Superga, near Turin, July 8, 1842, he viewed the remarkable eclipse which startled astronomers into persistent investigation of the solar appendages. A similar spectacle was disclosed to him at Gothenburg, July 31, 1851; then, nine years later, the Admiralty placed the 'Himalaya' at his command for the transportation to the coast of Spain of an

eclipse-party, comprising sixty members of several nationalities. Airy set up his instruments at Bilbao, but was dissatisfied with the way he played his part. The only results, indeed, worth mentioning, were obtained photographically by De la Rue and Secchi.

The Astronomer Royal was knighted in 1872, having on two previous occasions declined the compliment. Academies and Universities vied with each other in honouring him, but although he valued he did not seek these distinctions. His heart was in his work. A career of uniform success ended nevertheless with a conspicuous and pathetic failure. At threescore and ten his thoughts turned once more towards the desired land of his youth. Still overwhelmed with public duties, he ceased to be wholly absorbed in them. He looked beyond for an enterprise that should bring into play all his mental resources. He found it, after prolonged meditation, in the construction of a numerical lunar theory, numbers replacing symbols throughout the work, which was one of immense scope and complexity. The final test of its correctness consisted in the introduction into the fundamental equations of the appropriate numerical values. Its application proved calamitous. 'With painful alarm,' the old man wrote in 1886, 'I find that the equations are not 'satisfied, and that the discordance is large.' Errors had slipped in, as errors do, through unaccountable oversights, and the labour of detecting and correcting them would have been enormous, and turned out to be impracticable. At the age of eighty-eight, the author finally desisted from attempts which no one else has been intrepid enough to renew.

Neither weakness nor incapacity, but absorption in this gigantic task, led to Sir George Airy's resignation, August 15, 1881. Thenceforward he lived with his two unmarried daughters at the White House, within a quarter of a mile from the scene of his multitudinous labours. 'He entered 'upon his new life,' Mr. Wilfred Airy relates, 'with the 'cheerful composure and steadiness of temper which he possessed in a remarkable degree. He was now more than 'eighty years old, and the cares of office had begun to weigh 'heavily upon him; the long-continued drag of the Transit 'of Venus work had wearied him, and he was anxious to 'carry on, and, if possible, complete his Numerical Lunar 'Theory, the great work which for some years had occupied 'much of his time and attention. His mental powers were 'still vigorous, and his energy but little impaired; his 'strong constitution, his regular habits of life, the syste-

‘ matic relief which he obtained by short holiday expeditions ‘ whenever he found himself worn with work, and his keen ‘ interest in history, poetry, classics, antiquities, engineering, ‘ and other subjects not immediately connected with his ‘ profession, had combined to produce this result. And, ‘ in leaving office, he had no idea of leaving off work ; his ‘ resignation merely meant for him a change of work.’

His death resulted from a fall, occasioned by a momentary lapse in the action of the brain. A surgical operation became necessary ; it was successful, and he recovered from its immediate effects. ‘ For several days he lay quietly and ‘ without active pain, reciting the English poetry with which ‘ his memory was stored. But the shock was too great for ‘ his enfeebled constitution, and he died peacefully, in the ‘ presence of his six surviving children, on January 2, 1892.’ He was in his ninety-second year.

A strenuous and virile existence closed on that day. Few men have used their powers so fitly and so entirely. They were turned to the fullest account, yet commanded with Hellenic sobriety. His great faculties were not allowed to ride roughshod over his life. Work and recreation alternated in strictly regulated proportions. Even when actually treading the furrow of labour, he took things quietly, and generally managed to break right off at the first symptoms of distress. Under these circumstances the massiveness of his performance almost baffles comprehension. It implies an extraordinary quickness and agility of mental action. His literary productiveness alone was astonishing. The papers, great and small, published by him, number 518. The list does not include his separately published books, among which is a ‘ Popular Astronomy,’ lately re-edited by Professor Turner. It is true that he originated little, and discovered nothing. ‘ Scientific imagination ’ had been denied to him—had been denied so completely that he never suspected the deficiency.

Towards the close of his life, his principle of order tyrannised over and troubled him. The methodical arrangements triumphantly devised in his youth embarrassed him in old age ; and he struggled harder to get his correspondence properly pigeon-holed than to master its contents. His private accounts too, formerly kept with elaborate exactitude, became unmanageable, he was incapable of simplifying them ; and the sole lament over his collapsing faculties which he permitted himself to utter was the bewildered exclamation that ‘ the figures would not add up.’ *Sunt lachrymæ rerum.*

‘In this year,’ Airy noted in 1844, ‘commenced that remarkable movement which led to the discovery of Neptune. On February 13 Professor Challis introduced Mr. Adams to me by letter. On February 15 I sent my observed places of Uranus, which were wanted.’

Challis succeeded Airy as Plumian Professor and as director of the Cambridge Observatory. He was industrious, amiable, and well-meaning, but—his senior wranglership notwithstanding—totally lacked insight and initiative. He spent his best energies on the pursuit of a phantom discovery. He could not seize on a critical conjuncture. Morally estimable and eminently disinterested as he was, there was no *fall of ground* in his mind towards the river-bed of scientific truth. Two men could scarcely have been less fortunately associated for the reception and encouragement of an unprecedented inquiry than Challis, with his vague, discursive intelligence, and Airy, with his keen, limited vision.

John Couch Adams was born June 5, 1819, at the farmhouse of Lidcot, near Laneast Down, Cornwall. His father was, by hereditary prescription, a tenant-farmer; his mother, whose maiden name was Tabitha Knill Grylls, owned a small landed estate, and—what, under the circumstances, was far more important—inherited her uncle’s library. The eldest of their seven children was the astronomer all the world knows of; another son lived as a missionary in the Friendly Islands, and translated the Bible into the Tongan language; the youngest, William Grylls Adams, Professor of Natural Philosophy in King’s College, London, is the editor of the imposing work named at the head of this article.

In John Couch Adams ‘the boy was father to the man.’ He was born to be what he became. Books were his earliest friends, the heavens his boyish playground. He turned the window-sill at Lidcot into a sun-dial, and constructed out of pasteboard an instrument for determining solar altitudes. At twelve he was sent to a school at Devonport, kept by his mother’s cousin, the Rev. John Couch Grylls, and eagerly pursued his private studies in the library of the Mechanics’ Institute there. He made maps of the constellations, took copious notes from books on astronomy, and calculated astronomical problems. After three weeks’ watching, he caught sight of Halley’s comet, on or about October 16, 1835; ‘with what pleasure,’ he wrote to his parents, ‘you can conceive.’ In anticipation of the partial solar eclipse

of May 15, 1836, he calculated its phases for Lidecot, in order that his brother Thomas (afterwards the missionary) might be forewarned; and he observed them himself at Stoke 'with a small spyglass which I borrowed.' 'The moon,' he added, 'looked most delightful after the end of the 'eclipse.' His account of the phenomenon went the round of the papers.

His mathematical genius becoming more and more apparent, it was at last determined, straitened domestic circumstances notwithstanding, to send him to Cambridge, and he entered St. John's College as a sizar in October 1839. Less than two years later, July 3, 1841, he made the following memorandum:—

'Formed a design at the beginning of this week of investigating, as soon as possible after taking my degree, the irregularities in the motion of Uranus which are yet unaccounted for, in order to find whether they may be attributed to the action of an undiscovered planet beyond it; and, if possible, thence to determine the elements of its orbit, &c., approximately, which would probably lead to its discovery.'

He was just twenty-two when this inspiration came to him. His full and calm reception of it showed a consciousness of exceptional powers. For the problem to be attacked was a virgin-fortress. The motions of Uranus had for some time given trouble. They were affected by obvious but unexplained irregularities. Acquaintance with the planet dated from Herschel's detection of its disc, March 13, 1781; but twenty observations of it as a fixed star had been subsequently disinterred. The earliest of these was made by Flamsteed in 1690; so that the body had been virtually under supervision during more than one circuit of its orbit, which it traverses in eighty-four years. To the dismay of computers, however, the old and recent places could by no means at their command be reconciled. There was nothing for it but to reject as untrustworthy the ancient data, and to rely exclusively upon the new. This was done in 1821 by Bouvard, Laplace's coadjutor; yet the ship did not right for his lightening of its cargo. His tables rapidly lost hold of the planet; errors accumulated; and the faint-hearted began to listen to counsels of despair, attributing the overthrow of planetary discipline to a break-down of the Newtonian law. A few, on the other hand, adopted the counter-hypothesis that an unknown mass, acting under the unshaken dominion of the same majestic principle, was pulling Uranus out of his prescribed path, and thus com-

promising his reputation for punctuality. Bouvard, Hussey, and Bessel were of this opinion; but any attempt at its verification was strongly discouraged by Airy. In 1834, he did not see, as yet, 'the smallest hope of making out the 'nature of any external action on the planet.' Indeed, he doubted whether there was any irregularity to be explained. After three years, he was indeed convinced of this patent fact; but he pronounced, as it were, *ex cathedra*, writing to Bouvard, October 12, 1837: 'If the error be the effect of an 'unseen body, it will be nearly impossible ever to find out 'its place.'*

Adams was happily unaware of the 'impossibility.' He graduated in 1843 as Senior Wrangler and First Smith's Prizeman, and was immediately elected to a Fellowship of St. John's. The execution of his memorable plan was his next concern, and by a preliminary survey of its requirements, he soon ascertained that it promised success, and lay well within his capacity. The task was a formidable one. In gravitational astronomy, direct methods only had previously been pursued. The mutually attracting bodies being known by observation, it was required to determine their perturbations. And to do so with approximate completeness, had taxed all the analytical resources of Lagrange and Laplace. But what had to be done in the case of Uranus was, *from* the observed perturbations, to locate the attracting mass. This process of backward tracking was untried; it led through a thicket of difficulties, and could be brought to a successful issue only by the aid of novel modes of operation. The exercise of original invention was indispensable at every step. That such a thorny subject should have been appropriated by a young man of twenty-five as his first essay in celestial mechanics, strikes us with ever fresh surprise.

Adams finished his investigation, and placed it in the hands of Professor Challis, in September 1845. It afforded, in the words of the latter astronomer (due comparisons with observation having been appended), 'the earliest 'evidence of a complete solution of an inverse problem of 'perturbations.' The orbit, mass, and position at that epoch of a large, unknown, remote planet were given in it; which planet was shown to be the *fons et origo mali* as regards the unlicensed behaviour of Uranus. But, although the Northumberland telescope was quite capable of distinguish-

* Brewster, 'North British Review,' vol. vii. p. 207, 1847.

ing it by its measurable dimensions from a stellar point of light, Challis had no thought of a search. All he need have done was to set the equatoreal on the given spot, and move it to and fro along the ecliptic over less than two degrees. The 'wanted' object must have been captured within half an hour. Having made up his mind, however, that the indications submitted to him were of a very rough nature, he would have thought it waste of time to make such an experiment.

Adams now had recourse to Airy. Before the end of September, he called at the Royal Observatory. Its chief was absent in France. 'Bad luck,' Professor Sedgwick commented, 'but no blame anywhere.' The visit was twice vainly renewed on October 21; the Astronomer Royal was, at the earlier hour, out, at the later, dining. The caller left a brief written account of his results, and withdrew, profoundly mortified. An unfortunate circumstance ensued. In a letter dated November 5, 1845, Airy asked what seemed to him a crucial question. At first sight, it might have struck a physical astronomer as an ignorant question. Its inner meaning, however, as subsequently explained by him, related to the continued validity of the Newtonian principle of attraction. He regarded it as on its trial, and as scarcely more firmly established than was the theory of phlogiston when Lavoisier overthrew it by a few elementary experiments. This is an astounding avowal to have been made in 1846 by a man of his acumen and experience. Adams, unaware of any such lurking doubt, thought the query trivial, and postponed his reply until he had wrought out an improved theory of the planet. This, with a full explanation of the difficulty raised, he despatched to Greenwich September 2, 1846. It was too late. In his published 'Account' of the transaction, Airy said: 'I waited with much anxiety for Mr. Adams's answer. Had it been in the affirmative, I should have exerted all the influence which I might possess, either directly or indirectly, to procure the publication of Mr. Adams's theory.'

Meanwhile, a rival, prompt and strong, was on the Cambridge mathematician's track. Urbain Jean Joseph Leverrier presented to the Paris Academy of Sciences, June 1, 1846, a memoir in which he ratified unawares Adams's conclusions. 'I cannot sufficiently express,' wrote the English Astronomer Royal, 'the delight and satisfaction which I received from it. The place which it assigned to the disturbing planet was the same, to one degree, as

‘that given by Mr. Adams’s calculations which I had perused ‘seven months earlier.’ Leverrier, an experienced man of business, lost no time in answering the superfluous test-question neglected by Adams, and the last vestige of doubt as to the substantial reality of the disturbing body was effaced from Airy’s mind. Why, then, did he not communicate with Adams? Why did he not so much as hint to Leverrier that he had been anticipated? Silence so unaccountable inevitably raised the suspicion that the claim to collateral discovery, put forward after the event, was false and fraudulent. As Professor Sedgwick put it: ‘When it ‘was found that Adams was confirmed by the fortunate ‘Frenchman, the facts ought to have been out without more ‘delay. Was Adams ever so much as told that Leverrier was ‘at his heels? Our astronomers ought to have got up a flare ‘in an instant.’ Some years later, the Woodwardian Professor related to a company assembled in the Combination Room at Cambridge how Adams’s achievement, because of his youth and modesty, had been virtually though not deliberately suppressed. Adams himself was present, in visible discomfort. *Conticuere omnes*. Sedgwick leant back meditatively. ‘Suddenly he started up with fiery energy, and ‘raising his arm with a fierce gesture, startled us all by ‘exclaiming: “Curse their narcotic souls!”’* General laughter brought him back out of his moody dream.

At last, on July 9, Airy recommended to Challis a systematic exploration of the heavens. He at once acceded, and they arranged a plan of operations so large and *safe* as to be ineffectual. An area of 300 square degrees, or nearly thirty times larger than the conditions demanded, was set apart to be swept thrice from end to end, and from side to side; while Challis, although informed by Adams that the new planet would not be fainter than the ninth magnitude, decided to include in his observations stars down to the eleventh. Nevertheless, the object sought was actually recorded on the second and fourth nights of exploration—recorded, but not recognised. Challis, being much occupied with comet-reductions, postponed the comparison of his observations by which only (the difference in its aspect having passed unnoticed) it could have been picked out from the surrounding stars. He continued these leisurely proceedings for two months, took the places of 3,150 stars, and ‘was making preparations to map them,’ when taken aback

* Life of Adam Sedgwick, by Clark and Hughes, vol. ii. p. 287.

by the news that the perturbing planet had been identified by Galle at Berlin, September 23, 1846. The German Professor had received that morning a letter from Leverrier telling him where to look. He directed his telescope to the spot, and saw it. The recent completion of Bremiker's star-map of 'Hora xxi,' then unknown in England, enabled him to make sure of his capture at once. But the slackness of the English astronomers contrasts painfully with the diligence of the German. They squandered a year; he lost not a single hour.

Airy had spoken to Sir John Herschel, at the Visitation of the Royal Observatory on June 29, of the parallel researches of Adams and Leverrier; and the intelligence emboldened him, in a retiring Presidential Address to the British Association, on September 10, to speak confidently of the existence of an ultra-Uranian planet. 'We see it,' he declared, 'as Columbus saw America from the shores of Spain. Its movements have been felt, trembling along the far-reaching line of our analysis, with a certainty hardly inferior to that of ocular demonstration.' And, in a letter to the 'Athenæum' of October 3—'ocular demonstration' having intervened—he made the first public mention of Adams's name in connexion with the event. Little or no notice was taken of it. But a communication by Challis to the same journal on October 17 blew up a dust of controversy which subsided as slowly as the ashes from Krakatão.

'There was naturally,' Dr. Glaisher writes, 'a disinclination to give full credit to facts thus suddenly brought to light at such a time. It was startling to realise that the Astronomer Royal had had in his possession the data which would have enabled the planet to be discovered nearly a year before. On the other hand, it seemed extraordinary that a competent mathematician, who had determined the orbit of the disturbing planet, should have been content to refrain so long from making public his results.'

Forty years later, Professor Adams explained, in a still unpublished letter, the motive for his reticence. 'The reason,' he said, 'that I communicated my result to our English astronomers and did not publish it, as I might have done, was that I wanted them to look for the planet and find it, so that this country might have had the full credit of the discovery.' He added, in allusion to Airy's letter of November 5, 1845: 'I must say I was disappointed at the delay, and at his saying nothing about undertaking the search. No doubt I ought to have answered his letter, as I could readily have done; but if I had been wise, I should

‘have communicated my result at once to the Royal Astronomical Society.’

After the lapse of ten months, he drew up a summary account of his investigation, and went to Southampton, towards the middle of September 1846, in order to present it to the British Association, but arrived a day too late. The reading of this brief paper would just have saved the situation. Challis’s telescopic operations, even had they been entirely effectual, could not have removed the subsisting ambiguity, since they were not undertaken until after Leverrier’s location of the planet had been made known *urbi et orbi*.

At last, on November 13, 1846, Adams’s long overdue Memoir ‘On the Irregularities in the Motion of Uranus’ was laid before the Astronomical Society, and immediately issued as an appendix to the ‘Nautical Almanac’ for 1851 (published five years in advance). But it had to wait two years for any formal acknowledgement of its merit. A senseless clamour was raised. Leverrier’s natural indignation at what seemed like a ‘put-up’ pretension soon calmed down, it is true, under the soothing influence of his rival’s matchless self-abnegation; but Arago’s vehement utterances resounded through the press; and Airy noted drily, ‘I was abused most savagely both by English and French.’ In this country the scientific world divided itself into ‘Adamite’ and ‘anti-Adamite’ factions, the latter beating the air with ludicrous animosity. Airy, won, perhaps by Adams’s gentle and friendly attitude, behaved most creditably throughout the strife. Adams himself expressly renounced the smallest share of fame for the discovery of ‘Neptune.’ Leverrier had no more cordial admirer; he met him with delight, and venerated his memory. Of his ‘grievances,’ as most other men would have called them, he never spoke. This scarcely less than heroic silence he kept unbroken to his death. Only a very few were aware that he had not traversed the crisis unscathed by keen suffering.

He declined knighthood in 1847. The fittest memorial to his achievement was the foundation of the Adams prize, awarded bi-annually for the best essay in astronomy, mathematics, or physics. Clerk Maxwell competed for it in 1857—needless to say, successfully—with his famous treatise ‘On the Constitution of Saturn’s Rings.’ In 1858 Adams succeeded Peacock as Lowndean Professor of Astronomy in the University of Cambridge; and he took over the charge of the Observatory on Challis’s resignation in 1861. Under his

direction, the cataloguing of a star-zone was carried on steadily by his assistant, Mr. Graham ; but his juvenile taste for personal observation was altogether submerged by his zeal for theoretical inquiries. The offer of the succession to Sir George Airy in 1881 did not tempt him to quit his academic retreat ; official business would have been irksome, if not intolerable, to him.

The career begun by the virtual discovery of Neptune included two further conspicuous performances. The moon is nearer to us now by about 200 feet than when Thales predicted the solar eclipse of 585 B.C.; and the month is proportionately shorter. Twenty-five thousand years hence the balance will begin to be redressed, so that the change is not indefinitely progressive. Its cause, once indicated, seems obvious ; yet the inability to find it long perplexed the geometers of the eighteenth century, and the great Lagrange in 1784 held it, one might say, in his hand, and let it go. The history of the inquiry recalls the Baconian apophthegm, 'Everything is subtle until it be conceived.' One of Laplace's most noteworthy triumphs was the removal of this difficulty. He demonstrated in 1787 that lunar acceleration is a direct consequence of a diminution in the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, which has been proceeding for many millenniums, and will continue to proceed for many millenniums more. For the sun's influence tends, on the whole, to pull the moon away from the earth ; and that influence being slightly diminished by the rounding out of the terrestrial path, the satellite closes in upon, and revolves more quickly round its primary.

Until 1853 lunar theory was regarded as, on this side, unassailable. The amount of acceleration deduced from the study of ancient eclipses agreed exactly with its calculated value. No further trouble was expected, when, like a bolt from the blue, came Adams's announcement that 'Laplace's explanation of the phenomenon in question was essentially incomplete.' Although true, it was inadequate. Scarcely more than half the observed quickening of the moon's pace was accounted for by it. This extremely abstract discovery occasioned, strange to say, an outbreak of human passion. *Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?* Another bitter international controversy was raised. Once more Adams experienced the truth of Newton's saying : 'Philosophy is such an impertinently litigious lady that a man had as good be engaged in lawsuits as have to do with her.' Some French mathematicians regarded it as 'flat blasphemy' to introduce

terms which Laplace had thought fit to neglect. Pontécoulant accused Adams of having committed 'a downright analytical fraud.' Even Leverrier chose to stand by what he took to be facts and to disregard formulæ. Delaunay alone admitted the presence of a 'residual phenomenon,' and calmly speculated on its significance. In the '*Connaissance des Temps*' for 1864 he gave an impartial summary of the discussion. 'The appearance of Adams's memoir' he described as 'of epochal importance, operating a complete revolution in that branch of theoretical astronomy.' His analysis, he added, was flawless; his result had been only confirmed by being contradicted.

In his efforts to account for the outstanding lunar acceleration, Delaunay hit upon a remarkable expedient. He threw out the idea that, not the moon's, but the earth's time-keeping was at fault. Through the potency in stopping rotation of primitive earth-raised tides on its still plastic mass, our satellite—as Kant rightly guessed in 1767—turns always towards us the same unvarying hemisphere. The influence was mutual. To this day oceanic tides act, although with extreme feebleness, as a friction-brake upon the earth. An infinitesimal part of its axial movement is thus arrested, and turned into heat. The lengthening of the day thus brought about might, according to the Imperial astronomer, supply the deficiency of Laplace's rationale. Professor Newcomb's researches, however, have rendered it probable that there is no deficiency to be supplied. His recalculations of ancient eclipses show that the moon's gain in velocity is less than had been supposed. Adams's equations, in fact, represent it with approximate exactness.

Hence Delaunay's subsidiary hypothesis was unnecessary; yet its introduction was an event of no slight importance. Tidal friction was not always so ineffective in the solar system as it is now. Professor G. H. Darwin demonstrated in 1879 its predominance in the developement of the earth-moon system, and his able inquiries have thrown a faint but steady light along the backward 'corridors of time.' They made, indeed, a fresh beginning in cosmogony, affording in especial a starting-point for Dr. See's researches into the origin of binary stars.

Adams performed a third memorable feat in his determination of the orbit of the November meteors. Professor Newton, of Yale College, had shown that any one of five periods of revolution round the sun was compatible with the recurrent 'Leonid' displays; but discrimination between

them demanded analytical powers of a high order. The criterion to be applied was this. By carefully tracing back the records of 'star-showers,' it had been ascertained that the swarm radiating from near the star γ Leonis struck the earth about eleven hours later at each successive return. In other words, the node, or place of encounter, advances; and it advances through planetary perturbations depending for their intensity upon the shape and size of the meteoric orbit. Thus, by laborious calculations of gravitational pulls and counter-pulls, Adams succeeded in deciding with certainty which of Newton's alternative periods consisted with an advance, by the observed amount, of the orbital node. The longest, of thirty-three and a quarter years, proved to be that actually obeyed, so that a repetition of the meteoric bombardment of 1866 may be confidently expected in 1899.

Here, once more, by a curious coincidence, Adams was anticipated by Leverrier, who published the elements of the Leonid orbit two months before his English competitor arrived independently, in March 1867, at a perfectly similar result. Its consequence was at once emphasised by the discovery that Tempel's comet of 1866 pursues exactly the indicated track—that it is itself either a Leonid of a larger growth, or the parent of the Leonids. The association of a comet with the August meteors had been pointed out by Schiaparelli in the previous December, and two further undoubted instances of the same kind of correspondence have been brought to light. There is, in fact, a strong probability that every meteoric system has, or *had* (for such bodies are perishable), a comet attached to it.

Adams published little, because his standard was high. Gauss's motto, *Pauca sed matura*, might have been his.* He could not bring himself to let his papers leave his hands until, in form and style, they satisfied his fastidious taste. Some of them waited twenty years for finishing touches which they were never destined to receive. He left behind accordingly a considerable bulk of manuscripts nearly ready for the press, which will appear in future volumes of the present edition. In that already issued the works published during his lifetime are collected. In mathematics he was, like Andrea del Sarto in painting, *senza errore*. The most exalted minds have shown themselves fallible; but Adams, by some curious felicity of his nature, appeared incapable of making a mistake. The

* Glaisher.

correctness of his results was due to judgement no less than to skill. For the problems of gravitational astronomy can be solved only approximately, and success in attacking them depends upon the choice of that path which leads nearest to the goal. In simple numerical calculations Adams took great delight. To employ his faculties without exerting them was to him genuine recreation, and terrific arrays of figures were his favourite playthings. He kept them in hand with the marvellous facility displayed by an Indian juggler in tossing his balls or knives.

‘In beginning a new research,’ Dr. Glaisher tells us, ‘Adams rarely put pen to paper until he had carefully thought out the subject, and when he proceeded to write out the investigation, he developed it rapidly and without interruption. His accuracy and power of mind enabled him to map out the course of the work beforehand in his head, and his mathematical instinct, combined with perfect familiarity with astronomical ideas and methods, guided him with ease and safety through the intricacies and dangers of the analytical treatment. He scarcely ever destroyed anything he wrote, or performed rough calculations; and the manuscripts which he has left are written so carefully and clearly that it is difficult to believe that they are not finished work which has been copied out fairly.’

The same disregard of tentative processes was shown in his tripos examination, when he devoted a full hour to mentally solving the problems on the paper. This done he went ‘full steam ahead,’ and distanced everybody, the second wrangler getting only half his marks.

He was by no means a *mere* mathematician. Various branches of knowledge attracted his earnest attention; he read widely, and his memory served him well. Novels never came amiss to him, especially during periods of mental strain. He collected early printed books, loved music and scenery, and the cordial simplicity of his nature gave a particular charm to his companionship. His recondite pursuits did not cut him off from public interests. The acute crises of the world’s affairs stirred his deepest sympathies, and he watched the tragic drama of the Franco-German war with such painful emotion that at times he could neither work nor sleep. As an astronomer he welcomed every improvement, however startling and unexpected. A master in the elder astronomy, he none the less readily accepted the new methods and the astonishing revelations brought by them. His open mind admitted every legitimate innovation.

Adams married in 1863 Miss Bruce, of Dublin, who survives him. His health was perfect until 1889, but

finally broke down in June 1890. During the ensuing long illness his character unfolded its full beauty, and engaged the enthusiastic affection of those who came near him. Among these was Dr. Donald MacAlister, whose words about him we cannot forbear to quote.

‘It is in times of physical pain and weakness,’ he said at a meeting on February 20, 1892, ‘that the true fibre of the soul is tested; and never did a nature better stand the test than his. The unwavering constancy, the innate kindness, the unceasing thought for others, the absolute unselfishness which characterised him throughout his years of strength and health, shone with redoubled lustre during that time of suffering.’

He died January 21, 1892, and a portrait medallion of him by Mr. Bruce Joy was placed in Westminster Abbey, close to the grave of Newton, May 9, 1895. Many were reminded of his continued existence only by his death. He had, in a manner, outlived himself. Like Ulysses, he had ‘become ‘a name’ detached from a personality. Although he did not see out his seventy-third year, he ‘blazed’ so young, and, to the vulgar apprehension, smouldered so long, that he had almost slipped by anticipation into the historical niche which is now his—

‘While the stars burn, the moons increase,
And the great ages onward roll.’

Could it but have remained empty a little longer! There would have seemed, to our poor mortal apprehension, a beautiful fitness in his taking part last September in the jubilee of the discovery of Neptune. But *Diis aliter visum*.

ART. IV.—*The Life of Nelson the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain.* By CAPTAIN A. T. MAHAN, U.S.N., D.C.L., LL.D. Boston, U.S.A., and London: 1897.

WE live in a year of retrospection. 'Tis sixty years since' is a phrase that for the last six months has been in everyone's mouth, in everyone's thoughts; and assuredly in nothing have the changes which have marked the Victorian era been more important to us as a nation than in those which have taken place in the 'art of war by sea.' In the form, armament, and propulsion of our ships of war the changes have been so great that it is scarcely too much to say that there is more difference between the ships of the present time and those of sixty years ago than there was between them and the ships of five hundred years earlier, the ships which fought and conquered at Sluys and Les Espagnols-sur-Mer. The problems of naval war, indeed, remain the same. What they were in the days of Edward III., of Drake, of Hawke, or of Nelson they are now; but the methods of their solution have been modified, how greatly can be best understood on looking, with the mind's eye, at the long lines of ships which were reviewed by the Prince of Wales at Spithead scarcely three weeks ago: battle ships, cruisers, destroyers, torpedo boats—all, in their various degrees, masterpieces of modern science. Sixty years ago, steam navigation was still in its infancy; in the navy, it was in its babyhood. The Russian war quickened its developement; but even forty years ago, sailing ships of the line were still in commission* on distant stations, frigates and smaller craft were still abundant. Now, the handling of a ship under sail has become little more than a tradition. Thirty years ago it was beginning to be common for a young officer to come up for examination with only a theoretical knowledge of how to put a ship about; to-day, there must be many captains in the same position; to-morrow, there will be many admirals. It will thus be more and more difficult to grasp the conditions of service afloat in the end of last century; to realise the impossibility of doing things which seem so easy. It is already hard to picture to ourselves the case of an important expedition delayed for a

* The last sailing line-of-battle ships in commission for active service were the 'Calcutta,' the flagship in China, which was paid off in August 1859, and the 'Indus,' flagship in the West Indies, paid off in the spring of 1860.

month or six weeks at St. Helens while the wind blew persistently from the south-west—as happened to the expedition against Rochefort in 1757; or to understand that ships, whether of war or peace, could neither sail nor arrive with the punctuality of a modern P. and O. boat, or of a New York liner.

Independent of many other considerations, it is on this account fortunate that the '*Life of Nelson*' should have been, after these long years, undertaken by a capable seaman whose experience carries him back to the days when sailing ships were still in being, and steamers were frequently navigated under sail. Captain Mahan can remember what it was to be five hundred miles to leeward of the destined port, and how hopeless the task of making it against a foul wind often seemed. He has probably himself experienced, he has certainly lived in familiar intercourse, as shipmate or messmate, with those who have experienced, the hardships of the past—when the length of the voyage was doubtful; when fresh provisions were unknown, except in the form of live stock; when salt pork was rusty, when salt beef could be fashioned by a turner into mahogany snuffboxes, when weevils were a principal constituent of biscuit, when water was putrid puddle, and when, even of these abominations, the allowance was often scanty. To most men, even to naval officers of the present day, such things are but as a tale that is told; and it is therefore well that the story of the heroic past should be drawn on a fitting scale by one who has all the qualifications, not only of an historian—accustomed to weigh evidence; of a writer—practised in the harmony of words and sentences; of an instructor—habituated to the consideration and discussion of the problems of strategy and tactics; but also and especially, of one practically acquainted with the manner of life which he has to describe; familiar with its dangers and difficulties, its possibilities and limitations. Captain Mahan has, too, the experience, happily strange to any English officer, of continued war. The nearest approach to it that anyone in our own service can have, is that of the campaigns in the Baltic or Black Sea in 1854 and 1855; but though these reproduced some of the old monotony and discomfort, feebly recalling the long, tedious blockades of Brest or Toulon, there was no opportunity of repeating the brilliant episodes of the past. During the civil war in the United States, Captain Mahan served, for the most part, in the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico; we do not know if he had any share in the great blockade of the Atlantic coast.

But in any case, to take part in, or to witness, or to hear at first hand of the achievements of Porter and Farragut, was a valuable training for the man who was to write the history of that section of the war and the biography of the great American admiral.* He has not indeed had the further experience of the responsibilities of high command; but, as flag-captain, he has been a close witness of them, and is in a position to understand them when intensified by the necessities of war and by the magnitude of a force such as that which Nelson had under his orders in the Mediterranean.

In this respect, indeed, it would, of course, be easy to name many officers in our own service who have a much wider knowledge of the demands of a great fleet; but it is only one of the many qualifications desirable; to which Captain Mahan adds that of being, as a foreigner, able to take a more impartial view of Nelson's character and conduct than is, perhaps, possible for an Englishman who is almost compelled to write as an advocate. Popular feeling in England is so jealous of Nelson's fame that an attempt to criticise any parts of his conduct is certain to be condemned. The temptation is thus very strong for an Englishman to flavour his comments too strongly with honey or with gall; and to represent Nelson as one for whom wrong became right, or, on the other hand, as a man of really very limited capacity, who, in some extraordinary way, did blunder into astonishing successes. To such a temptation a foreigner is not subject. Free from the strong national feeling which encircles Nelson's memory, he can marshal the facts and judge from the evidence. Nor can it be forgotten that, in the particular case before us, Captain Mahan has not undertaken the work out of a mere desire to hymn the achievements of a hero, but has been led to it by his studies on the influence of sea power, which have shown him Nelson as one of the principal factors in the supremacy which England obtained and held at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. He has thus come, in natural sequence, to inquire more closely into the art and nature of the man who achieved such tremendous results; he has considered his career as a very important stage in the science of war, and has examined the developement of it not only as an historical but as a psychological problem of the

* '*The Navy in the Civil War: the Gulf and Inland Waters*' (1883); '*Admiral Farragut*' (1892).

deepest interest. The task which he has put before himself has not been the exaltation of Nelson's genius and character, but rather the exact appreciation of these in their bearing on the story, the achievements, the greatness of Nelson—'the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain.'

It is thus that the chief interest of the work does not lie wholly in the narrative, though that is given with clearness and spirit; occasionally, too, with some novel detail which the author's industry has succeeded in rescuing from oblivion. In this, he has been aided by his reputation as an exponent of naval history, which has brought him papers—journals, letters, &c.—from the private storehouses in which they have been hoarded during the greater part of the century. To the general reader the outstanding merit of the work lies in the success Captain Mahan has achieved in making known to us the real personality of the British hero—a man singularly great indeed, yet at times open to the influence of smallnesses and vanities which the robust nature even of average men would despise.

To the commentary, to the criticisms, the explanations, and the discussions much importance, as well as great interest, attaches. To some it will no doubt occur that these are of inordinate length. To the careful student they will prove most valuable; for even if he may differ from the conclusions, the discussions are pregnant with suggestion, and can scarcely be followed without new light being thrown on the varied incidents of a complex career. Occasionally, however, it must be admitted there is want of proportion, and minutiae of little importance are sometimes discussed with as much care and thoroughness as if the fate of empires depended on them. Such, for instance, is the alleged coolness of Lord Hood towards Nelson during the years 1788–92, and the sentence in one of Nelson's letters,—'He [Hood] made a speech never to be effaced from my memory, viz: that the King was impressed with an unfavourable opinion of me.' Captain Mahan seems to us to lay more stress on this than the circumstances warrant. He considers the fact that Hood refused to appoint Nelson to a ship during the Spanish armament of 1790 as marking its serious nature; in momentary forgetfulness that, as captain of the '*Boreas*' for three years, Nelson had had a very full share of the limited amount of patronage at the disposal of the Admiralty during peace. It is quite possible that several incidents during the commission of the '*Boreas*' had given Hood reason to doubt Nelson's discretion; but that he had him

appointed to the 'Agamemnon' on the first serious threat of war is a proof that the 'alienation' was not very serious. Had it been so, the custom of the Admiralty was then very clearly defined: Nelson's career in the service would have been ended, and he would have been permitted to go on digging holes in the garden at Burnham Thorpe to the end of the chapter.

But this and other passages to which the same exception might be taken must be considered as unimportant differences of estimate, in which the author's aim at completeness has perhaps led him into excess. In other cases, we may frankly accept his right to the discussion, though we may doubt the correctness of his argument. One such is the familiar question of Nelson's share in the operations at Bastia. Everyone who has read the story of Nelson's life knows that it was mainly, perhaps entirely, through Nelson's influence that Hood undertook the siege, and that Nelson had a very important share in its success. The commonly received story, as related by Southey, is that 'by Nelson Bastia was 'taken;' but, added Southey, 'his signal merits were not so 'mentioned in the despatches as to make them sufficiently 'known to the nation, nor to obtain for him from govern- 'ment those honours to which they so amply entitled him. 'This could only have arisen from the haste in which the 'despatches were written.' A comparison of dates, however, shows that, whatever the omission, haste could have nothing to do with it, and Captain Mahan makes no reference to the suggestion. But he does consider that the despatch was insufficient, or rather, inaccurate; and explains it by a desire on the part of Hood to forward the interests of Captain Hunt at the expense of Nelson. Taken by themselves, Hood's words are clear and distinct:—

'I am unable to give due praise to the unremitting zeal, exertion, and judicious conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Villetes, who had the honour of commanding his Majesty's troops: never was either more conspicuous. Major Brereton and every officer and soldier under the lieutenant-colonel's orders are justly entitled to my warmest acknowledgements; their persevering ardour and desire to distinguish themselves cannot be too highly spoken of, and which it will be my pride to remember to the latest period of my life.

'Captain Nelson, of his Majesty's ship "Agamemnon," who had the command and directions of the seamen in landing the guns, mortars, and stores, and Captain Hunt, who commanded at the batteries, very ably assisted by Captain Bullen and Captain Serocold, and the Lieutenants Gore, Hotham, Stiles, Andrews, and Brisbane, have an

equal claim to my gratitude, as the seamen under their management worked the guns with great judgement and alacrity ; '

meaning, of course, 'equal claim' with the army officers. In this, writes Captain Mahan, 'Hood, in his desire to serve 'Hunt, not only unduly but absurdly minimised Nelson's 'relations to the whole affair.' But did he? On the contrary, the evidence is positive that Hood's language was strictly accurate.

On April 24 Nelson wrote to Hood :—

'Your Lordship knows exactly the situation I am in here. With Colonel Villette I have no reason but to suppose I am respected in the highest degree ; nor have I occasion to complain of want of attention to my wishes for the good of the service from any parties ; but yet I am considered as not commanding the seamen landed. My wishes may [be,] and are, complied with ; my orders would possibly be disregarded : therefore, if we move from hence, I would wish your Lordship to settle that point. Your Lordship will not, I trust, take this request amiss : I have been struggling with it since the first day I landed.'

And again on April 25 :—

'I feel myself most exceedingly obliged by your kind letter of yesterday, and am happy that my ideas of the situation I am in here so perfectly agree with your Lordship's. Captain Hunt is a most exceeding good young man, nor is anyone more zealous for the service. I don't complain of anyone, but an idea has entered into the heads of some under him, that Captain Hunt's command was absolutely distinct from me ; and that I had no authority whatever over him, except as a request. It was even doubted whether I had a right to command the officers and seamen landed from the "Agamemnon"—that word, "attached to the batteries," was wrested to a meaning very different from your Lordship's thoughts.

'Your kind intention to Captain Hunt I had the honour of telling your Lordship should be furthered by every means in my power ; and my regard for him, I assure you, is undiminished. At present, no letter can be necessary, but when your Lordship may judge it proper, I will thank you for an order to command the seamen without any distinction as to any particular services.'

Comparing these letters with Hood's despatch of May 24 already quoted, it may be assumed, with some certainty, that the order which Nelson requested was never given ; nor does Nelson ever assert or imply that it was ; though, on reading the despatch, he wrote to his uncle, William Suckling :—

'Lord Hood and myself were never better friends—nor, although his letter does, did he wish to put me where I never was—in the rear. Captain Hunt, who lost his ship, he wanted to push forward for

another—a young man who never was on a battery, or ever rendered any service during the siege: if any person ever says he did, then I submit to the character of a story-teller. Poor Serocold, who fell here, was determined to publish an advertisement, as he commanded a battery under my orders. The whole operations of the siege were carried on through Lord Hood's letters to me. I was the mover of it—I was the cause of its success. Sir Gilbert Elliot will be my evidence, if any is required. I am not a little vexed, but shall not quarrel. We shall be successful here; and a stranger and a landsman will probably do me that credit which a friend and a brother officer has not given me.'

It is to this letter that Captain Mahan pointedly refers. It appears to us that he has put on one side the consideration that whilst Hood's despatch was limited to the statement of official fact, Nelson's letter to his uncle was at liberty to give impressions which—in part, at least—were exaggerations; for even if Hunt's command of the batteries was waived, and it was admitted that Nelson had the entire charge of the 200 seamen who were landed, he had assuredly not the command of Villetes and his thousand soldiers, whom, notwithstanding the equality, by right of number Hood placed first. The point is more important in a biography of Nelson than may at first sight appear; for it gives some measure of the dependence which is to be placed on Nelson's familiar letters, in which the sentiment or the petulance of the moment not unfrequently led him into statements which he would scarcely have ventured on when writing with a sense of responsibility.

As to the operations which Nelson himself conducted there is little room for hesitation, and Captain Mahan repeats, but with greater emphasis, his former criticism on the service of the inshore squadron in the Gulf of Genoa during the autumn of 1795. It is a chapter which we would strongly commend to the attention of all readers as being, both as to what was done and as to what was not done, a singularly interesting exposition of the actual or potential influence of sea power on the most celebrated of Bonaparte's early campaigns. Nelson came on the coast with his hands tied. A circular letter from the Admiralty had just warned the several captains to avoid giving offence to 'foreign powers in amity with his Majesty,' and had directed them, when detaining any vessels belonging to such powers, 'to transmit to the Secretary of the Admiralty a complete specification of their cargoes, and not to institute any legal process against such ships or vessels until their Lordships' further pleasure shall be known.' Now the

coasting trade, by which the French army was supported, was carried on in vessels belonging to Genoa, a power nominally friendly, but in reality subject to France. As Captain Mahan states the case:—

‘Unless the supplies thus received by the French could be stopped, the Austrian general would not only be unable to advance, but feared he could not hold his present position. If, on the other hand, the forage and grain thus brought to them could be intercepted, they would be forced to retreat, and there were hopes that the Austrians might reach Nice before winter, thus covering the excellent and advanced harbour of Villefranche as an anchorage for their British allies. Nelson readily understood the situation, and admitted the necessity of the service demanded of his squadron, which was simply a blow at the enemy’s communications; but he pointed out to the minister that the circular instructions, before quoted, tied his hands. Not only would the ordinary difficulties of proving the ownership and destination of a cargo give rise to the usual vexatious disputes, and irritate neutrals, contrary to the spirit of the order; but there was a particular complication in this instance, arising from the occupation of Genoese towns by French troops, and from the close proximity of the neutral and hostile seaboards. These embarrassments might be met, were it permissible to sell the cargoes, and hold the money value, subject to the decision of an Admiralty court upon the propriety of the seizure; but this the circular explicitly forbade, until the case was referred to England. If the decision there was adverse to the captors, the other party would look to the responsible naval officer for pecuniary redress, and as, during the delay, the cargo would be spoiled, costs could come only out of the captor’s pocket.’

The case, he continues, was one in which Nelson’s line of conduct could have been safely predicted by anyone familiar with Nelson’s character. After a night’s reflection he determined to take the risk, without consulting Hotham, who would, he knew, be opposed to the strong measures which seemed necessary, but would be equally loth to reverse those which he found in force.

‘Like the American frontiersman whose motto was “Be sure you’re right, then go ahead,” Nelson, when convinced, knew no hesitations; but further, he unquestionably derived keen enjoyment from the sense that the thing done involved risk to himself, appealed to, and brought into play his physical or moral courage, in the conscious exercise of which he delighted. “I am acting,” he wrote, “not only without the orders of my commander-in-chief, but in some measure contrary to them . . . Political courage in an officer abroad is as highly necessary as military courage. . . . The orders I have given are strong and I know not how my admiral will approve of them, for they are in a great measure contrary to those he gave me; but the service requires strong and vigorous measures to bring the war to a conclusion.”’

Amid the dreary minutiae of a blockade which in the long run, and owing largely to Hotham's incapacity, proved ineffectual, this illustration of Nelson's independence of thought has generally escaped notice. In history, it is unimportant; in a biography, Captain Mahan has rightly seized on it. He says:—

‘The case bore some resemblance to that in which he had disobeyed Hughes in the West Indies; but the disregard of the superior's orders on the earlier occasion was more direct, and the necessity for it less urgent. In both he disobeyed first, and referred afterwards, and in both his action was practically sustained; for, whatever the technical fault, the course taken was the one demanded by the needs of the situation. It is possible to recognise the sound policy, the moral courage, and the correctness of such a step in the particular instance, without at all sanctioning the idea that an officer may be justified in violating orders, because he thinks it right. The justification rests not upon what he thinks, but upon the attendant circumstances which prove that he is right; and, if he is mistaken, if the conditions have not warranted the infraction of the fundamental principle of military efficiency,—obedience,—he must take the full consequences of his error, however honest he may have been. Nor can the justification of disobedience fairly rest upon any happy consequences that follow upon it, though it is a commonplace to say that the result is very apt to determine the question of reward or blame. There is a certain confusion of thought prevalent on this matter, most holding the rule of obedience too absolutely, others tending to the disorganising view that the integrity of the intention is sufficient; the practical result, and for the average man the better result, being to shun the grave responsibility of departing from the letter of the order. But all this only shows more clearly the great professional courage and professional sagacity of Nelson, that he so often assumed such a responsibility, and so generally—with, perhaps, but a single exception—was demonstrably correct in his action.’

As Nelson had expected, Hotham was forced to approve of his measures and to extend them. The trade in sea-going vessels was put an end to; but with sea-going vessels it was found impossible to prevent small boats passing along close inshore and ready to run under the batteries with which the French had lined the coast. These could only be stopped by similar vessels, of which Nelson had none. An attempt was made to supply their place with ships' boats, but ‘the results were too uncertain and hazardous to warrant perseverance;’ and Nelson was thus led to the idea of seizing some port on shore and holding it in force, so as effectually to cut the enemy's communications. He proposed to De Vins, the Austrian general, to land five thousand men at San Remo, with their field-guns and stores,

to maintain their supplies and to cover their re-embarkation, should it become necessary. If San Remo were held, the French army must, he said, abandon its present lines. This was evident; but De Vins considered the scheme too hazardous, and nothing was done. Captain Mahan thinks that De Vins was right, that the proposal was not really practicable.

'There is,' he says, 'an immeasurable difference between the holding of a strongly fortified city with an army corps, and the mere seizure of a comparatively open position by a detachment, which, if it means to remain, must have time to fortify itself, in order to withstand the overwhelming numbers that the enemy must at once throw upon it. The time element, too, is of the utmost importance. It is one thing to grasp a strong position with a few men, expecting to hold it for some hours, to delay an advance or a retreat until other forces can come into play, and quite another to attempt to remain permanently and unsupported in such a situation.'

At any rate, San Remo was not to be occupied, and Nelson's restless energy suggested that the enemy might be more persistently annoyed if the force under his orders was somewhat larger. He had with him only one ship of the line, and that of the smallest size. He proposed that two seventy-fours should be added. Hotham refused his request. The reason, says Captain Mahan, 'is not apparent.'

'The fleet spent its time chiefly in San Fiorenzo Bay or in Leghorn, making occasional cruises off Toulon to observe the French navy in that port. The latter was undoubtedly its principal care; but, being distinctly inferior to the British, it is impossible to say why Nelson should not have been reinforced. If it was due to the wish to continue so largely superior in numbers, it certainly illustrates with singular appositeness the deterrent effect of an inferior "fleet in being," and that that effect lies less in the nature of things than in the character of the officer upon whom it is produced. Moreover, the employment of adequate force upon the Riviera, in active aggressive work under Nelson during the summer, when it was practicable to do so, would have compelled the French fleet to come out and fight, or the French army to fall back.'

The failure was of course due to the incompetence of the admiral; to his incapacity to initiate or even approve a bold policy. He had two opportunities of destroying the French fleet, and had not availed himself of them; he might have stopped the advance of the French army, and had neglected to do so. When,

'On the 1st of November he struck his flag in Genoa, and departed, he bequeathed to his successors a military estate encumbered by the old mortgage of the French fleet, still in being, which he might have

cleared off, and by a new one in the numerous and powerful batteries of the Riviera, built and controlled by troops whose presence to erect them might have been prevented by a timely action on his part. The harm, being done, was thenceforth irreparable. As time passed, the situation became more and more favourable to the French. The reinforcements from Spain arrived, and gunboats and flatboats, fitted out at Toulon, began to come upon the scene. . . . The coasting activity redoubled along the Riviera, from Toulon to the French front. By November 1st a hundred sail—transports and small ships of war—had assembled fifteen miles behind Borghetto, in Alassio Bay, whither Nelson had chased them. Depôts and supplies were collecting there for the prospective movement. Nelson offered to enter the bay with three ships-of-the-line, specified by name, and to destroy them; but this was declined by Sir Hyde Parker, who had temporarily succeeded Hotham in command, and who at a later day, in the Baltic, was to check some of Nelson's finest inspirations. "I pretend not to say," wrote the latter, a month afterwards, when the Austrians had been driven from their lines, "that the Austrians would not have been beat had not the gunboats harassed them, for, on my conscience, I believe they would; but I believe the French would not have attacked had we destroyed all the vessels of war, transports, &c." As to the practicability of destroying them, Nelson's judgement can safely be accepted, subject only to the chances which are inseparable from war.'

It is in the discussion of this and other little noticed incidents in Nelson's career that one great charm of the present work lies. Other writers have related the brilliant achievements and have exalted the fame of the 'mighty Nelson' in language which has taken its place among the gems of English literature. Captain Mahan alone, among all his biographers, has fully brought out the inner workings of Nelson's character and shown how much of his success was due to his prompt decision, his inflexible resolution, his absolute self-reliance, and his utter fearlessness of responsibility. Other men might see what was wanted; might see the advisability of a certain course of action; but without the conviction of its necessity, without the force of character to act on that conviction, the opportunity was lost in the delay of reference or discussion. In war, time, as Nelson was in the habit of saying, is everything; five minutes might make the difference between victory and defeat.

The most familiar as well as the most perfect instance of this side of the hero's character is the incident of his wearing the 'Captain' out of the line in the battle of Cape St. Vincent, and throwing her across the path of the huge 'Santisima Trinidad' and half a dozen of her consorts, smaller only than herself. The action was so extraordinary, has seemed so monstrous, that many have refused to accept

it in its simple truth. The historian James, a narrow-minded man, but of scrupulous and painstaking honesty, convinced himself that it was impossible, and has described Nelson's manœuvre as ordered by the commander-in-chief; a statement which Sir Harris Nicolas had no difficulty in showing to be contradictory in itself and to all positive evidence. But James was, to some extent, following the lead of Sir William Parker, who seems to have considered Nelson's manœuvre as nothing more than undue haste in obeying the signal to 'tack in succession,' and so getting improperly from the rear of the line to the van. There can now, however, be no doubt that the manœuvre was as contrary to the spirit as to the letter of the signal, was a distinct departure from the order of the commander-in-chief, and might, but for the brilliant success which attended it, have brought on its author the pains and penalties inflicted by a court martial for disobedience. It was this quick appreciation of the circumstances, this instantaneous decision, this prompt and daring act so contrary to all the traditions of the service, that constitutes the chief glory of Nelson in this battle; more, many times more, than the celebrated capture of the two great ships which followed. And so Captain Mahan has considered it:—

'The dramatic and picturesque surroundings which coloured the seizure of these two Spanish ships have doubtless given an exaggerated idea of the danger and difficulty attending the exploit. The impression made upon a sympathetic and enthusiastic eyewitness, Sir Gilbert Elliot, who saw the affair from the decks of the frigate "Lively," has been transmitted to posterity with little diminution. "Nothing in the world was ever more noble than the transaction of the 'Captain,' from beginning to end, and the glorious group of your ship and her two prizes, fast in your gripe, was never surpassed, and I dare say never will." Yet it may better be looked upon as another of those "fortunate" occurrences which attend—and in Nelson's career repeatedly attended—the happy meeting of opportunity and readiness. Doubtless they were beaten ships, but other beaten ships have escaped in general actions—did at St. Vincent. "I pretend not to say," wrote Nelson a week later, "that these ships might not have fell, had I not boarded them; but truly it was far from impossible but they might have forged into the Spanish fleet as the other two ships did." He was there, he could do nothing else, he saw with his rapid glance that he might do this, and he did it. And, after all, it was a big thing—this boarding a first-rate ship over the decks of another hostile ship, not inaptly characterised in the fleet as "Nelson's patent bridge." We must mark, too, or we shall miss significant indications of character, that the same qualities which led him to the quarter-deck of the "San Josef" had led him but an hour before from the rear of

the fleet to the van to save the fight,—the same quickness to see opportunity, the same promptness to seize it, the same audacity to control it. The brilliant crowning of the day may be but an ornament, but it sits well and fitly upon the knightly deed that rolled back the tide of battle in the hour of need.'

With admirable judgement Captain Mahan examines the question afterwards raised by Sir William Parker, who had commanded the van, with his flag in the 'Prince George,' and considered that Nelson's published account of the battle detracted from his own just share of the credit. Nelson had said that the 'Captain' and 'Culloden' were left unsupported for nearly an hour. Parker asserted that the 'Blenheim,' 'Prince George' and 'Orion' were close up with the 'Culloden;' and from his curiously involved sentences we may gather that he wished to say that these ships were actually engaged in support of the 'Captain' within fifteen minutes from her bringing the 'Santisima Trinidad' to action. Captain Mahan considers it 'probable that 'Nelson over-estimated the period that he and Troubridge 'remained unsupported; time would seem long to the 'bravest man when opposed to such heavy odds.' To which it may be added that in other battles of this period, and notably at the Nile and at Trafalgar, similar complaints—very certainly without foundation—were made by the leading ships. The log of the 'Royal Sovereign' at Trafalgar states that, after cutting through the enemy's line, she was in action alone and unsupported for forty minutes, before the 'Belle-isle' came up; but the log of the 'Belle-isle,' corroborated by others logs and by independent circumstances, says that she was two cables—four hundred yards—astern of the 'Royal Sovereign,' and broke through the enemy's line nine minutes after her. Similarly at the Nile, the 'Goliath' has been said to have been fifty minutes in action by herself. The logs of the ships immediately following and the confidential letters of their captains show that the interval was certainly less than ten minutes and was probably not more than five.

Too much success is not wholly desirable; an occasional 'beating is good for men—and nations.' Such is the remarkable sentence with which Captain Mahan introduces the story of the disastrous attack on Santa Cruz. He points out that the enterprise had occupied Nelson's thoughts for more than three months; but he scarcely lays sufficient stress on the fact that the plan which Nelson had in his mind was based on the assistance of a considerable

land force. The heights commanding the town were, he believed, unfortified, and could be easily seized; the water supply, too, could be cut off. Without troops, the case was altogether different; and when first De Burgh and afterwards O'Hara refused their co-operation, the matter was allowed to rest; nor was it revived till, towards the middle of July, Jervis received intelligence of a richly laden ship from Manila having put into Santa Cruz. A landing in force was an essential part of Nelson's plan; and though he was not likely to flinch from any enterprise which his commander-in-chief considered feasible, it may be doubted whether he was so confident of success as Captain Mahan seems to think. At any rate, the extracts quoted from Nelson's correspondence are of an earlier date—June 3 and 7—and can have no direct connexion with the scheme which took definite form on July 14. It was still hoped to occupy the heights in rear of the town; but in the want of adequate force this was to be done by surprise. The line of battle-ships were to remain at a distance, out of sight; the marines and small-arm men of the squadron were put on board the frigates, which might, it was thought, approach near enough to throw the men ashore, without exciting suspicion or alarm. What followed may be best told in Captain Mahan's words.

'By midnight [July 21–2] the frigates were within three miles of the landing-place; but there strong wind and contrary current delayed them, and before they could get within a mile the day dawned. Thus discovered, the hope of surprise was lost. At 6 A.M., when the squadron approached, Troubridge went on board the "Theseus" and told Nelson that he thought, if the heights over the fort, in its rear, could be seized, he could yet compel it to surrender. The landing-party was therefore put on shore at nine, but could not dispossess the enemy, who had recognised the importance of the position indicated by Troubridge, and had occupied it in force. The ships-of-the-line endeavoured to get within range of the fort, to batter it, but could not come nearer than three miles. They were unable even to reach anchoring-ground, and, as it was blowing very fresh, they struck their topgallantmasts and stood off and on. At night Troubridge re-embarked his men on board the frigates, which had remained where they were. The following morning, July 23, Nelson abandoned the attempt upon the fort, recalling the frigates; and, as the wind did not yet serve to approach the shore, he continued under sail during that day and the next. The members of the landing-party rejoined their proper ships.'

What followed is more familiarly known. Nelson was unwilling to give up the enterprise without a direct assault,

and on the evening of July 24 the boats were ordered in, to land in force at the mole. In the darkness of night many of the boats lost their way, or were stove in the surf and the men thrown into the water, to the destruction of their ammunition. Nelson himself had his right arm shattered, and a large proportion of the men were killed or wounded. The next morning Troubridge, who had succeeded to the command, entered into negotiations with the governor, and was permitted to withdraw his men, on a pledge that the ships would make no further attempt on the town. And thus, defeated, mutilated, dispirited, Nelson rejoined the admiral. There were, no doubt, many to say that he had acted rashly, inconsiderately; that the attempt was hopeless from the first and ought not to have been attempted. Jervis, now Earl of St. Vincent, took a different view and soothed his wounded feelings with kindly words; but he was dissatisfied with himself, in pain of mind and body, and he arrived in England thinking that his career was closed. In all this there is nothing new. What is new in Captain Mahan's treatment of the business, is the prominence which he has given to the first abortive attempt, which, because it was abortive, has generally been passed over with a casual mention. But, in fact, it was the pre-arranged plan, by which more particularly Nelson should be judged. The assault actually made was altogether an afterthought, the counsel of disappointment. It is thus that Captain Mahan's criticisms have here the additional interest of novelty, and lead to a higher estimate of Nelson's character by a comparison which appears legitimate:—

'It is likely, too, that his discouragement was increased by brooding over the failure of his enterprise; believing, as he did, that had he been with the landing-party, the first attempt would have succeeded. He could scarcely fail now to see that, although it was strictly in accordance with service methods for the senior to remain with the ships, the decisive point in the plan, as first formed, was the seizure of the heights, and that there, consequently, was the true place for the one in chief command. Any captain, Troubridge especially, could have placed the ships as well as Nelson. It is self-accusation, and not fault-finding merely, that breathes in the words: "Had I been with the first party, I have reason to believe complete success would have crowned our efforts."'

So much for Nelson. The criticism on Troubridge's conduct is even more interesting.

'Troubridge's failure to act at once upon his own judgement and seize the heights above the fort, instead of waiting until he could

communicate with the admiral, whereby were lost more than three invaluable hours, excites surprise, in view of the extremely high value set upon him as an officer by St. Vincent and Nelson; and it is the more singular because the latter, in certain "Recommendations," dated July 17, had indicated the heights, as well as the fort, among the objects to be secured. It is, of course, possible that these Recommendations were not given out; but even so, the formal orders issued gave ample discretion. This hesitation was wholly contrary to Nelson's own readiness to assume responsibility, and probably accounts for his subsequent remark, in a private letter, that had he himself been present this first attempt would not have failed. Occurring in an officer of Troubridge's high standing, and contrasted with Nelson's action at St. Vincent, as well as on many other occasions, the incident serves to bring out forcibly the characteristic eminence of the latter,—the distinction between a really great captain and the best type of a simply accomplished and gallant officer. It may safely be said that had Nelson been in the frigates that morning, and thought as Troubridge thought, he would either have had the heights without waiting for orders, or, to use his own words on a former occasion, would have "been in a confounded scrape."

Troubridge's fame is very dear to us, and it is not likely that this weighty criticism will pass without question. It is, of course, easy to dissent from it in words; not so easy in thought or in judgement. On many occasions Troubridge showed himself an 'accomplished and gallant officer' of the 'best type,' an admirable second, quick to grasp a situation, and to carry out the plans of his commander-in-chief with intelligence and vigour. That he was 'a really great captain' was never proved; there are no facts which can be arrayed in opposition to the estimate we have just quoted.

Captain Mahan rightly considers Nelson's defeat at Teneriffe, the loss of his arm and more distinctly his leaving England with his flag in the 'Vanguard,' in the April of 1798, as marking the natural division of his career. Before this he had been serving in a purely subordinate capacity; and though opportunities had come to him and been seized, though during the last five years he had made himself known and talked about in the service, it was only within the last year that his capture of the two Spanish ships had rendered his name famous, and then rather as that of a scatter-brained desperado, who had rashly dared and been strangely favoured by fortune—a view which his failure at Teneriffe seemed to support. This was the type of man the vulgar more especially worshipped. No careful plans, no strokes of genius for them. 'Go at 'em!' 'A peerage or Westminster Abbey!'—a stupid invention of a later date—were the ideals of the

streets. Those who had observed and appreciated the man's real merit were few, though happily some of them—St. Vincent and Gilbert Elliot—were in a position to speak with authority and effect. It would be deeply interesting if we could learn, with any assurance, the estimate which Nelson's brother officers had formed of him. There are indications that to many he seemed a wild, perhaps half-crazy enthusiast. A young officer of the 'Excellent,' a protégé of Collingwood's, wrote, a few days after the disaster at Teneriffe, 'It is a pity 'such a rash man as Admiral Nelson should have a command; 'but I am in hopes that the loss of his arm will hinder him 'from taking any command again this war.'* As the opinions of a young officer are seldom anything more than a reflex version of his seniors, it may be assumed that this—though more crudely stated—was essentially the opinion of Collingwood, who had had better opportunities than most men of estimating Nelson's capacity as an officer. But Collingwood was a thoroughly commonplace man, to whom; to the last, Nelson's character was an inscrutable riddle.

With the new chapter that was now opening, Nelson, in a higher rank, was to have greater opportunities, and to rise to a height of glory unparalleled in naval war.

'But it was not only in the greatness of the opportunities offered to Nelson that external conditions now changed. The glory of the hero brought a temptation which wrecked the happiness of the man. The loss of serenity, the dark evidences of inward conflict, of yielding against conviction, of consequent dissatisfaction with self and gradual deterioration, make between his past and future a break as clear, and far sharper than, the startling increase of radiancy that attends the battle of the Nile, and thenceforth shines with undiminished intensity to the end. The lustre of his well-deserved and world-wide renown, the consistency and ever-rising merit of his professional conduct, contrast painfully with the shadows of reprobation, the swerving, and the declension, which begin to attend a life heretofore conformed, in the general, to healthy normal standards of right and wrong, but now allowed to violate, not merely ideal Christian rectitude, but the simple, natural dictates of upright dealing between man and man. It had been the proud boast of early years: "There is no action in my whole life but what is honourable." The attainment of glory exceeding even his own great aspirations coincides with dereliction from the plain rules of honour between friends, and with public humiliation to his wife, which he allowed himself to inflict, notwithstanding that he admitted her claims to his deferential consideration to be unbroken. In this contrast, of the exaltation of the hero and the patriot with the degradation of the man, lie the tragedy and the misery of Nelson's

* Nelson and his Companions in Arms, by J. K. Laughton, p. 81.

story. And this, too, was incurred on behalf of a woman whose reputation and conduct were such that no shred of dignity could attach to an infatuation as doting as it was blameable. The pitiful inadequacy of the temptation to the ruin that it caused invests with a kind of prophecy the words he had written to his betrothed in the heyday of courtship: "These I trust will ever be my sentiments; if they are not, I do verily believe it will be my *folly* that occasions it."

'The inward struggle, though severe, was short and decisive. Once determined on his course, he choked down scruples and hesitations, and cast them from him with the same single-minded resolution that distinguished his public acts. "Fixed as fate," were the remorseless words with which he characterised his firm purpose to trample conscience under foot, and to reject his wife in favour of his mistress. But although ease may be obtained by silencing self-reproach, safety scarcely can. One cannot get the salt out of his life, and not be the worse for it. Much that made Nelson so lovable remained to the end; but into his heart, as betrayed by his correspondence, and into his life, from the occasional glimpses afforded by letters or journals of associates, there thenceforth entered much that is unlovely, and which to no appreciable extent was seen before. The simple *bonhomie*, the absence of conventional reticence, the superficial lack of polish, noted by his early biographers, and which he had had no opportunity to acquire, the childlike vanity that transpires so innocently in his confidential home letters, and was only the weak side of his noble longing for heroic action, degenerated rapidly into loss of dignity of life, into an unseemly susceptibility to extravagant adulation, as he succumbed to surroundings, the corruptness of which none at first realised more clearly, and where one woman was the sole detaining fascination. And withal, as the poison worked, discontent with self bred discontent with others, and with his own conditions. Petulance and querulousness too often supplanted the mental elasticity, which had counted for naught the roughnesses on the road to fame. The mind not worthily occupied, and therefore ill at ease, became embittered, prone to censure and to resent, suspicious at times and harsh in judgement, gradually tending towards alienation, not from his wife only, but from his best and earliest friends.'

The criticism is severe—harsh, it may seem; unsympathetic; but is it not just? Have we not been too much in the habit of shutting our eyes to the facts? of imagining Nelson as a man apart, for whom the ordinary laws of society and morality were suspended? 'In the contrast of the exaltation of the hero and the patriot with the degradation of the man, lie the tragedy and the misery of Nelson's story.' No Englishman could have written these lines. Had he tried to do so, he would have made them brutal in the attempt to be candid; he would have lost sense of proportion, and in the grossness of the sin have forgotten the greatness and splendour of the sinner. It is, however,

of Nelson as 'the embodiment of the sea power of Great Britain' that we are here mainly concerned; it is of the personal characteristics out of which were born the glorious achievements that we have now to speak.

The campaign which culminated in the battle of the Nile was Nelson's first independent command; strategically and tactically there was a neatness and finish about the work which mark it as a masterpiece; the scale of it was not too large to destroy the unities; and it may be held as opening a new era in naval war. It has thus been a favourite subject for discussion, and the details of it are presumably familiar to most readers. It may, nevertheless, be well to recall attention to the care which Nelson took in preparing for the result. It was, in fact, so thorough, so continuous, so minute, that the statements, authoritative as they are, have been doubted by many. This is Captain Mahan's view of it:—

'Nelson's own mind was, by constant preoccupation, familiar beforehand with the bearings of the different conditions of any situation likely to occur, and with the probable inferences to be drawn; his opinions were, so to say, in a constant state of formation and developement, ready for instantaneous application to any emergency as it arose. But he had, besides, exercised the same habit in the captains of the ships, by the practice of summoning them on board the flagship, singly or in groups; the slow movement of sailing vessels, particularly in the light summer weather of the Mediterranean, permitting such intercourse without materially affecting the progress of the fleet. Invitations or commands so to visit the flagship were common. "I have passed the day on board the 'Vanguard,'" notes Saumarez on one occasion, "having breakfasted and stayed to dinner with the admiral." "It was his practice during the whole of his cruise," wrote Berry, the flag-captain, "whenever the weather and circumstances would permit, to have his captains on board the 'Vanguard,' where he would fully develop to them his own ideas of the different and best modes of attack, in all possible positions." That such conversations were not confined to tactical questions, but extended to what would now be called the strategy of the situation, is evident from allusions by Saumarez to the various surmises concerning the probable movements of the enemy. Nelson never yielded a particle of his responsibility, nor of his credit, but it is clear that such discussion would not only broaden his own outlook, but prepare his subordinates to give readier and sounder views upon any new conjuncture that might arise.'

And to this he has been enabled, by the present Lord de Saumarez, to add a copy of the opinion written by Sir James Saumarez, on board the 'Vanguard,' on June 22:—

'The French fleet having left Malta six days ago, had their destination been the Island of Sicily there is reason to presume we should

have obtained information of it yesterday off Syracuse, or the day before in coming through the Faro of Messina. Under all circumstances I think it most conducive to the good of his Majesty's service to make the best of our way for Alexandria, as the only means of saving our possessions in India, should the French armament be destined for that country.'

If, after this, anyone chooses to say that the battle of the Nile was fought in a haphazard, helter-skelter style, or on the sudden inspiration of Nelson or of anyone else, on his own head be the guilt.

It would be impossible, within the necessary limitation of space, to follow Captain Mahan in his detailed criticisms on the several incidents of the chase and the battle. We will therefore only note, in reference to points that have been much discussed, that he thinks the refusal to chase the three French frigates, seen on the morning of June 22, judicious. Nelson had no frigates. To have detached ships of the line on this duty would have risked scattering the squadron: to have chased in a united body would have been following a delusive phantom. Concentration of purpose, singleness of aim, was more than ever necessary, now that time pressed and a decision had been reached. He thinks that to speak of standing to the north towards the coast of Asia Minor, on finding that the French were not in Alexandria or on the coast of Egypt, as a mistake, is 'to be wise 'after the event.' Nelson's information was that, on leaving Malta, the French had six days start of him. Actually they had but three. 'It is not wonderful,' says Captain Mahan, 'that he failed to believe that he could have gained six days.' We may add that the words in Berry's 'Narrative'—'Nelson's idea was first to secure the victory, and then to 'make the most of it according to future circumstances'—which have been denounced as something very near nonsense, are distinctly approved by Captain Mahan. 'The 'expression,' he says, 'is so luminous that it can scarcely be doubted that the words are substantially those of the admiral himself. First, the great combination, which necessarily, for the moment, neglects a part of the enemy in order to disconcert and overwhelm the rest; afterwards, the unremitting pursuit, which completes the triumph.' And he refers to Nelson's instructions to the captains of the 'Phœbe' and 'Amazon' in 1804, on the possibility of their falling in with two French frigates. They were not each to single out and attack an opponent, but both together to endeavour to take 'one frigate; if successful, chase the other: but if you do not

'take the second, still you have won a victory, and your country will gain a frigate;' which, being summarised, amounts to 'Victory first; afterwards, the results, as circumstances may permit.' Following this train of thought, Captain Mahan goes on to discuss the question whether the most was made of the victory. It is familiarly known that Nelson was, himself, not quite satisfied.

'I regret,' he wrote to Lord Minto, 'that one escaped, and I think, if it had pleased God that I had not been wounded, not a boat would have escaped to have told the tale; but do not believe that any individual in the fleet is to blame. In my conscience, I believe greater exertions could not have been, and I only mean to say, that if my experience could in person have directed those exertions of individuals, there was every appearance that Almighty God would have continued to bless my endeavours.'

And some months later, he wrote to Lord Howe, 'Had it pleased God that I had not been wounded and stone blind, there cannot be a doubt but that every ship would have been in our possession.' On which Captain Mahan comments:—

'Whether the result would or would not have equalled his belief, the traces are clear that what was wanted, during the remainder of that eventful night, was just that concord of action which the head imparts to the members. Messages went from ship to ship, captains consulted together and proposed to move together, and did move separately; there was no lack of good-will, nor, as Nelson says, of exertion; but men were not quite sure of what the other man would do, and felt no authority to command him; and there was hesitation over risks, and cautious delays about soundings and shaky spars, which, the author is persuaded, would not have deterred Nelson in such conditions, where victory was decisive, though not yet complete.'

And yet, in the eyes of England and the world, the victory was the most complete that had ever been won. Of the thirteen French ships of the line, two only escaped, and those were captured within eighteen months by ships under Nelson's orders; whilst the effect on the campaign—on the posture of affairs in Egypt and Syria—was as decisive as if every single ship had been taken or burnt in Aboukir Bay. Of this overwhelming result from the strategical and political points of view Captain Mahan has spoken at length in his *'Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire,'* and here only briefly refers to it. He dwells, however, on the importance of the continued blockade of these eastern shores, and seems to imply that there, after refitting his shattered ships, Nelson ought to have been in person. He

refers, indeed, to the Admiralty orders sent through St. Vincent, to consider the coasts of Sicily and Naples as his first care, the blockade of Egypt and Malta as subsidiary, though important: but he discusses the question as though the relative importance had been reversed. It may be well, therefore, to call attention to the stringency of the orders, dated from the Admiralty, October 3:—

'In the present state of affairs in the Mediterranean, their Lordships conceive that the objects principally to be attended to by the squadron employed there are: first, the protection of the coasts of Sicily, Naples, and the Adriatic, and in the event of war being renewed in Italy, an active co-operation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies. Secondly, the cutting off all communication between France and Egypt, that neither supplies nor reinforcements may be sent to the army at Alexandria. Thirdly, the blocking up of Malta, so as to prevent provisions from being sent into it. . . . The protection of the coasts of Naples and Sicily, and an active co-operation with the Austrian and Neapolitan armies, are the objects to which a principal part of the squadron should be most particularly directed. . . . Your Lordship [St. Vincent] will give such directions to the officer commanding the squadron in the Mediterranean as may be necessary for carrying effectually into execution these instructions, in which, however, from the nature of his situation, and from the uncertainty of events which may occur, much must of necessity be left to his discretion. But he should be particularly directed, in every possible situation, to give the most cordial and unlimited support and protection to His Majesty's allies, to exert himself to the utmost to preserve a good intelligence between them, and most carefully to avoid giving to any of them the smallest cause for suspicion, jealousy, or offence.'*

Captain Mahan has certainly not overlooked these very 'particular directions,' but he has curiously minimised their meaning, and infers, or allows it to be inferred, that Nelson was led into neglecting the first objects of his care—Egypt and Malta—by his infatuation for Lady Hamilton. His contention is that

'Nelson's opinion as to the direction of his personal supervision underwent a decisive change after his arrival in Naples. Before it, he is urgent with that Court to support with active naval assistance the operations against Malta, and to send bomb-vessels, the absence of which he continually deplores, to shell the transports in the harbour of Alexandria. He hopes, indeed, to find on his arrival that the Emperor and many other powers are at war with the French, but his attention is concentrated upon Bonaparte's army.'

* Nicolas's 'Dispatches and Letters of Lord Nelson,' vol. iii. pp. 143-4.

His arrival at Naples is then described ; his meeting with Lady Hamilton and the way in which she took possession of him.

'On October 15 Nelson sailed from Naples for Malta in the "Vanguard" with three ships-of-the-line. He still felt, with accurate instinct, that Egypt and the Ionian Islands, with Malta, constituted the more purely maritime interests, in dealing with which the fleet would most further the general cause, and he alludes frequently to his wish to attend to them. . . . On November 5 he returned to Naples.'

After this, and for the next eighteen months, his headquarters were at Naples and Palermo. He had received the Admiralty orders of October 3—the date is not mentioned, but probably towards the end of October—and was by them 'particularly directed' to do so. They, of themselves, are sufficient reason for the apparent change in Nelson's estimate on which Captain Mahan has dwelt. In judging that this second estimate was wrong, he seems to ignore the stringency of the orders under which Nelson acted. No doubt, as time—and no very long time—went on, obedience to these particular orders had an additional pleasure. No one will venture to assert that Nelson's conduct at this time was single-minded ; but it is difficult to see that the service suffered in its practical part, though the scandal of the life at Palermo was degrading to Nelson's character and lowering to his influence. Still, and here we are again in perfect accord with the author—

'Nelson's unwearying mental energy, and keen sense of the necessity of seizing opportunity, did not allow things to lapse into indolence. Whether or not he was well advised to settle himself at Palermo, aware as he must have been of the actual temptation, and of the serious injury that scandal was doing to his reputation, both professional and personal, may admit of doubt. With numerous detached and minor services carrying on at the same moment, there was much to be said for the commander-in-chief remaining in a fixed position, near the centre of affairs ; and in his apprehension everything then revolved about the kingdom of Naples. There can be no question, however, that all his faculties were constantly on the alert ; and that his administration of the station until Keith's return was characterised by the same zeal, sagacity, and politic tact that he had shown in earlier days. It is admirable to note the patience, courtesy, and adroit compliment he brings into play, to kindle, in those over whom he has no direct control, the ardour for the general good, and the fearlessness of responsibility, which actuate himself ; and at the same time to observe how severe the strain was upon his nervous and irritable temper, as betrayed in comments upon these very persons, made in private letters which he never expected would see the light.'

By this time, however, another factor has to be taken into account—his intense jealousy of Keith, the feeling that wrong had been done him in sending Keith out to resume the command. That this, more than his passion for 'Emma,' was the cause of his gross disobedience of orders in July 1799 and of his insubordinate conduct in the spring of 1800, there can be no doubt in the mind of anyone who has carefully examined his correspondence at this period. It is impossible to suppose that this was not fully understood by his brother officers and by his superiors at the Admiralty; but it was probably thought that it would be less hurtful to the service to allow it to be believed that 'the woman' was in fault, rather than that the great admiral was grievously sinning against every code of discipline. Lord Spencer's letter of May 9, 1800, desiring him to return to England if the state of his health prevented him from attending to the active duties of his command, is a model of plain meaning veiled by delicate tact; but that Nelson's ill-health was, in the main, but another name for ill-temper, was shown by the quickness of his recovery as soon as he got away from the detested Keith, and by his ability, on arriving in England, to report himself at once as ready for any duty to which he might be appointed. His stay at home was thus short, but it was long enough for two incidents which deeply affected the remainder of his life: the quarrel with his wife, from whom he separated in anger, and the birth of Horatia—

'whose parentage for a long time gave rise to much discussion, and is even yet considered by some a matter of doubt. Fortunately, that question requires no investigation here; as regards the Life of Nelson, and his character as involved in this matter, the fact is beyond dispute that he believed himself the father, and Lady Hamilton the mother, of the girl, whose origin he sought to conceal by an elaborate though clumsy system of mystification. This might possibly have left the subject covered with clouds, though not greatly in doubt, had not Lady Hamilton, after wildly unnecessary lying on her own part, recklessly preserved her holdings of a correspondence which Nelson scrupulously destroyed and enjoined her to destroy.'

To this concealment, so contrary to his natural and acquired character, he was driven by his care for Lady Hamilton's reputation and his own also. At Naples and at Palermo he had lived in the house of Hamilton, who to the end professed for him unbounded esteem and confidence. This confidence had been betrayed, and Captain Mahan rightly adds, 'The strongest line of argument formerly advanced, by those who disputed Lady Hamilton's being

'the mother of the child, has become now Nelson's severest 'condemnation.'

In his former work on the French Revolution, Captain Mahan discussed at considerable length the important share which Nelson had in determining the operations in the Sound, as well as in the more brilliant episode of the battle of Copenhagen. To this discussion he adds nothing from the technical point of view, considering the campaign more purely from the personal ; but he gives an anecdote which he has dug out of that unindexed quarry the 'Naval Chronicle.' As the fleet left England, Sir Hyde Parker, whether from his old recollections of Nelson in the Mediterranean, or from having heard of his later conduct towards Keith, showed much coolness in his manner, and an unwillingness to let Nelson know his plans. As they were passing over the Dogger Bank, Layman, one of the lieutenants of the 'St. George,' happened to remark in Nelson's hearing that he had seen turbot caught there. This suggested to Nelson that he, too, might catch one, and having done so, he sent it as a present to the commander-in-chief, who, being at bottom a man of kindly nature, was soothed by the attention. It must have been in the following year that

'At Merton Mr. Layman told Lord Nelson that a man eminent in the naval profession had said to him, "Do tell me how Parker came to take the laurel from his own brow, and place it on Nelson's?" "What did you say?" asked Nelson. "That it was not a gift," replied Layman, "as your Lordship had gained the victory by a turbot." "A turbot!" "Yes, my Lord, I well recollect your great desire to catch a turbot, and your astonishing many, by insisting upon its being immediately sent to Sir Hyde, who condescended to return a civil note; without which opening your Lordship would not have been consulted in the Cattegat, and without such intercourse your Lordship would not have got the detached squadron; without which there would not have been any engagement, and consequently no victory." Lord Nelson smilingly said, "You are right."

Whether Nelson's resolution to fight the battle to an end, in spite of Parker's signal to 'Cease firing,' was or was not an act of disobedience, Captain Mahan will not say positively, though he inclines to think that it was. It is quite certain that no previous agreement or want of agreement would have affected Nelson's conduct. His whole career had shown him ever ready to take the responsibility of disobedience, if the orders militated with his own conviction. And in this instance he was undoubtedly right.

'Never,' says Captain Mahan, 'was disobedience more justified, more

imperative, more glorious. To retire, with crippled ships and mangled crews, through difficult channels, under the guns of the half-beaten foe, who would renew his strength when he saw the movement, would be to court destruction,—to convert probable victory into certain, and perhaps overwhelming, disaster. It was not, however, only in superiority of judgement or of fighting quality that Nelson in this one act towered like a giant above his superior; it was in that supreme moral characteristic which enabled him to shut his eyes to the perils and doubts surrounding the only path by which he could achieve success, and save his command from a defeat verging on annihilation.'

It has been very much the custom to represent the battle as won by downright hard fighting and nothing else. This was not the case, and the contention, though quite in keeping with the popular estimate of Nelson's character, is inaccurate. From the first understanding of the enemy's position, Nelson had pointed out that, as 'the great strength of the enemy was at the head of the line, supported by the Crown Battery, his Lordship emphatically observed that to begin the attack there would be like taking a bull by the horns, and he therefore suggested the attempt by the tail.' And it was not only that the northern part of the enemy's line of defence was the stronger:—

'The southern wing was much more exposed. Nor was this all. An advance from the north must be made with a northerly wind. If unsuccessful, or even, in case of success, if ships were badly crippled, they could not return to the north, where the fleet was. On the other hand, attack from the south presupposed a southerly wind, with which, after an action, the engaged ships could rejoin the fleet, if they threaded safely the difficult navigation.'

But they were not unsuccessful. The victory was won, though the strongest part of the enemy's defence—the Three Crowns Battery—was never seriously engaged. 'We are quite beaten,' wrote Niebuhr the historian, then residing at Copenhagen. 'Our line of defence is destroyed. The remaining half of our defences are useless, now that the right wing is broken.' 'The result,' says Captain Mahan, 'was due to Nelson's sagacious and emphatic advice as to the direction and manner of the attack, by which the strong points of the Danish positions were completely and unexpectedly turned.'

Captain Mahan's earlier writings have shown that he considers Nelson more distinctly than Wellington as the foil to Napoleon; that, in fact, Napoleon was crushed by the sea power of which Nelson was the embodiment. He seems always at his best when tracing the antagonism of the two,

or marking some correspondence in their opinions or conduct. In illustration of this he quotes an anecdote, related by Mr. Addington,

'of the manner in which Nelson exemplified his ideas of the proper mode of negotiating with Bonaparte. "It matters not at all," he said, taking up a poker, "in what way I lay this poker on the floor. But if Bonaparte shall say it must be placed in this direction," suiting the action to the word, "we must instantly insist upon its being laid in some other one." At the same time Bonaparte, across the Channel, was illustrating in almost identical phrase the indomitable energy that was common to these two men, the exponents of the two opposing and irreconcilable tendencies of their age. "If the British ministry should intimate that there was anything the First Consul had not done, because he was prevented from doing it, that instant he would do it."'

He has taken pains both previously and in the present work to dwell on the several occasions in which the two men were brought in direct opposition to each other, and to work out in detail the frustration of Bonaparte's designs by the genius, energy and care of Nelson. He has shown how the invasion of Egypt, the possible hope of founding an Oriental empire, rivalling or excelling that of Timour or of Aurungzebe, was brought to nought by the battle of the Nile and its direct consequence, the failure of Bonaparte before Saint Jean d'Acre.* Again, he has pointed out, as a singular coincidence, that just as Nelson had been sent, in what seemed a fortuitous manner, into the Mediterranean to accomplish this great work, so, having finished it, he returned to England—not by the design of the Government, but in consequence of incidents personally deplorable—at the very time when his services were needed in the Baltic to break up the formidable coalition against English interests which Bonaparte had been able to form.† It was not so much the Danes who were defeated at Copenhagen as Bonaparte's projects which were struck down. And now, on the renewal of the war after the short peace of 1802, Nelson was again sent to the Mediterranean, this time of set purpose, to watch the French fleet at Toulon and, as it subsequently appeared, to play the principal part in the utter subversion of Napoleon's deep-laid scheme for the invasion of England. All this has so often been described in fact and misunderstood in intention, that it is worth following in some detail the remarkable plan

* Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire, vol. i. pp. 324-6.

† Ibid. vol. ii. p. 37.

which Napoleon had formed, and the manner in which it fell to pieces before the straightforward and unflinching policy of Nelson. It was not that he had a clear understanding of Napoleon's project; but that he had a fixed resolve to prevent the execution of it, whatever it was:—

‘A man dealing with Napoleon was bound to meet perplexities innumerable, to thread a winding and devious track, branching out often into false trails that led nowhere, and confused by cross-lights which glittered only to mislead. In such a case, as in the doubtful paths of common life, the only sure guide to a man's feet is principle; and Nelson's principle was the destruction of the French fleet. No other interest, his own least of all, could divert him from it. For it he was willing not only to sacrifice fortune, but to risk renown; and so, amid troubles manifold, he walked steadfastly in the light of the single eye.’

It was as if he took for his guidance in great affairs the rule which—years before, in a fit of ill-temper—he had proposed to Captain Louis for his personal conduct: ‘There is no way of dealing with a Frenchman but to knock him down.’ Whither the French were bound if they could get away from Toulon, he neither knew nor could find out. Sicily, the Morea, Egypt, all seemed probable points of attack; Ireland or the West Indies, quite as likely. ‘Go where they may,’ he wrote as early as August 25–6, 1803, ‘I am determined to follow them. I shall follow them to the Antipodes.’ So again, a year later, September 6, 1804, he wrote to Ball:—

‘I can solemnly assure you, that I am a poorer man than the day I was ordered to the Mediterranean command, by upwards of 1,000*l.*; but money I despise, except as it is useful, and I expect my Prize-money is embarked in the Toulon fleet. I should think, now the Russians are getting so large a Naval force into the Mediterranean, that the Toulon fleet will not think of going to the eastward. I should rather think the West Indies more likely for them to succeed in. Suppose this fleet escapes, and gets out of the Straits, I rather think I should bend my course to the westward; for if they carry 7,000 men—with what they have at Martinique and Guadeloupe—St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent, Antigua, and St. Kitts would fall, and, in that case, England would be so clamorous for peace, that we should humble ourselves. What do you think? Tell me. I have weighed Ireland against the West Indies. With me the latter throws the beam up to the ceiling; but I may be wrong. It is at best but a guess, and the world attaches wisdom to him that guesses right.’

‘This’—says Captain Mahan—‘is a noteworthy passage, for it shows great sagacity of prediction, and, in announcing beforehand his resolve,—of which this is not the sole previous mention,—it dispels entirely the idea that he was decoyed to the West Indies. It explains, also, the remarkable outburst of gratitude that hailed him on his return from a chase which had been wholly unsuccessful as regards

his own chief object—the annihilation of the French fleet. He had failed to find it, but he had driven the enemy out of the West Indies before they could do any serious injury to the vital interests of the country. A man cannot be said to be decoyed, because, in pursuance of a judgement deliberately formed beforehand, he does the thing which the moment demands; unless it can be shown that he has thereby uncovered greater interests. This Nelson did not do. He saved the West Indies, and returned in time to protect Great Britain and Ireland from invasion.'

We wish we could agree with the author in believing that this and similar sentences from Nelson's correspondence entirely 'dispel the idea that he was decoyed to the West Indies.' We know that they do not. They have been often quoted in the same connexion, but the idea remains as firmly fixed as ever in the minds of many of our countrymen, who continue, and will continue, to say that Nelson's being 'decoyed' to the West Indies exposed the country to a very great danger, from which it escaped only by a piece of unexpected and undeserved good fortune. Nelson himself, of course, never had any such idea. Owing to 'General Brereton's damned information' he had missed Villeneuve off Dominica, where he had hoped to catch him. He fretted, fumed, and swore over the disappointment, but otherwise his mind was at ease. 'My opinion,' he wrote, 'is firm as a rock that some cause, orders or inability to perform any service in these seas, has made them—the French—resolve to proceed direct for Europe;' and that being the case, he knew that they could not outstrip pursuit by long enough to do much harm.

'The harassing fear, which he had borne through the long beat down the Mediterranean and the retarded voyage to Martinique, had now disappeared. Going out he had gained ten days upon the allies; they had only five days' start of him in the return. He recognised, moreover, the great significance of their inactivity during the three weeks they had the Windward Islands, if not all the West Indies, defenceless before them. "If they were not able to make an attack for three weeks after their arrival, they could not hope for greater success after our means of resistance increased, and their means of offence were diminished." If this consideration, on the one hand, showed the improbability of their proceeding against Jamaica, after Nelson's coming, when they had not ventured before, it gave also an inkling of their probable efficiency for immediate action in Europe. "They will not give me credit for quitting the West Indies for a month to come;" therefore it was unlikely that they would think it necessary to proceed at once upon their next enterprise, after reaching port. "I must not despair of getting up with them before they enter the Straits," he writes Elliot. "At least, they will have no time

to carry any of their future plans into execution, and do harm to any of the countries under my charge." If his thirst for glory was unslaked, his fears of disaster had disappeared.'

Nelson believed that the allies were bound into the Mediterranean; he thought it possible they might rather make Ferrol. In either case he saw no reason to anticipate danger. As a matter of fact, he joined the squadron off Cadiz four days before Villeneuve was met by Calder off Cape Finistère, and, though not crushed, so handled as to make it imperative on him to put into Vigo and Coruuna. Before he could attempt to carry out his orders Nelson had judged his intentions and had joined his squadron to that of Cornwallis off Brest.

Trafalgar is often spoken of as the decisive action of the campaign. It was, indeed, the decisive action of the war, the action which firmly established England's sea power, and determined the whole course of the future, leading to Moscow and Waterloo as inevitable consequences. But the turning point of the campaign of 1805, the incident which put an end to Napoleon's scheme for the invasion of England, and broke up the camp of Boulogne, was the tactically indecisive engagement off Cape Finistère. It was this that convinced Villeneuve of his inability to force his way to the north, and was the proximate cause of his retreat to Cadiz. It was on the news of this retreat that Napoleon broke up the camp and led his army into Germany, hoping for a more favourable opportunity, against which Nelson, in his glorious death, sufficiently provided. 'His body is buried in peace, but his Name liveth for evermore.' 'Sharer of our mortal weakness, he has bequeathed to us a type of single-minded self-devotion that can never perish.'

- ART. V.—1. *The Preservation of Open Spaces, and of Foot-paths and other Rights of Way.* By Sir ROBERT HUNTER, M.A., Solicitor to the Post Office; formerly Honorary Solicitor to the Commons Preservation Society. London: 1896.
2. *English Commons and Forests: The Story of the Battle during the last Thirty Years for Public Rights over the Commons and Forests of England and Wales.* By the Right Hon. G. SHAW LEFEVRE. London: 1894.
3. *Commons and Common Fields; or, the History and Policy of the Laws relating to Commons and Enclosures in England.* By THOMAS EDWARD SCRUTTON, M.A., LL.B. Cambridge: 1887.
4. *Domesday Book and Beyond.* Three Essays in the Early History of England. By FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND, LL.D., Downing Professor in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: 1897.

AT the close of a century and of a reign of unexampled length, it is natural that men should pause, and, looking back, endeavour to estimate the general results of the movements of the age. It is one of press and motion, little tending under ordinary circumstances to the just weighing of events, since incidents, even those which are trivial, loom large before the public mind for a moment, and thus often gain a permanent importance which they should not possess. Single events rather than sequences of incidents are noticed, and we may thus easily overlook the general course of national movements.

For a little over thirty-five years the attention of the country has been frequently drawn to occurrences in connexion with English commons, but it is doubtful if any complete appreciation has been formed of the general nature and results of these incidents, sometimes of a social, sometimes of a legal, and sometimes of a legislative character. Broadly stated, there has been for this period a national movement of a distinct character in favour of the preservation, as permanent places of public enjoyment and use, of the commons which are scattered over the country. Lords of manors have been taken to task for employing an ancient statute to enable them to take possession of common land for their own benefit. But the public enjoyment of many commons has lately been secured by means of legal princi-

ples, which were never intended to produce the fortunate results which they have for the public in this modern movement. That is to say, the proof of customs of an agricultural and profitable nature—such, for example, as that of the inhabitants of a particular locality, the commoners of the manor, to graze sheep on a particular piece of open ground—has enabled the public generally to obtain the enjoyment of commons for purposes of health and recreation. This, however desirable, cannot be regarded as the natural and primary result of establishing commoners' rights; it is, in truth, a consequence which could at one time never have been foreseen.

It would, however, be a mistake to limit a view of this subject to modern times, since, without going into unreasonable details, it is possible to give shortly a fairly accurate idea of its early history and thus to realise—which is by no means easy to-day—the former universality of the system of commons and common fields in England. The difficulty of the subject arises, not from any uncertainty as to the condition of commons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, for then we find wastes and forests over which certain persons—commoners—had definite rights as of pasturage, and common fields tilled under well-known customs, and lords of manors in whom the soil was vested, but in discovering the origin of these common rights. Two opposing theories are to be found in regard to them. The one—the legal, or, as it has been called, the Blackstonian theory—supposes that rights of common arose out of grants subsequent to the Norman Conquest: 'As the lord of the manor is the absolute lord of the soil in his manor, all the rights which the freeholders and copyholders in the manor enjoy depended originally on the grant or mere will and suffrance of the lord.' This is essentially the basis on which for centuries the English lawyers raised all sorts of legal structures, and on which the judgements of the courts rested. The other theory, arising out of historical researches,

'is based upon the conception of the Mark or Teutonic Village Community of Freemen, cultivating and owning their land in common. This theory was originated in Germany by Von Maurer, applied to England by Freeman, Kemble, and Nasse, and elucidated by the Indian, Slavonic, and Irish investigations of Sir Henry Maine. It finds the beginnings of economic history in the self-governing community of freemen, owning their land in common and cultivating it by customary rules. It professes to trace the degeneration of this community through the aggrandisement or ancestral superiority of one of its own members, who ultimately becomes its lord.' (Scrutton, p. 8.)

But this theory has been severely criticised by other writers, notably in this country by Mr. Seeböhm, who has clearly shown that long before the Norman Conquest a system of agriculture existed, in some parts of England at least, in form manorial. It is to be observed that this intermediate theory, if it may be so called, is at any rate destructive of what has been termed the legal theory of the origin of the rights of common, whilst it does not establish that of the German writers. In truth, it is pretty obvious that we must guard ourselves against evolving too precise and definite theories, for undoubtedly great misconceptions have arisen by the wholesale acceptance for years of the theory of the mediæval lawyers that rights of common arose out of grants from lords to their tenants, and from the false idea that the Norman Conquest marks a cleavage in the English land system. On the other hand, because we may regard it as probable that in many instances rights of common of pasture and the cultivation by several persons of common fields were survivals in some localities from an age in which villagers cultivated and used their land in common, we must not on that account leave out of sight a practice by lords even in Saxon times of granting rights in the common fields to tenants or inferior persons, with which grants went also rights over the waste. We must accept the fact that there existed before the Conquest a system under which a thane owned what was subsequently called the lord's demesne, and tenants at his will cultivated their common fields, and worked, when required, on the lord's land; and we should be satisfied with those facts which can be proved, even though they leave the origin of rights to common land before the tenth century in an indefinite state. They indicate the existence of defined village communities, but the actual position of these bodies is left much in the dark; in some cases they may have been almost completely free, in others those who formed them may have been little better than slaves. The further light which has been thrown on this question by the careful investigations of Professor F. W. Maitland, the latest result of whose inquiries is stated in the volume which he has called '*Domesday Book and Beyond*,' serves to emphasise the statement already made, that it is undesirable to formulate general theories in regard to the early system of land-owning in England. It is more than ever clear from this book that there were villages which were occupied by freemen, who were free from the obligation to render agricultural service to a lord—in other

words, that the manorial system was not universal. So far as regards the subject of common land, it is almost immaterial whether a village was free or dependent upon a lord who owned a demesne upon which the villagers, as they may be called, did villein service. 'For,' to quote Professor Maitland, 'we cannot doubt that the open field system of agriculture prevails as well in the free villages as in those that are under the control of the lord. The sokeman's hide or virgate is no ring-fenced close, but is compound of many scattered strips' (p. 142). And again, 'As to such part of the land as is not arable:—even in the free village a few enclosed meadows will probably be found, but the pasture land lies open for the cattle of the vill' (p. 143). It is impossible in this article to enter either into Professor Maitland's consideration of the German theory or into his refutation of Mr. Seeböhm's conclusion that the villages of England before the Conquest were full of so-called villeins, and that the free village was a rare exception.

'Any theory of English history must face the free, the lordless village, and must account for it as for one of the normal phenomena which existed in the year of grace 1066. How common it was we shall never know until the material contained in Domesday Book has been geographically rearranged by counties, hundreds, and vills. But whether or no, it was normal, just as normal as the village which was completely subject to seignorial power.' (P. 141.)

It is enough for the present purpose that Professor Maitland gives full and sufficient reasons for his general conclusion that in Saxon England there was no free village community—that is, what in modern times would be called a corporation—but that there were villages filled with inhabitants each of whom possessed various individual rights, and that such villages were in some places servile in character, in other places free; and that, servile or free, there belonged to all, or most of them, the common fields and the common waste.

Again, for a long time after the Norman Conquest it is unsafe to generalise as to the exact status and position of those who had right in the common fields and in the wastes of the country. Let us take Mr. Seeböhm's *résumé* of the Domesday survey of the manor of Westminster:—

'The village which nestled round the new minster just completed by Edward the Confessor was on a manor of the abbot. It consisted of twenty-five houses of the abbot's immediate followers, nineteen homesteads of villani, forty-two cottages with their little gardens, and one of them with five acres of land. There was also the larger

homestead of the sub-manor of the abbot's under tenant, with a single cottage and a vineyard of four half-acres newly planted. There was meadow enough by the river side to make hay for the herd of oxen belonging to the dozen plough teams of the village, and pasture for them and other cattle. Further round the village in open fields were about one thousand acres of arable land, mostly in acre strips. Lastly, surrounding the whole on the land side were the woods where the swineherd found mast for the two hundred pigs of the place.' (English Village Communities, p. 98.)

In the general pasture land by the river and in the woodland waste we see the land which has survived to later generations in the so-called 'common.' In the villeins and the cottagers, who were also villeins, we see the most numerous class of commoners, as they afterwards became; but in the abbot's under tenant we also see a man who in time would become a free tenant with a large holding, and if any of the abbot's soldiers and servants turned, as some doubtless did after a while, into farmers, they probably became free tenants, with rights over the waste and in the fields. Thus there were undoubtedly village communities wholly composed of villeins who cultivated the common fields, not necessarily serfs, but men bound to do such work as was required of them on the lord's demesne, and had rights over the lord's waste; and there were free tenants of the manor who likewise had rights over the waste. These, broadly stated, so far as our present subject is concerned, gradually crystallised into well-understood individual rights over commons, which were waste lands, and in common cultivated fields, and in the lammas land, partly hayfields and partly pasture land. These same rights, at one time enjoyed largely by villeins in a state of non-freedom rather in regard to tenure than to civil status, and largely also, it seems clear, by freemen, gradually became vested in men who become wholly free as we emerge from mediævalism to the England of the sixteenth century.

In this process of transition in the thirteenth century the provision, or statute of Merton, as it is usually called, passed in 1236, so far as regards its influence on the relation of lords of manors and commoners, holds an important place. It is a step towards the clearer definition of individual rights, from barbarism to civilisation. For we must picture to ourselves an England of forests and wastes amidst which were scattered

'townships or vills of some extent, hamlets if of but a few houses gathered round one or more mansions of superior size and importance,

the manor houses or abodes of the lords of the respective manors. Round each township stretch the great ploughed fields, usually three in number, open and uninclosed.'

It defined proprietorial rights, for though it 'gave the lord 'a right to approve or make his profit out of it, and hence 'to inclose the waste land,' he was bound to leave sufficient pasture for the commoners.

Before this statute 'any single freeholder who had a right 'of commons had full power to prevent his lord from sub-tracting from that right any part of the land over which it 'had been exercisable.'* It was impossible therefore in theory for the waste to be brought into cultivation by the lord, since over the whole of it the tenants of the manor had a right of common of pasture. When we realise the vast extent of the uncultivated land in these distant times it is obvious that the statute was intended to bring further parts of it into a more productive state without a diminution of the rights of those who were interested in it. It is not difficult also to realise how a legal theory that rights of common arise out of grants could originate in the working of this statute. A lord would grant to a deserving and landless follower a portion of the uncultivated land, with a view to its reclamation, together with a right of pasturage over the remainder of the waste in common with older tenants or villeins. Hence could originate a simple and convenient theory. It is obvious also that in order to decide if sufficient pasture was left to the commoners, the number of animals which they might place on the waste had to be ascertained, as well as the persons who were entitled to the right of pasturage. Thus the statute was clearly, in its primary action, as beneficial to the commoners as to the lord, since it obviously gave a species of title to existing commoners, and it was not in any sense a statute which was passed for the object of merely benefiting lords of manors. That in later years it over and over again became a means by which lords of manors infringed on the rights of commoners or lessened the access of the public to commons cannot be doubted, but for the moment we are concerned only with the statute of Merton when it became law. Then it was a statesmanlike measure rightly believed to be in the interests of national developement. But times changed, and the main object of inclosure came to be the profit of the lord, or his aggrandisement and pleasure, rather than the advantage of any other

* Pollock and Maitland's 'History of English Law,' p. 612.

class. Throughout the sixteenth century inclosure was a constant cause of popular discontent and of local uprisings.

‘In every shire in England,’ says a writer in 1577, ‘there is great plentie of parks . . . where in time past many large and wealthy occupiers were dwelling within the compass of one park . . . there is now almost nothing kept but a sort of wild and savage beasts cherished for pleasure and delight, and yet some owners, still desirous to enlarge these grounds, do not let daily to take in more, not sparing the very commons whereupon many townships now and then do thrive.’ (Harrison, ‘Description of England,’ bk. ii. ch. 19.)

What was to one age an evil has, however, become a benefit to another, since the very parks which were in one sense taken from the community of the locality in the sixteenth have become in many instances recreation grounds and places of public enjoyment in the nineteenth century. But equal, if not greater, discontent was caused by the inclosure of the common arable fields. The production and export of wool had become of extreme importance, and an extending commerce reacted on the rural parts of England by causing these common fields to be inclosed and turned into pasture lands for sheep. The works of writers in the sixteenth century are full of this evil, which of course caused great distress among the labourers. It was a movement in the direction of inclosure based on quite opposite grounds to those which were considered to justify inclosure in later times; it is illustrative, however, of the way in which every movement in regard to commons from the earliest times has been, in response to important national changes, either economical or social.

The aspect of the subject changes, however, when we reach more modern times. Speaking broadly we may say that with the reign of Queen Anne we enter on a period of inclosure under Acts of Parliament, as distinguished from inclosure by agreement of those interested, or under the authority of the statute of Merton, and this continued for a hundred and fifty years. That statute only gave power in certain contingencies to inclose the waste, it was not applicable to the inclosure of common fields, and it did not give a parliamentary title to the inclosure. As the century progressed inclosures under Act of Parliament multiplied exceedingly.

‘Under Anne there had been only two Acts of Inclosure, comprising 1,439 acres; under George I. there were sixteen, comprising 17,660 acres; under George II. there were 226, comprising 318,778 acres; but, from the accession of George III. to the end of the year 1796, no

less than 1,532 Inclosure Acts were passed, including 2,804,197 acres.' (Lecky, 'History of England,' vi. 196.)

Intelligent public opinion was in favour of this change in the English land system, and it found approval and legislative sanction in an annual increase of Inclosure Acts. But we must be under no misapprehension as to the character of the movement; it was essentially economical in its inception; it was not in the least like that which has occurred in recent years in favour of the non-inclosure of open land, a movement based wholly on the benefits to the community at large. The movement of the Georgian era was as inevitable as the movement, somewhat different in character, which preceded it, and as that which has followed in our own day: each one was the result of changed conditions and of the national growth. Theoretical economists and practical men of business alike agreed that it was to the national advantage that the troublesome and unproductive system of common land should be replaced by one of individual ownership, and that the country should produce as much corn as possible. The earlier inclosure was to increase pasturage; the later object was the increase of arable land. This being so it was naturally stimulated by the Napoleonic wars, which caused so considerable a demand for the production of corn. Like all great social changes it produced hardships, and many small farmers and many villagers, who were very dependent on rights of common, were, as in previous centuries, deprived of them. It is true that in most cases each commoner was allotted a portion of land as his own property, but much of this individualised land was burdened by the costs of the inclosure, or was soon sold or mortgaged. Still the active and energetic husbandman, who had hitherto found himself hampered by an inconvenient system, and one which put the sluggard on an equality with the industrious man, welcomed the change.

'The system of open fields was wasteful, because of the numerous balks, and it presented obstacles to all improved methods of cultivation because the custom of the parish was so frequently binding on the farmers, or manorial pasture rights in stubble interfered with their management of the land. (Cunningham, 'Politics and Economics,' p. 212.)

And to quote again from Mr. Lecky—

'The cultivation of these lands appears to have been the worst, the most wasteful, and the most exhausting in England. The pasture land was usually of a wretched description, and often enormously

overstocked. Nothing was done for it in the way of draining or manure, and the greater part of common land appears to have been perfectly uncultivated and almost wholly unproductive. It has been estimated, probably without any exaggeration, that the inclosure and separate cultivation of the common land must have increased their produce at least fivefold' (vi. 195).

And the historian further points out that, in addition to the regular commoner,

'There were numerous squatters who had settled on these great wastes without any legal rights, and who obtained from them a scanty and precarious livelihood, and a large vagrant population of gipsies, tramps, poachers, smugglers, and nomadic mendicants found them an important element in their existence.'

The movement, causing sometimes hardships to commoners, sometimes depriving communities, whether towns or villages, of the means of recreation, but inevitable, and on the whole regarded with satisfaction, continued on the same lines until 1845, when the Inclosure Act, 1845, became law. This statute is noteworthy, because it is the first general Act to deal thoroughly with this subject, and because it emphasises the importance of inclosure as an economic principle, whilst it begins to recognise the growth of an open space movement, and the desirability of greater care for the rights of commoners and the enjoyment of the public.

'It is expedient,' runs the preamble, 'to facilitate the inclosure and improvement of commons and other lands now subject to rights of property which obstruct cultivation and the productive employment of labour, and to facilitate such exchanges of lands . . . as may be beneficial to the respective owners.'

Here we have formulated the principle of and reason for the Act. When we come to the body of the statute we find, however, sections which enact that no lands within fifteen miles of the City of London, within two miles of any town of 10,000 inhabitants, or within two miles and a half of any town of 20,000 inhabitants, and so on in proportion, shall be inclosed under the provisions of the Act without the previous authority of Parliament in each case. Then follow provisions absolutely preserving town and village greens from inclosure, which empower the commissioners to specify terms for the protection of public interests, and to appropriate allotments for the purposes of recreation. But these latter powers were very limited, as, for example, that where the population of a parish in which the inclosure was to be made amounts to ten thousand, the quantity of land for allotment was not to exceed ten acres. So that the

commissioners might allot if they pleased even half an acre only. The downward proportion was continued—the principle was one obviously not tending to the encouragement of allotments for recreation. A further section allowed such allotments for the labouring poor to be made as the commissioners should ‘think necessary with reference to the ‘circumstances of each particular case.’ The vice of the Act was in the breadth of its principles in regard to inclosure and the narrowness of its protection of commons and of public rights; in practice the Act worked almost wholly in favour of lords of manors, nor did it prevent inclosures by lords of manors under the statute of Merton without the consent of Parliament.

The system of inclosure had at last largely effected its purpose. In 1726 it was estimated that half the land of England was common land and that two-thirds of this were common fields. By 1860 the common fields had ceased to exist, except here and there in some exceptional localities; * the commons had much diminished, but they were the sole remains of the prevailing system of common land which had filled so large a part in the economic and social history of the country during previous centuries. A reaction against further inclosure thus grew in force and produced a movement, about 1860, entirely opposed both in character and objects to that which had been so long in force.

It was assisted by the action of several able and energetic men, notably by the late Mr. Fawcett, whose unceasing activity and patience in Parliament, more especially about the year 1876, did much to give effect to the force of public opinion. It has shown too the value of combination, for much of the success in the law courts was due to work in co-operation and on systematic lines. But neither individual energy nor the combination of commoners would have produced the general results which have been attained if the movement had not been popular and expressive of national desires and wants.

In a survey of the subject of commons during the last thirty-five years, every one will be greatly assisted by the recently published work of Sir Robert Hunter, who was at one time solicitor to the Commons Preservation Society and piloted numerous important lawsuits to a happy issue. In

* In 1834 there were, in round numbers, 37 million acres in England: 264,000 only were common fields, and 2,368,000 were commons.

his book and in that of Mr. Shaw Lefevre there is a very full account of the progress of public feeling and legislation on the subject of English commons during the last half-century.

Naturally the movement in favour of open spaces first affected the commons near London. In 1864 the lord of the manor of Wimbledon, Lord Spencer, made certain proposals in regard to the dedication to the public, under certain conditions, of the larger part of the common. These proposals it is now unnecessary to consider; they were, however, regarded as insufficient by the commoners, but in the following year they were embodied in a private bill. The opposition to it was taken up by a committee of commoners and inhabitants, and the bill was referred to a Select Committee, appointed for the general purpose of inquiring into the best means of preserving for the use of the public the forests, commons, and open spaces in the neighbourhood of London. As to Wimbledon Common, the committee reported that—

‘There was good reason for putting the common under proper regulation, for the preservation of order and the prevention of nuisances; it was not expedient that it should be fenced or inclosed, or that the commoners’ rights should be extinguished, and that consequently it was not necessary that any part of it should be sold.’ (English Commons and Forests, p. 31.)

The bill was then read a second time, but was not proceeded with. More important, however, was the report of the committee upon the general question submitted to its consideration. It ‘expressed the confident opinion that ‘rights of common subsisted over all the commons near ‘London sufficient, if enforced at law, to abate any attempted ‘inclosure under the statute of Merton.’ This statement of opinion, coupled with the obvious necessity for open spaces near London, was a parliamentary expression of a need and of a right. On the one hand there was a need for open spaces, on the other there existed certain rights—namely, of the commoners—which were legally sufficient to prevent these spaces from being inclosed. It was therefore unnecessary to endeavour to establish what may be called an indirect public right, which, however specious, was devoid of all legal foundation—namely, that the commoners by their acquiescence in the general public enjoyment of the metropolitan commons had virtually transferred their right to the public. The first expression of opinion enunciated the law with accuracy, a law which was proved to be a sufficient public protection, not, however, until it had been

tested in more than one expensive and troublesome lawsuit. That expression, embodying the opinion of the House of Commons enunciated through a body selected by it to state its views, marks with great definiteness the first important step of a determinate character in the new movement.

Parliament acted in a characteristically English manner: it made no attempt to formulate any cut-and-dried scheme for the preservation of commons. Having given a legal opinion which had no legal force, it left the public to manage the business for themselves, so that a series of lawsuits was soon commenced with the object of preserving the open spaces near London for the general public by means of legal rights which had their origin and primary justification in the necessities of agricultural communities. The most important step in the movement was the establishment of the Commons Preservation Society in the autumn of 1865. It is scarcely possible to overrate the services rendered to the English people by this society, and its success shows how entirely its objects were supported by general and local opinion. This is proved by the ease with which persons were found to champion in particular districts the cause of the public against lords of manors. The legal campaigns, and the whole of the work of the society, were conducted with equal energy and tact, and with a thoroughness both in legal and lay matters which, when we come to look back at the difficulties overcome, is a remarkable instance of the capacity for managing their business which is so notable a trait in the English people.

Almost simultaneously—for in considering the movement as a whole a few months are of little consequence—battle was joined over Hampstead and Wimbledon, near London, and over Berkhamstead further afield. Hampstead had long been the scene of disputes between the lord of the manor and the commoners; but having already entered upon the subject of Wimbledon it may be convenient to complete the story of this common. Amicable arrangements between the lord of the manor and the commoners being impossible, a suit was begun on December 1, 1866, in the name of one of the commoners against Lord Spencer, claiming a declaration of his right as a commoner, and an injunction to restrain the lord from doing such acts as were inconsistent with this right. Much time was necessarily expended in inquiries into the history of the manor and in obtaining evidence. The result of these investigations was that in 1870 terms were arranged between the parties. Lord Spencer conveyed

‘to trustees for the public the whole of his rights over Wimbledon and Putney commons, and that portion of Wandsworth Common which forms practically a part of Wimbledon Common, in consideration of the continuance to him, by means of a fixed annual payment, of the income which he had, on the average of the previous ten years, derived from the common.’ (English Commons and Forests, p. 97.)

This arrangement was subsequently embodied in a private Act, conservators were duly appointed, and the common preserved for ever as an open space. Thus, though there had been no decision pronounced by a court of law, the opinion already expressed by the Parliamentary Committee had been justified by the investigations of those who were the advisers of the opposing parties.

Let us now turn for a short space to Hampstead Heath, once the waste of the manor of Hampstead, which in 1743 became the property of the Maryon family. The first attempt at systematic encroachment was in 1829, when Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson made application to Parliament in a private bill for powers to grant building leases over his land including the Heath. Local feeling in favour of the preservation of the Heath as an open space was even then in existence, so that in this instance we have one of the earliest manifestations of the current of public opinion which later in the century was to be so marked and so strong.

Fortunately Lord Mansfield, a neighbouring landowner, to whom the continuance of the heath as an open space was a matter of importance, succeeded in obtaining the rejection of the bill in the House of Lords. From that time forward private bills were over and over again rejected by Parliament, since no undertaking could be obtained from the landowner that, if given power to grant leases, he would not do so on the Heath as well as on his other property. Before the Committee of 1865 Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson asserted his absolute right to do what he liked with the Heath, and soon after the report of that committee was issued he began to build a house on the highest part of the Heath. This proceeding illustrated the danger to which these open spaces were now exposed by self-willed and energetic landowners, who saw in the report of the committee a warning that a right which they naturally regarded as of great pecuniary value might soon be taken from them unless it was successfully and immediately asserted. It was equally remarkable, as showing the blindness with which proprietors of estates were willing to

embark in conflict with sections of the public, and ignorance of the real state of the law as it affected their estates. A fund was soon raised to protect the interests of the commoners, and a suit was instituted against Sir Thomas Wilson in the name of Mr. Gurney Hoare, who was an undoubted commoner. The action came on for hearing before Lord Romilly, the Master of the Rolls; whilst allowing the suit to be brought by one commoner on behalf of himself and others, he directed that the issues of fact should be tried by a jury. In 1868, however, before the points in dispute were again in court, Sir Thomas Wilson died, and negotiations for a compromise were begun, and finally the lord of the manor transferred all his rights to the Metropolitan Board of Works for 45,000*l.* The Heath was thus placed out of danger; the lord of the manor secured an uncommonly good bargain, since the evidence was overwhelmingly strong in favour of the commoners. But the suits which were gradually to show lords of manors that their rights in commons was practically valueless had not then been decided, and commoners were not desirous to continue a very costly litigation. This compromise, however, favourable as it was to the lord of the manor, was a warning to other proprietors, since it was obvious that no landowner who was certain of a legal finding in his favour would have sacrificed his freehold rights, if he had any, over so valuable a building site for so comparatively small a sum.

The case of Berkhamstead Common was in many respects more decisive and more calculated to affect the current of the movement in favour of the preservation of the rural commons than the conflicts over Winbledon and Hampstead. It was not touched by a teeming population; it was adjacent to a small country town, while above it were the beech woods and the pleasant glades of Ashridge Park. But the inhabitants both of Berkhamstead and of the adjoining village of Northchurch—places relatively more important in the past than in the present—had always set a high value on their undoubted rights of common, and so long ago as 1617 had been troubled about these rights. In that year the Council of the Prince of Wales, who as Duke of Cornwall was lord of the manor, took proceedings for the inclosure of part of the common. The people of Berkhamstead were ready to agree to the proposal on the terms that one half of the common should be assigned to them, and that the town should receive a charter of incorporation. The people of Northchurch, however, influenced by a public-

spirited landowner named Edlyn, at first refused to come to any arrangement; but they finally agreed to allow the Prince to take three hundred acres on the condition that the remainder of the common should remain free to them, and in 1619 three hundred acres were inclosed. In 1638 a further proposal for the inclosure of yet more of the commons was made. Berkhamstead was not unfriendly to it; Northchurch, led by a younger Edlyn and by Lord Bridgewater, was actively hostile, and opposed it before the Commission which had been issued to carry out the proposed action of the Council. But in spite of their protest the Commissioners reported that four hundred acres should be inclosed, and one hundred acres more given to the Corporation of Berkhamstead for the benefit of the poor. The people of Northchurch, headed by Edlyn, still continued to protest, so that Edlyn was arbitrarily and without a shadow of legality imprisoned, though he was very soon released by an order of the Lord Treasurer. Directly after this imprisonment—in 1639—the four hundred acres already mentioned were inclosed and fenced, and let on lease. In the following year, however, Edlyn and his friends took forcible measures, and all the fences were levelled with the ground. At once the Council of the Duchy petitioned the House of Lords that ‘the Prince of Wales might be quieted ‘in possession of the land during the privilege of Parliament, and that the delinquents who had violated such ‘privilege might be punished.’ The House of Lords gave a decision practically in favour of the commoners. It is true that they made an order for the quiet enjoyment of the land by the Prince during the continuance of the existing Parliament, but they added, ‘It is not their Lordships’ ‘pleasure to determine anything in point of right to the ‘title, but after the tyme of privilege of Parliament to ‘leave it to the determination of the lawe’ (Lords Journals). To the law courts the Prince would not go; the fences were again pulled down, but no further attempt was made to overawe the commoners. The Commonwealth, so far as Berkhamstead was concerned, was by no means a preserver of commons, as an order was made for the sale of the debateable four hundred acres to two persons named Ellis and Phillips. In 1653 Ellis offered this portion of the common, though still physically uninclosed, for sale. Edlyn came again to the rescue, and after some proceedings an order was made on April 27, 1659, dismissing the suit and giving Edlyn his costs. Thus there was a complete victory for the commoners of Northchurch.

But the struggle was renewed in more modern times. In 1866, Lord Brownlow's trustees, who were now the possessors of the soil of the manor by purchase from the Duchy of Cornwall, actually fenced in by iron rails the 400 acres which two centuries before the commoners of Northchurch had preserved. Many readers will remember how a gang of navvies were engaged to 'abate' the inclosure, and how the whole mass of iron fencing was levelled to the ground in a single night. Thereupon, Lord Brownlow commenced an action of trespass against Mr. Augustus Smith, a commoner who had taken up the cause of the commoners, and the latter gentleman began a suit in Chancery, claiming on behalf of himself and the commoners that their rights should be ascertained, and that the lord of the manor should be restrained from interfering with them.

For four years the litigation continued, and minute investigations were made at great expense into the past history of the common. At last, in January 1870, the Master of the Rolls gave judgement on all the points raised in favour of the commoners. There could have been no other result; in this, as in many other cases, as soon as the records and the history of the manor were investigated, the weakness and illegality of the claim of the lord of the manor became obvious. Much common land has been lost to the public through an absence of local public spirit, or through the weakness of small commoners; but, happily, the modern movement in favour of the preservation of open spaces began in sufficient time to preserve large tracts for the public use. Had it begun earlier it is doubtful if sufficient public necessity for the preservation of the existing commons would have been found to give real energy to the movement; but between 1860 and 1880 it became clearly recognised that if the spaces still open were to remain in this condition their preservation must be actively insisted on.

Some would consider it misleading to endeavour to divide the modern movement in favour of the retention of open spaces into two definite periods, one of litigation and the second of legislation. On the other hand, if we do not try to make too arbitrary divisions, it is both convenient and instructive to regard the earlier years of the movement as primarily devoted to the vindication of commoners' rights in the law courts and those which followed as a time of legislative activity. As we have already seen, the report of the committee of 1865 practically brought about a series of struggles between lords of manors and commoners.

These could only be ended either by judicial decisions or by investigations for the purposes of litigation which made the positions of the opposing parties clear. When one after another of the commons in regard to which disputes had arisen were shown to be open to public enjoyment by reason of the commoners' rural rights, it became comparatively easy for the Legislature to follow public opinion. The legislation itself has two divisions; it was concerned both with what are called metropolitan as well as with rural commons, and there exists a difference in regard to these divisions of the subject. Legislation in respect of metropolitan commons began soon after the parliamentary discussions in 1865. The first Metropolitan Commons Act became law in 1866, and extended to commons within the metropolitan police district. That legislation should have begun first in regard to this class of commons is consistent with the whole national course of the movement in favour of open spaces, since it arises from the growth of population and the increase of urban communities. The first Act was amended in 1869, and again in 1878, and the three form a code for the preservation and the regulation of the commons near London. Under them four classes may present a memorial to the Board of Agriculture praying for the preparation of a scheme for the regulation and preservation of a common. These are the lords of the manor, any commoners, the local authority for the district in which the common lies, twelve or more ratepayers in the district. When we regard the position of commons from something beyond a mere legal point of view, the fact that the local authority or a body of ratepayers may set the Government Department in motion is remarkable. It is wholly a departure from the historical position of the common; it gives it modern attributes, for it admits the right of the general public as distinguished from the inhabitants of a particular locality to have an interest in it. Moreover, once this public right was admitted in respect of a particular class of commons it became obvious that in process of time the right could not be geographically limited. Moreover, by these Acts no veto on any scheme is given to the lord of the manor; all that the latter is entitled to is compensation for the loss of any right which he may suffer by the common being, so to say, handed over to the public. At the same time it must not be supposed that the Act of 1866, liberal as it was, put an end to the difficulties in regard to metropolitan commons. We have already sketched the incidents which occurred in regard to

Wimbledon and Hampstead. Until it was clear that a so-called common was legally common land, it was useless to endeavour to have it placed under regulations, and in many instances these preliminary questions had to be settled by legal proceedings. To a great extent, therefore, the legislative influence did not come into full being until some time after the first Metropolitan Commons Act became law.*

When we turn to rural commons we may begin at the same point of time in following the trend of the new movement. But it was slower in its progress and less decisive in its results. The action of those who were in favour of the preservation of open spaces may be regarded as being chiefly directed to the reasonable working of the existing law. Every year the Inclosure Commissioners brought in a bill to confirm the inclosures which they had authorised. In 1867 nearly 7,000 acres of the rural commons were scheduled for inclosure; out of this large quantity of land no more than three acres were apportioned for recreation and but six for allotments. The bill, one similar to many which previously became law, was opposed by Mr. Fawcett, who succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a select committee to consider the subject and the suspension of proceedings under the bill. The report of the Committee of 1869 is another landmark in the course of the movement; it showed the inadequacy of the provision made by the Inclosure Commissioners both for the purpose of recreation and for allotments, and recommended the amendment of the Act of 1845, and the suspension of inclosures until this had been done.

In 1871 a bill drawn on the lines of the report of the Committee of 1869 was brought forward by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, then Under Secretary of State for the Home Department. It was, however, impossible to advance it during the session of that year, and in the following year, after being introduced into the House of Lords, it was quite unreasonably thrown out on the third reading. In

* Between 1869 and 1893 nineteen commons were subjected to regulation under the Metropolitan Commons Act, comprising 3,834 acres. (English Commons and Forests, App. I.) This is exclusive of 9,125 acres which have been secured, either under special Acts or have been bought by the local authorities. (App. II.) Since 1893 but one other common—that of Orpington—has been placed under regulations. There are thirty-one commons over 20 acres in extent in the metropolitan area, comprising 4,597 acres, still unregulated.

the Legislature the subject slumbered for a short while; no further inclosure orders were confirmed, but no new bill was brought forward. In 1876, however, the Home Secretary, the present Lord Cross, introduced and passed the Commons Act, 1876. The whole course of the discussion on this bill in Parliament showed how much public opinion had changed on this subject; 'in discussing the expediency of 'inclosing lands,' said the Home Secretary, 'they had to 'consider not merely how to increase the food supply, but 'what was really best calculated to promote the health and 'material prosperity of the people.' In other words, it was now admitted that the interests of the public in the rural commons must be considered, that the inclosure of commons had ceased to be merely a question of the respective rights of lords of the manor and of the commoners, and that the commons were now to be considered in some degree at least as playgrounds and health resorts for the whole population of the country.

'It is desirable,' runs part of the preamble, 'that inclosure in severalty as opposed to regulation of commons should not be hereinafter made unless it can be proved to the satisfaction of the said Commissioners and of Parliament that such inclosure will be of benefit to the neighbourhood as well as to private interests and to those who are legally interested in any such commons.'

Compare this with the preamble to the Act of 1845, and we see that the benefit to the neighbourhood is quite a new element for consideration. To the law it was wholly unknown, for to the law were only known the owner of the soil and those who had certain rights on the surface of it. But while in theory the Act gives these rights to the public, in reality it falls short in practice. We have already pointed out that, under the Metropolitan Commons Act, the lord of the manor cannot prevent the placing of a common under regulations. Here is the vital difference between the statute law in regard to rural commons and that in regard to metropolitan commons. The former 'requires the consent of persons representing two-thirds in 'value of the legal interest in the common and gives the 'lord of the manor in the case of a manorial common a 'veto upon regulation.' The Act is, therefore, in one sense contradictory, for it is obvious that the veto of the lord of the manor or the dissent of some commoners may prevent the Inclosure Commissioners—or, rather, the Board of Agriculture—from making a provisional order for the regulation of a common which would be of great benefit to

the locality. But the Act has to be regarded from another point of view—as a defence against reckless inclosures. In this respect it was a remarkable step in the gradual change in the essentials of English commons. If it was in some respects defective by the opportunities which it gave for obstructing the necessary regulation of a common, it yet placed a bar to future inclosures which might not be to the public advantage. Thus, when an application was to be put forward for the inclosure of a common, information had, and still has, to be given in regard to the expediency of the application, ‘considered in relation to the benefit of the neighbourhood as well as to private interests;’ stated more particularly and as set out in the Act, such information was among other things to specify whether any other ground is available for the recreation of the neighbourhood; the size, extent, and suitableness of the allotments, if any, proposed to be made for recreation grounds and field gardens; the advantages which the applicants anticipate from the inclosure of the common as compared with its regulation; and the reasons why an inclosure is expedient when viewed in relation to the benefit of the neighbourhood. Thus the whole political and social theory of inclosure which had prevailed, in practice at least, for so many years was finally destroyed by the Act of 1876. Private interests in common land ceased to be the paramount factor in dealing with it, and the public advantage was accorded not as in regard to metropolitan commons the chief place, but an equal one with private interests. Between 1876 and 1886—that is, in the first ten years after the passing of the Act—29,038 acres were placed under regulation; in other words, were practically dedicated for ever to the public use. In the same period 26,036 acres were inclosed, but at the same time 494 acres were given up as allotments for recreation, and 283 were transferred into field gardens. Some of the common land was in no sense a common such as is known in the South of England, waste land near a village, for part of it was northern moorland, such as Beamsley Moor in Yorkshire and Matterdale in Cumberland. In the former instance, the public were allowed the use of certain parts of it; in the latter, 20 acres were set out for recreation ground and allotments. Opinions may, and naturally will, differ as to the proper proportion of common land which should be reserved to the public. But there can be no difference of opinion in regard either to the larger advantages obtained by the public under the Act of 1876. and

this is of even greater interest on a consideration of social changes and national tendencies of thought in regard to the complete alteration of the rights of the public and of private owners in commons.

The Commons Act of 1876 has been slightly amended by succeeding statutes, and the comparatively recent legislation by which parish councils were created has given them some rights as the guardians of the public interest. But, looking at the subject broadly, the Act of 1876 has only been altered in trivial details, and remains still, and must continue to be, the great landmark of modern times in the history of this subject. But there are two other statutes which have increased the enjoyment of the public by curtailing the rights of individuals. The one is the Copyhold Act, 1887; the other is the Commons Amendment Act, 1893. These two statutes have, in truth, put an end to the possibility of inclosures adverse to the public interest without the sanction of Parliament. This was sometimes done by an ingenious system of copyhold grants.

‘In many manors the practice had obtained of inclosing small portions of the waste, under the authority of a custom to make new copyhold grants with the consent of the homage of copyholders. Probably the practice originated in the desire to legalise encroachments. Some labouring man squatted on a common, and took in a piece of the waste for a garden, pigsty, or cartshed to his adjoining cottage. Neither the lord of the manor nor anyone else wanted to throw out such a petty encroachment. If, however, it was suffered to remain without condition of any kind, both lord and commoners were prejudiced. Again, if the lord simply levied a rent, the commoners were dissatisfied. Under these circumstances the idea occurred to some one of a copyhold grant. The encroacher was made to petition the lord at a common court for a grant of the piece of land in question. The tenants present on the homage jury were consulted, and if they approved the land was granted, with their consent and on such conditions as they might impose, to be held by copy of court roll.’ (English Commons and Forests, p. 348.)

This fiction, so peculiarly attractive to and characteristic of the English legal mind, was found an excellent means by lords of manors of inclosing land; copyholds were created out of the waste and transferred to trustees for the lord, and thence passed into his hands, the consent of the homage being reduced to a mere form. The Act of 1887 made it unlawful to create such tenures without the previous consent of the Land Commissioners, who, in giving or withholding it, were to have regard to the same considerations as when demands were made for the inclosure of

commons under the Act of 1876. The public interest was again placed in a paramount position, and this curious side door was effectually barred.

We have referred in an earlier part of this article to the statute of Merton, and we have seen that it enabled lords of manors to inclose the waste against the will of the commoners if the latter had a sufficiency of pasture. Though six hundred years old, and though passed in an age wholly unlike the present, it was still on the statute book, and being there it formed a sufficiently legal excuse for inclosure by landowners when commoners were either too weak or were unwilling to resist. Public interests might easily be prejudiced by action under this statute. Its existence was thus not only a constant danger, it was also inconsistent with the rationale of the Commons Act of 1876, which, we must repeat, had placed public on the same level as private interests. The Act of 1893, though it did not repeal the statute of Merton, as it might well have done, placed inclosures under it on the same footing as under the Copyhold Act of 1887—it required the public interest to be properly considered. In the House of Lords it was hotly opposed by Lord Salisbury on the ground that it took away a right which had been in the lords of manors for six centuries. It was fortunately carried against him, though it is still a matter of surprise that so acute a statesman should have used so weak an argument, and should have endeavoured to stop a reform which was entirely in harmony with legislation previously promoted by a Conservative Government.

But the parliamentary eccentricities of statesmen, however eminent, are of little moment when we are regarding large social and economical changes in relation to the history of a nation. The main tendencies of opinion, landmarks legal or legislative, are what must be remembered, and from this point of view the Act of 1876 and the two subordinate statutes to which we have just referred constitute in the history of rural England a complete close to the course of events which had extended over six centuries. They also crown the short and stirring period of legal and legislative activity which we have shown began about the year 1860 by a signal and permanent safeguard of the public interests in the commons and greens of the country. The movement, it is true, is not yet complete, for in one sense these statutes are negative in their results; for, as we have seen, a lord of the manor may veto the regulation or

inclosure of a rural common which in the public interest should be placed under permanent regulations. The principles on which the Metropolitan Commons Act is based should be further extended so that at any rate within a specified distance of large towns the inclosure or regulation of commons should be possible if in the interests of the public they are desirable. Equally also with the growth of London and with the yearly increasing facilities given to the vast population of the metropolis to reach the countryside, is it necessary that the area covered by the Metropolitan Commons Act should be extended. The principle that it is right to consider in the first place the public good in regard to commons near the metropolis having been sanctioned by the Legislature, it follows that with the changes of time there should be extensions of the application of the principle.

We have not as yet spoken specially of village greens. This term is often used in a loose and popular sense, and portions of uninclosed land which are essentially commons are called village or town greens, through their proximity to some village or city. If we endeavour to use the phrase in an accurate manner, and as contra-distinguished from the word common, it is clear that a village green would mean a piece of land usually uninclosed, over which the inhabitants of the village have a right of recreation only, and which is not land subject to the ordinary rights of common, and this is obviously what was meant by village greens in the general Inclosure Act of 1845. In many instances, however, a small common and a village green are synonymous, and sometimes the village green is a portion only of a common; in this piece the people of the place have had the right of playing from time immemorial, so that though really in the first instance a part of the common, it has lost its essentials through the incompatibility of the exercise of common rights and a right of recreation. On the other hand, there are undoubtedly many village greens which have never been portions of a common.* They are thus, in fact, often pieces of land which have remained uninclosed, because for

* 'These bits of ground used by the inhabitants for recreation are in most cases ground which never really belonged to any several owner. Not having been appropriated by reclamation or otherwise in early times, and having escaped wholly or in part from the encroachment of the lord or his agents, they remain open for common enjoyment.' (Pollock, 'Land Laws,' p. 41.)

centuries they have been the scene of the village games. We are sometimes apt to forget that the English villager has become a more serious individual than his forefather; whether he is a wiser as well as a sadder man it is not necessary to say. But while to-day we largely regard the village green as a place of recreation for boys and children, in the past it was much more than it is now the place of enjoyment for their elders. It may be that sometimes the games were originally played on a piece of ground which has subsequently become inclosed, but that fact would not make it less a village green open to the village population if a custom can clearly be proved that all sorts of games have been played on it from time immemorial.*

‘So long ago as the time of Charles II. a custom, “that all the inhabitants of a vill, time out of memory, had used to dance on a certain close at all times of the year at their free will for their recreation,” was held to be a good one, the court sententiously observing that “it is necessary for inhabitants to have their recreations.” . . .

‘More than a hundred years afterwards a similar action was brought against certain persons for playing cricket on a certain piece of ground at Steeple Bumstead, in Essex. The playing of cricket was justified under a custom “for all the inhabitants of the parish to play at all kinds of lawful games, sports, and pastimes on the ground in question at all seasonable times of the year, at their free will and pleasure.” This custom the court held was good. One of the defendants, however, pleaded a similar custom “for all persons for the time being in the said parish.” This custom the court held was bad, on the ground that it was in reality a custom for all mankind to play on the ground in question, and that such a custom cannot exist in English law. A custom, it was held, must be local, and confined to a limited class of persons; a usage which extends to all the subjects of the realm must be justified, not by exceptional custom, but by the common law.

‘This decision has since governed all claims to a right of recreation. It has been repeatedly mentioned with approval and followed, and may, together with the earlier case we have cited, be taken as settling the law on the subject.’ (Hunter, ‘Open Spaces,’ p. 177.)

The layman has naturally some difficulty in understanding why, if recreation is good for the inhabitants of a particular

* In the case of *Hall v. Nottingham*, decided in 1875, a custom to erect a maypole and dance round it, and to enjoy any lawful and innocent recreation at any time of the year on an inclosed field called the Maypole Piece, in the parish of Ashford Carbonell, Shropshire, was held to be good. This case set at rest any doubts arising from the difference of earlier authorities, and is an important safeguard of the rights of villagers.

group, and so is lawful, it should not equally be good and lawful for an indefinite number of persons. But here we at once embark on technical rules of English law by which customs are to be certain, to be reasonable, and so forth. But what is perhaps most noticeable in regard to this legal protection by the courts of law of the village green is the fact that it is about the only instance which exists of the upholding by the law of what may be called mere rights of pleasure in commons as distinguished from rights of a profitable nature.

We have done with times of Arcadian simplicity, with the maypole and the dance in the long summer evenings; but the importance of preserving every village green free from inclosure, and open as a place of recreation, has become even greater in the present day. On many greens cricket, football, and quoits are constantly played, but of many it were greatly to be wished that the agricultural labourer made more use. If a green is a common, then the law in regard to the preservation of commons becomes applicable to it. If it is a spot used only for the purposes of recreation, then should any attempt be made either to inclose it or prevent it from being used as a place of enjoyment, it is necessary only to prove distinctly a custom of recreation by the inhabitants of a particular locality. The creation of parish councils has brought into existence a body who cannot have a more important duty than to safeguard the village greens of rural England. In some cases they are now the actual as well as the indirect guardians, for where greens have been allotted under parliamentary inclosures by the Inclosure Commissioners, the powers, duties, and liabilities of the churchwardens and overseers with respect to the holding and management of village greens were transferred by the Local Government Act, 1894, to the parish council, and the property in the green is vested in it. In truth public interests are now completely safeguarded, on the one hand by the current of judicial decisions, on the other by statute. All that is needed is vigilance in the inhabitants of a locality, so that ancient rights of recreation be not lost. Where a village is not happily the possessor of such an immemorial playground, no opportunity should be missed of obtaining some piece of land for the purpose of a recreation ground, as it is called in the parlance of modern legislation. Nor should this be done in a half-hearted manner, by merely renting for a year or two an acre or two of ground. What is needed

is the obtaining of a piece of land in perpetuity, so that whether it be an ancient village green with traditions running back through many generations of the rude forefathers of the hamlet, or a modern recreation ground rescued from the plough or the builder, it may continue to be a place of enjoyment for the village amidst all changes of men or locality.

We cannot leave the subject of common land without a word in regard to a point on which attention is becoming more constantly fixed—namely, the right of the public to frequent the sea shore and land along sea cliffs. As the villages of the English coast become more thronged by the dwellers in the crowded towns, every acre of ground which borders on the sea becomes of greater importance for the purposes of recreation. The foreshore is, as most persons know, the property of the Crown, but there may be a right of way over it, as over any other piece of land. On the other hand there can be no doubt that the public are allowed to make the foreshore a resort for pleasure not by any legal right, but through the sufferance of the Crown. This general principle is not, however, inconsistent with a personal or local right based on a well-ascertained custom. Again, a right of way may be established along cliffs and over coast-line downs just as over an inland pasturage. Rights of common may exist on them just as they may over a midland moor. The practical point which needs attention is that these rights of common and rights of way should be carefully safeguarded against infringement. There is a danger that small plots of ground, which are parts of common land, may be sold for building purposes without attracting notice, and that rights of way which hereafter may be of importance may be destroyed by similar means. The vigilance of the Commons Preservation Society is invaluable, but it is for those who have local knowledge to watch and guard against the diminution of public rights. Every year the sea-girt downs of the English coast become of greater importance, and future generations will justly complain if we of the present day allow this valuable heritage to be diminished. Here the preservation of rights of way and of common is as essential as over the inland wood and meadow; it is justified by the same reasons, and is part of that movement for the retention of the still existing open spaces, which, as we have endeavoured to show, forms the latest of the series of great national changes in relation to the commons and common lands of England.

ART. VI.—1. *L'Europe et la Révolution Française.* Par ALBERT SOREL. 4 vols. Paris : 1885–92.

2. *Pitt et Frédéric-Guillaume II.* Par J. H. CREUX. Paris : 1886.

3. *Revue Historique.* Vol. I.: *La Mission de Custine à Brunswick.* Par ALBERT SOREL. Paris : 1876.

4. *Memoiren über meine Verhältnisse zum preussischen Staat und insbesondere zum Herzog von Braunschweig.* Von dem Obristen von MASSENBACH. Amsterdam : 1809.

WE propose in this article to examine the early career of one of the most conspicuous figures of the eighteenth century, to whose personality the numerous works recently published on the history of the French Revolution and Empire have again directed attention. In their pages the name of Charles William Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, constantly occurs, but with an ill-defined sphere and an enigmatic action which in many respects have hitherto baffled explanation. The Duke held a distinguished place in all the transactions, both of war and peace, in the period between 1789 and 1806; and this place is seen to be of even greater interest and importance in proportion as the events of the time are more closely examined. But we are often conscious of being in the face of many apparent paradoxes and contradictions in connexion with his life, and of a frequent difficulty in finding satisfactory evidence to account for the unquestioned position which he for so long occupied, both in the camp and the cabinet.

The nephew and favourite pupil of Frederic the Great, the military career of the Duke is chiefly associated by the general reader with the disasters of Valmy and Auerstädt. In the aged commander whose hesitations are the object of the wrath of more serious critics than the boasters of the Potsdam parade-grounds, the reader hardly recognises the brilliant chief who shared with his uncle Ferdinand the glories of Crevelt and Minden, and dashed across Germany to the rescue of Frederic himself after Künersdorf. Like his royal uncle a sympathiser with reforming ideas—one of the princely forerunners, in fact, of the French Revolution—he is nevertheless for ever identified with the manifesto of the allied sovereigns against the Revolution: the manifesto which, rightly or wrongly, has the credit of having been the immediate cause of the downfall of the French monarchy at

the hands of the exasperated Republicans. Early in 1792 he is the object of an invitation, as will be related further on, from the advanced wing of the constitutional party in France, to take the command of all her forces with almost a certainty of having to lead them in a war against Austria; and later in the year he is offered and accepts the command of the allied army which invades France in order to put down the Revolution. At one moment he is acclaimed as the greatest general in Europe; at another he is denounced as the cause of all the misfortunes of his country. His life is the record of abrupt transitions. One half consists of great and continuous good fortune: the other of terrible and ruinous failure. His sun rises in 1735 in youthful splendour amid the most brilliant glories of the Seven Years' War; it disappears in the gloom of disaster and defeat in 1806. Just before his death Kalckreuth declared him to be responsible for every coming misfortune; yet Rückert made his death the subject of one of those lyrics which aroused Germany against the conqueror, and Byron included him in the splendid tribute which immortalised his son who fell at Waterloo.

By birth the Duke was closely allied to the Royal House of England, and his own military fortunes were originally connected with the disasters which befell another member of the Hanoverian family. In the war of the Austrian Succession the continental army of England and her allies was commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, who combined a leonine personal courage with a total ignorance of the art of war, made doubly dangerous by the defective vision which on one occasion caused him to be almost captured by some hostile cavalry mistaken by him for one of his own brigades. At the battle of Dettingen a series of lucky accidents, and a want of skill then unusual in the French commanders, alone converted into a British victory a situation which, judged from a purely military standpoint, ought to have ended in the capture of the Duke, his Royal father and the Secretary of State, at a moment when such a disaster might have had fatal effects not only on the fortune of the campaign, but also on the struggle for the crown with the Pretender. At Fontenoy the British arms sustained a defeat which dimmed the lustre of Blenheim and Ramillies. At home the officers whom he favoured as his chosen lieutenants proved themselves at Prestonpans and Falkirk to be unable even to cope with an almost savage and totally undisciplined foe; and the facile glories of Culloden,

where victory at length smiled on the ducal standard, were soon wiped out by renewed disasters abroad. When the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle at length terminated the war of the Austrian Succession, men were at least grateful that peace had presumably terminated the active military career of the son of George II. Unfortunately, when war again commenced in 1756, he was once more entrusted, through paternal and royal affection, with the command of the British army which in 1757 was sent to defend the Electorate of Hanover and to co-operate with Frederic the Great by a diversion in Western Germany. The usual results followed. Of the disasters of that campaign a pithy account has been left by no less a person than the King of Prussia himself. The forces under the Duke of Cumberland were steadily forced back into a corner beyond the Weser through the incapacity of the general, whose misfortune it was 'to think too late' of the necessary precautions.* They were finally forced to give battle near the little village of Hastenbeck. A total defeat ensued. And yet, had the Duke of Cumberland but known it, victory on this occasion was his. The French were the attacking party. At an early period of the action they captured the great battery which defended the centre of the position, and under cover of a deep and wooded ravine turned the Duke's left wing. But the central battery was suddenly retaken by a dashing attack, and the French force which had turned the Duke's left found itself isolated and surrounded. It fled, losing all the artillery and standards. The French general, M. d'Estrées, had actually given the order for his whole force to retire, when it was discovered that the British leader was already in full retreat. The sequel was the ignominious Convention of Kloster Seven. If one of the blackest pages in our military annals, it at least rendered the future employment of the Duke of Cumberland impossible.

After Hastenbeck the British Cabinet came to the conclusion that if the year 1757 had been utterly inglorious to the British arms, at least the seeds of victory might be planted in the hour of defeat by the immediate appointment of a more competent commander. The indignant voice of the nation, exasperated by failures in every part of the world, had just called the elder Pitt to power. Under his lead was formed the great ministry which lasted till 1761, and restored the honour and reputation of the country. Pitt recognised that for the moment it would be better to

* 'Penser bien tard.' *Mémoires de Frédéric*, i. 488.

place the British contingent abroad under foreign command ; and so great was his prestige that he was able to win approval for proposals which, if put forward by others, might have been regarded as derogatory to the countrymen of Marlborough. The commander selected for the combined British and Hanoverian forces was Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick-Lüneburg, then thirty-seven years of age, one of the most trusted of the pupils of the great Frederic. He already held one of the highest commands in the Prussian army, and was governor of Magdeburg.

When the tide of fortune at Hastenbeck was for the moment turned, says the King, 'it was owing to the courage and skill of Charles William Ferdinand, Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who recaptured the central battery, and by this *coup d'essai* showed that nature destined him to be a hero.'* The Prince at this time was twenty-two years of age. He was the eldest son of the King's favourite sister, Philippina Charlotte, by her marriage with the reigning Duke of Brunswick, and was the nephew of the newly appointed commander. One of the immediate results of the failure of the Duke of Cumberland had been the occupation by the French of the Duchy of Brunswick. The Duke and his family fled, and the Hereditary Prince was on his way to Holland through Hamburg, when he met his uncle, and was easily persuaded by him to take active service in the new army which was being assembled at Lüneburg.

The Hereditary Prince had received his military education under the eye of his two uncles, the King and Duke Ferdinand ; his literary education under the watchful care of his able mother and from such famous teachers as the Abbé Jérusalem, Hirschmann and Gärtner. From his earliest years the highest hopes had been formed of his future career ; nor were they now disappointed. In the long array of battles which distinguished the campaigns of the latter part of the Seven Years' War, the Hereditary Prince, sometimes as the leader of a separate force, on other occasions as next in command to his uncle, rapidly obtained the highest reputation. The names of the two Princes of Brunswick became a terror to the invaders of Germany, second only to that of the King himself. At Crevelt in 1758 they gained a victory which obliterated the evil memory of Hastenbeck. A defeat at Bergen in 1759 was followed by the great victory of Minden, gained on August 1. The refusal

* Mémoires de Frédéric, i. 489.

of Lord George Sackville to carry out the orders of the Duke alone saved the French army from a destruction as total as at Blenheim. On the eve of this battle, otherwise so glorious to the allied arms, the Hereditary Prince was despatched to the rear of the French army with a separate corps of 10,000 men. Having routed the Duc de Brissac at Koesfeld in an engagement distinct from that in which his uncle defeated the main army of the enemy, he cut off their retreat and converted it into a rout. The French were driven out of Cassel, the Bishopric of Münster and Marburg; and only the disaster which almost at the same time had befallen General Finck at Maxen prevented Duke Ferdinand from carrying his successes still further. To remedy that disaster, which had been followed by the defeat of the King himself at Künersdorf by the Russians, he detached the Hereditary Prince to the support of the King, who had meanwhile rewarded his services at Minden by composing one of those odes with which the Royal author was in the habit of punishing his friends and allies and cheering his own spirits in even the darkest hours.

Regardez-le, ma sœur, l'amour vous y convie,
 Dans vos flancs vertueux ce héros prit la vie
 Et ses rares talents;
 Votre belle âme en lui retraça son image,
 De son auguste père il a tout le courage
 Et les grands sentiments.

And so on in thirty-three stanzas, which the curious can read, if they so desire, in the collected works of his Prussian Majesty.* 'His days,' wrote the elder Pitt, 'are precious 'to Europe.'† The King relates, but in sober prose, how on his return from Eastern Germany the Hereditary Prince, after other exploits, 'flew on wings,' and, with a musket wound still open, presented himself on July 16, 1760, before the gates of Fulda, at a moment when nobody expected him. The reigning Duke had on that very day prepared a ball, and only escaped capture by flight. Pitt describes the 'glorious event of the immortal Hereditary Prince' in a letter to Lady Hester. 'Five times he pressed the French 'infantry at the head of Elliott's; his horse wounded under 'him, and a led horse behind him killed.'‡ Nor was this, the King says, 'the last exploit of this hero,' for, undismayed by a severe check at Korbach, he quickly retrieved his re-

* *Cœuvres Posthumes*, xiv. 233-241; ed. 1789.

† Chatham Correspondence, ii. 10.

‡ *Ibid.* ii. 54.

putation by dashing success at Warburg.* The fury of the war seemed to concentrate itself wherever he was. It was related with enthusiasm how he had crossed the Weser in midwinter and captured Hoya. This exploit became legendary.

‘I will tell you,’ he said to Massenbach many years after, ‘what really happened. It was in February; the Weser was covered with floating ice; the night was rough; no fisherman could be found who had the courage to put us across. I found gold, and the men then found a supply of courage. They ferried part of the regiment of Hlauss and the Bodyguard safely across. A violent storm then arose. The remaining companies of these regiments had to remain on the right bank. With my small body of men I continued the advance on Hoya. The French patrols had neglected their duty, owing to the fearful inclemency of the weather. We came on them at the first houses of the town. Out of one of these came a Frenchman. He looked at us, and tried to escape. But I seized hold of him myself, and grasped him by the throat. “You are a lost man,” I said, “if you speak a word,” and I pointed my sword at his breast. “Where are your comrades?” We marched straight forwards, and came on them so unexpectedly that they first became aware of our existence from hearing our fire. This fire settled the business. We were masters of the bridge. You know the rest. Alas! these times are over; and they will never return. How lucky we used to be then!’ †

The Hereditary Prince next undertook a diversion beyond the Rhine towards the Dutch frontier, with a view to besieging Wesel. Opposed to him was the Marquis de Castries with 25,000 men, and this force the Prince boldly attempted to surprise at night. Then took place the famous episode of the death of the Chevalier d’Assas, of the regiment of Auvergne, who, having strayed beyond the French outposts, met the advancing British and Hanoverian forces. Declining to accept quarter, he gave the alarm, ‘A moi, Auvergne; voilà les ennemis!’ and died under a hundred wounds, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Prince, who, struck by his gallantry, desired to save his life. The French army was saved, and the Prince fell back, with a loss of 1,200 men, after a desperate engagement; but his fine retreat gained the commendation of the King, and his reputation suffered no diminution. In the campaign of 1761 he was at first worsted in a skirmish at Stangerode, but shared with his uncle the credit of victory in the two days’ battle of Kirch Denkern, where almost on the very ground where Arminius defeated

* *Mémoires de Frédéric*, ii. 64, 159.

† Massenbach, iii. 239, 240.

Varus, in the Teutoburger Wald, they inflicted a bloody repulse on the combined forces of the Duc de Broglie and the Prince de Soubise. In the campaign of 1762, which both parties felt was likely to prove decisive, having been placed by his uncle at the head of fifteen battalions of infantry and twenty squadrons of cavalry, he surprised the force of the Duc de Lévis, and nearly captured the whole of it, the French commander only just succeeding in escaping in the confusion. But in a later enterprise of the same order against a detachment of the forces under M. de Condé and the Prince de Soubise, which turned out to be supported by the whole French army, he was seriously worsted and himself placed *hors de combat* through a wound, when peace came opportunely to put an end to hostilities.*

Among the heroes of the war, friend and foe alike acclaimed the two Princes of Brunswick, especially the younger, whose exploits were of precisely the character to fascinate the public mind. The contrast with the Duke of Cumberland was obvious, and the genius of Pitt in selecting fit instruments for his policy was made the object of the greater laudation, because just at this moment he had been driven from power by the intrigues of Bute and the Court, from whose incapacity a repetition of the disasters of Fontenoy and Hastenbeck might well have been expected, had England again been forced to tempt the fate of arms on the Continent. The admirable courtesy of the Hereditary Prince to the conquered, and the care he showed for the wounded—as in the case of Comte de Gisors, the brilliant son of Marshal de Belle-Isle, between whose character and his Voltaire noted a marked likeness—rendered him almost as popular in France as at home. Not that the Prince was unduly elated by his successes or by popular applause. The occasional reverses he had experienced had left a deep impression on his mind, and a curious power of self-introspection which he exhibited, to the discomfiture of his admirers, caused him to betray a tendency to hesitation which already alarmed them for his future career. For Duke Ferdinand and the King he had an almost superstitious reverence: Prince Henry of Prussia used sarcastically to say that he was afraid of his uncles even when they were both dead. Westphalen, the able secretary of Duke Ferdinand, noticed these tendencies as early as 1762, and declared that the habits of subjection to which the Prince had accustomed himself, had

* Mémoires de Frédéric, ii. 251-252.

injured his power of self-reliance in a serious degree; and Gaudi, the famous military instructor at Berlin, told Massenbach that in a great crisis the Prince might be found to lack decision.*

These criticisms, however, did not extend beyond a limited circle, and the impression of the transcendent character of his abilities which his campaigns had created, did not tend to grow less when it was seen how open a predilection was shown by the King for his nephew. Capable judges also began to whisper that if the military talents of the Prince were great, they were equalled, if not surpassed, by his wisdom in affairs of state. 'He has the judgement and 'good sense of a man of forty years,' the King told Sir A. Mitchell, 'and he has made such progress in military affairs 'that I could entrust the command of my armies to him.'†

On the conclusion of peace the Hereditary Prince visited the principal Courts of Europe, where his reputation had preceded him. At Paris his varied accomplishments made him as welcome in literary and scientific circles as his military reputation did with the army. Marmontel, Voltaire, Winckelmann, Nardini, are only a few of the names with which we find him associated on this journey. All were impressed with his knowledge and brilliancy. 'The Prince was 'as lucky as he was audacious in action,' says Voltaire. 'I 'noticed, too, the modesty with which he accepted the tribute 'paid to his deserved reputation.'‡ In England the enthusiasm knew no bounds. When in 1764 he arrived, the destined bridegroom of Princess Augusta, the whole population thronged to receive the hero; and with the greater effusion because it was believed that the marriage was disagreeable to the King and the Ministers. Lady Chatham wrote to Pitt that

'they almost pulled down the house in which he was in order to see him.§ A substantial Quaker insisted so strongly on seeing him that he was allowed to come into the room. He pulled off his hat to him, and said: "Noble friend, give me thy hand," which was given, and he kissed it. "Although I do not fight myself, I love a brave man that will fight. Thou art a valiant Prince, and art to be married to a lovely Princess; love her, make her a good husband, and the Lord bless you both."¶

* Massenbach, i. 11, ii. 94. Lehmann, 'Life of Scharnhorst,' i. 305.

† Mitchell MSS., British Museum.

‡ *Siècle de Louis XV.*, ch. xxxiii.

§ At Harwich, where he landed.

¶ Chatham Correspondence, ii. 271.

The public gratitude took a more substantial shape in a parliamentary vote of 80,000*l.*, an annuity of 5,000*l.*, characteristically charged on the revenues of Ireland, and a public endowment of 3,000*l.*, charged on those of Hanover. His manner captivated everybody.

‘The Court and the Ministers, however,’ says Walpole, ‘cold-shouldered the Prince; the plan was formed to disgust him, in order to send him away as soon as possible. He was lodged at Somerset House, and no guards were stationed there. The Lord Steward chose the company that should dine there, and every art was used to prevent his seeing Mr. Pitt or the chiefs of the Opposition. At the wedding the servants of the King and Queen were ordered not to appear in new clothes. But though these little artifices had the desired effect of affronting the Prince, they only drew mortifications on the Court. The people, enchanted with novelty and a hero, were unbounded in their exultations whenever he appeared; and, as the behaviour of the Court got wind, took pleasure, when he attended the King to the theatres, to mark their joy at the presence of the Prince and the coldest neglect of their Sovereign.*’

The Prince revenged himself on the Court by insisting on calling on Pitt and the leaders of the Opposition, and he was believed by a delighted mob to have turned his back on the King at the Opera. In consequence of these supposed amenities of royal intercourse, he only remained in England thirteen days.

Frederic the Great is said to have objected to his nephew’s English alliance, being still exasperated at the desertion of his cause in 1762 by the King and his Ministers after the fall of Pitt; possibly also because the old King feared the arrival in Germany of Princess Augusta, who was said ‘to be lively and much inclined to meddle in the private politics of the Court.’ But these apprehensions, if they existed, proved groundless; nor was it till the next generation that the union of the Prince and Princess came to be regarded as one fraught with none but unhappy results. Of two daughters of the marriage, the eldest became Duchess of Würtemberg, and ended miserably in Russia; the second was the unfortunate Queen Caroline of England, consort of the Prince Regent. Of four sons, the eldest was well-nigh imbecile; the second was an idiot; the third was blind; the fourth was the son who fell at Waterloo. ‘Only private persons,’ the Duke once told Massenbach in a fit of confidence as he pondered over all these troubles, ‘are happy

* *Memoirs of Reign of George III.*

‘in the married state. The reason is because they are free to choose. One of my class must marry according to certain conveniences, which is a most unhappy thing. The heart has nothing to do with these marriages, and the result is not only to embitter life, but also to bring the most disastrous experience on those who come after. The children are mostly cripples in mind and body.’ ‘As he spoke thus,’ says Massenbach, ‘there was a look of despair on his face, and I mentally compared his eldest son and heir with Forstenburg, his natural son.’*

The Peace of Paris was followed by a long period of repose in Central Europe, broken only by the short war of the Bavarian Succession, which was terminated, after a campaign on the Bohemian and Silesian frontiers, by the Peace of Teschen in 1779. This campaign, brief as it was, greatly increased the military reputation of the Hereditary Prince. The King selected him for the practically independent command of a force entrenched in the mountains at a post near Troppau, whence the Austrian commanders vainly attempted to dislodge him. He describes how his favourite nephew ‘hunted his enemies, sometimes in the direction of Graetz, sometimes of Maerisch-Ostrau, sometimes of Lichten,’ and defeated with heavy loss the force of General Ellrichhausen by a turning movement of great skill, proving himself, says Carlyle, altogether a prince ‘not to be pricked into gratis by Pandours.’† But even amid these successes the King complained that his favourite nephew seemed to him occasionally too ready to listen to divergent counsellors, and to follow the last opinion.‡

In 1780 the reigning Duke of Brunswick died, and the Hereditary Prince succeeded to the *disjecta membra* and the embarrassed finances of the duchy.

‘Those,’ says von Sybel, ‘who saw him at this period at his little Court were astonished to find in the champion of Krefeldt and Minden a careful manager of the State, a zealous partaker and patron of every kind of intellectual progress, and an active and unpretending administrator. He gained the greater credit by imposing no smaller privations on himself than on the State, and by keeping up a very small army, notwithstanding all his fame as a general.’§

* Massenbach, i. 233–234. Forstenburg, who was beginning a brilliant military career, was killed during the campaign of 1793.

† *Mémoires de Frédéric*, ii. 485. Carlyle, ‘Frederic the Great,’ ed. 1865, vi. 600.

‡ *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, xvi. 277. Lehmann, ‘Life of Scharnhorst,’ i. 305.

§ Sybel, book iv. ch. i.

Féronce, the most trusted of his ministers, holds a high place among the reforming statesmen of Germany.

'He was adored by his subjects,' says Beugnot, whom Napoleon sent to Brunswick, after the duchy had ceased to exist in 1806; 'his acts of charity were not reckoned up, for it would have been an endless repetition. Intelligence, probity, devotion to the public good, were titles to his favour; and at a time when the Jews were shamefully persecuted in Germany he had placed a merchant of Brunswick, named Jacobson, on his Council of State—a Jew and attached to his religion, but a virtuous man and a philanthropist.'*

The edict of May 1, 1794, by which he introduced the principle of the control of all the revenues of the State, even of the domains, by the Estates, is a landmark in the parliamentary history of the Continent. A struggle with the Church over the control of education, though only partially successful, was the forerunner of similar and more successful battles elsewhere. The simplification of the machinery of administration, the division of commonable lands, the improvement of the roads, of the administration of charities and of the condition of the poor—every department, indeed, of affairs—received his untiring, it may be said his almost too minute personal attention. When, in 1790, he relieved his people from every extraordinary tax, he became the most popular prince of the Empire. Some of his reforms, indeed, fell short of a full measure of success, owing to the opposition of the Estates of Brunswick, which regarded them as an inroad on their ancient privileges; and the attempt to introduce the complete separation of secular and religious instruction had to be abandoned, owing to the ill-will and the hostility of the Lutheran clergy. But, after making allowance for the partial failure of some measures too much in advance of the time, his government of the duchy from 1780 to 1806 must always be regarded as a memorable chapter in the administrative history of Germany, and even of Europe; as plans were there first put into actual operation which set men asking why they could not be equally well introduced elsewhere, when their success was already patent to the world at large in Brunswick.

The Abbé Jérusalem compared the active mind of his old pupil to a flame confined in a fireproof chamber. Nature had endowed the Duke with a fine voice, which he used with a certain vehemence in conversation. He had an admirable ear for music, of which he was passionately fond; and when not

* Beugnot, vol. i. ch. x.

occupied with business, he would sit up late into the night performing on the violin, on which he was no mean proficient. His glance when irritated inspired fear; he insisted on the rapid and punctual execution of his orders, and was impatient of opposition. But his manner in general was full of a personal charm and attraction, which Walpole considered was the key to his success. He was very popular with his household, whom he good-humouredly allowed to tell him home truths: an old servant at Brunswick enjoying in this respect a specially privileged position. To the pleasures of the table and gambling he was entirely indifferent. He generally drank milk; never anything stronger than wine and water. Long dinners he particularly disliked, and on such occasions was generally observed to be moody and silent. A game of chess with an old friend was his favourite relaxation. He cared little for sport. Massenbach was of opinion that this was a misfortune, as it made him a less good judge of operations in mountainous and forest lands than he otherwise would have been. He possessed the faculty in an eminent degree of putting those who had business to transact with him at their ease in his presence, whether soldiers or civilians. He was polite almost to affectation, and had a perfect command of French. He could also converse in the local *patois* with the peasants on their affairs, which greatly increased his popularity; but he cared but little for country life, and seldom visited his estates except on business. His life was divided between Brunswick and the camp, and in them his real interests were entirely centred. It was only when without occupation that he seemed to give way to his naturally impatient disposition, and he then became dissatisfied with everybody, including himself.*

An enumeration of the able men who commenced or made their career under his auspices is the best tribute to his ability and power of discernment. It was at Brunswick that Hardenberg entered on official life. It was there that Campe began the reform of German education. It was the Duke who selected Lessing for the post of librarian at Wolfenbüttel; who put the Abbé Jérusalem at the head of the Collegium Carolinum, and brought Nardini from Italy to improve the musical taste of Germany. His unbiassed

* See the anonymous notes contributed to the last edition of the 'Biographie Universelle' in the article on the Duke, evidently from the pen of one of his household.

intelligence and fine sympathy for all the new and progressive ideas of the time rendered his Court second only to that of Berlin as the chosen resort of the *savants* and philosophers of France. Tall and vigorous both in mind and body, with a dignified and pleasant expression, an open countenance, eyes of a deep blue and full of fire, which were said to resemble those of Frederic the Great, and a manner so courteous as almost at times to seem exaggerated, he reminded General Toulangeon of one of the old French nobles, with all the native grace but without the inborn prejudices of their class.

Possessed of so many brilliant qualities, the Duke, by the time Frederic the Great was nearing his end, had come to be regarded as the appointed heir of the military glories and political ideas of the dynasty, dividing the honours only with Prince Henry of Prussia, the brother, and Marshal Moellendorf, the special adviser and personal friend, of the King's later years. But the health of the former was known to have now rendered him unwilling again to tempt fortune on the field of battle;* and the Marshal was considerably the senior of the Duke in point of years, and too modest to be a serious rival for power.

In 1785 the ambitious projects of the Emperor Joseph II. in Germany, and the disturbed condition of the Netherlands and of Holland, had led to the idea of the formation of a league of the minor German princes similar in character to the unions formed in earlier ages for the purpose of mutual defence. 'Nobody,' wrote the Duke of Gotha to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, 'can be the head of the League except one person, the Duke of Brunswick. It would be an honour 'to serve under him.' But the Duke showed his usual deference for his uncle at Berlin by declining all advances, notwithstanding the entreaties of Hardenberg, until assured that an acceptance would meet with the 'highest approval.' The Fürstenbund of 1786, consisting of Saxony, Hanover, Brunswick, Mecklenburg, and other of the smaller States, under the hegemony of Prussia, was then formed.†

To Brunswick, attracted by these events, went Mirabeau in the month of July of that year, charged by Calonne with a secret mission, and hoping to rehabilitate his own tarnished reputation, and eventually to step on to the recognised

* See the passage in the 'Mémoires de Frédéric,' ii. 470 (ed. 1866), which was suppressed in the first edition.

† Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, xv. 277, 278.

ladder of public employment. We get a record of his conversations with the Duke in the famous confidential letters, the subsequent publication of which, under the pressure of financial need, forms one of the darkest chapters in his chequered career. Mirabeau was a keen observer of mankind. Nobody had a quicker eye for the detection of a sham and for the exposure of weak points than the statesman whose epigrams still adhere like blisters to the characters of so many of those with whom he came into collision at a later stage of his life. He at all events was fully persuaded that in the Duke he had seen a really great man; and his opportunities of observation were considerable. He visited the Duke at Brunswick on his way to and from Berlin, where he arrived almost at the moment of the death of the King; and the Duke himself, having been summoned to Berlin by that event, was in frequent communication with the French envoy at the capital.*

'The Duke,' says Mirabeau, in a sketch characteristic in more ways than one of the times, 'will certainly not be thought a common man even among men of merit. His person bespeaks depth and penetration and a desire to please, tempered by fortitude—nay, by sternness. He is prodigiously laborious, well informed, and perspicuous. However able his first minister, Féronce, may be, the Duke superintends all affairs, and generally decides for himself. His correspondence is immense, and this he can only owe to his personal reputation, because he cannot be sufficiently wealthy to keep so many correspondents in pay. Few great Courts are so well informed as he is. His mistress, Mlle. von Hartfeld, is the most reasonable woman at Court; and so proper is his attachment that when he had a short time since discovered an inclination for another lady, the Duchess leagued with Mlle. Hartfeld to keep her at a distance. Truly an Alcibiades, he delights in the pleasures and the graces; but these never subtract anything from his labours or his duties, not even those of prudence. When he is to act as a Prussian general, no one is so early, so active, so minute as himself. It is a mark of superior character and understanding, in my opinion, that the labour of the day can less properly be said to be sufficient for him than he is for the labour of the day: his first ambition is that of executing it well. Not intoxicated by military success, though universally pointed out as a great general (especially since the campaign of 1778, during which he all the winter maintained a naturally weak position at Troppau—to which the King of Prussia attached a kind of vanity—against every effort of the Austrians), he appears effectually to have quitted military

* In 1787 Mirabeau paid another long visit to Brunswick when engaged on the '*Monarchie Prussienne*,' but the Duke had then started on his way to Holland. See his '*Mémoires*,' vol. iv. livre v.

glory to betake himself to the cares of government. He is, in a word, a man of an uncommon stamp, but too wise to be formidable to the wise. He delights greatly in France, with which he is exceedingly well acquainted, and appears to be very fond of whatever comes from that country.*

The Duke denied to Mirabeau having ever been fond of war, even when most fortunate. He pointed out how, independently even of principle, both family and personal interest must make him strongly averse to it. 'Even if,' he said, in words almost prophetic, 'it were necessary in an affair so important to consult nothing beyond the contemptible gratification of self-esteem, do I not know how much war is the sport of chance? I have formerly not been unfortunate. Hereafter I might be a better general, and yet might not have the same success.'†

At the moment when these two remarkable men met the Great Powers may be said to have been divided into the following groups. Under the Family Compact, France, Spain and Naples were still intimately allied. The first of these Powers was also closely connected with Austria, under the arrangements made in 1756 by the Abbé de Bernis. Austria and Russia were engaged in a war with Turkey, and were united by an alliance formed in 1781 for eight years, and about to be renewed for a further term. Russia, supported by Denmark, was engaged in a war against Sweden, and was known to entertain acquisitive designs along her whole frontier: against Turkey, against Poland, against the Duchy of Courland, and against Finland. England had just concluded the commercial arrangements of 1786 with France, which Pitt regarded as the first step towards establishing improved political relations also. In the Netherlands the great English minister desired to stay the effects of the rash reforms and meddlesome policy of the Emperor Joseph II.; and in Holland to check the subversive plans of the party hostile to the Stadhouder. This party was supported by the intrigues of Calonne and the statesmen in France hostile to Prussia, which, owing to the marriage of the Stadhouder with the daughter of the King, had dynastic as well as political ties with Holland. In the East Pitt desired to withstand the advance of Russia, not from any sympathy with Turkey, but on grounds of general policy. The Emperor Joseph II., contrary to the plans of his pre-

* Mirabeau, 'Secret History of the Court of Berlin,' i. 18-21.

† Ibid., i. 12.

decessors on the throne, was supporting the aggressive designs of the great northern empire, and hoped to obtain the active support of France in so doing.* Between the interests of England and of Prussia Pitt considered that there was a complete identity of aims; and he would gladly have extended his policy so as to have included France in a common understanding, had France so been willing.

In August 1786 Frederic the Great died. 'The old must give place to the young,' he had written to his sister at Brunswick six days before the end, 'in order that each generation may find a place for itself. Indeed, life is little else than witnessing the births and deaths of our country-men. . . . My heart is always inviolably attached to you, my dear sister.' † In his will, in addition to other legacies, the King left to his nephew, the Duke, eight horses, amongst others the last that he had mounted, ‡ a tolerably clear designation who he thought was most fit to be his military heir. Mirabeau was himself sure that the Duke was the destined successor of the King in the political control of the country also.

'It is peculiar to him, and to him alone,' he wrote, 'that should he once grasp power he will not afterwards let it escape him; for a better courtier, a man of deeper views, more subtle, and at the same time more firm and more pertinacious, does not exist. . . . Who then must be the pilot? Evidently the Duke. Of this I have no doubt. Not in the least boastful and most adroit, he will be the man of the situation, not immediately perhaps, but when the necessity shall call him. . . . I believe it all the more because in the day of trouble the petty self-love of his rivals will only be an additional incentive to fear; because this Prince is of all men most able to spare the self-love in question; because he will be content to act without appearing to do so; and because he will seem the servant of servants; the most courtly, the most humble, the cleverest of courtiers; while a hand of iron will fetter all paltry views, all petty intrigues, and every faction.' §

Contemptible in point of ability as was the successor of Frederic the Great, he nevertheless began by maintaining Hertzberg in power, who was regarded as representing the policy and traditions of the late King. The Duke accepted the staff of a field-marshal, and an opportunity for the display of his military abilities on a more important

* Ségur, 'Mémoires et Souvenirs,' iii. 553.

† Lord Dover, 'Life of Frederic the Great,' ii. 454.

‡ Mirabeau, 'Secret History,' i. 103.

§ Ibid., i. 18, 82, 112, 131, 137, 346; ii. 42.

field and a larger scale than any yet granted to him was almost immediately afforded him. An invasion of Holland had been decided upon. The Duke had told Mirabeau that he ardently desired to see a good understanding between France and Prussia; but that the former had rendered it difficult by her friendship with Austria, and still more by her recent conduct in regard to Holland, the Bavarian Succession, and the East of Europe. In all these questions France had supported Austria and Russia; and in Holland she had supported the party opposed to Prussia. His own plan would have been an alliance between France, Prussia, and England, which should command all others to remain at peace: 'a sublime and seductive idea,' as Mirabeau acknowledged.* It was one he had himself, he said, been ruminating for seven years. We have already seen that such an idea was not outside the scheme of the foreign policy of Pitt. But the support given by France to the party in Holland opposed to the Stadhouder encouraged that party to an open attack, and rendered useless all the plans which were floating through Mirabeau's brain. The situation was judged dangerous both in London and Berlin; and when finally the Stadhouder had to fly the country, a Prussian army was sent to restore order and the authority of the House of Orange. The command of the expedition by universal accord was entrusted to the Duke. The invasion of Holland meant the possibility of a war with France. The Duke had once hinted to Mirabeau that in the event of the French party in Holland proving intractable, a military occupation of the country by Prussia, with the support of England, would be inevitable. 'There is little need I should remark,' Mirabeau had retorted, 'that the conquest which Louis XIV., Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Louvois, and two hundred thousand French could not make, will never be effected by Prussia, watched as she is by the Emperor, and now that Holland is supported by France.'† But the result entirely belied these anticipations. The campaign was short and brilliant. English readers can follow the account of it in the letters of Lord Malmesbury, who accompanied the Prussian advance.‡ France, torn by domestic discord, failed to support her friends, and the Duke returned to Germany with his military reputation enormously enhanced. But it was the opinion of competent

* Mirabeau, 'Secret History,' i. 48, 49.

† Ibid., i. 312.

‡ In the Malmesbury Memoirs, vol. ii.

observers that the facile glory of this campaign was one of the principal causes of the subsequent ruin of Prussia, by encouraging an overweening opinion of the invincibility of the army. Not that the Duke himself was deceived by his own success. He told the younger Custine in 1792, that his army had run the most frightful risks, and that the Dutch, with the commonest prudence, might have destroyed it. On his return, the Duchess observed, notwithstanding the enormous increase of his popularity, that he seemed to be suffering from the nervous strain of these risks, and shortly after he became for a time very seriously ill.*

As the result of these operations, and in order to confirm their fruits, England and Prussia guaranteed the Hereditary Stadholdership to the House of Orange, and formed the Triple Alliance of 1788 with Holland, with a view to the general maintenance of the *status quo* in Europe, so gravely menaced by the ambitions of Catherine II. and Joseph II. For two years this alliance was the dominant factor in the European situation.†

But in the eyes of Hertzberg there were limitations to the application of Pitt's conservative doctrines. At the time of the first Partition of Poland, Frederic the Great had coveted the two districts of Dantzic and Thorn, which since the Partition lay almost embedded in Prussian territory. Hertzberg, in order to obtain them, proposed to secure the retrocession by Austria of a portion of Galicia to Poland. Poland was thereupon to surrender Dantzic and Thorn to Prussia. With this view he was ready to offer Poland a guarantee of her remaining territories and government. If Austria, supported by Russia, resisted this arrangement, which was to be recommended to Austria by the cession to her by Turkey of the territory lost at the time of the Treaty of Belgrade, Hertzberg wished to let loose against Russia a coalition, in which England, Sweden, Holland, Turkey, and Poland were to be the contracting parties. The discontent in the Austrian Netherlands at the high-handed reforms of Joseph II. made him also devise a scheme for the recognition of their independence. He proposed to avoid the risk of their annexation to France by an agreement with Pitt for their ultimate annexation to Holland, and to resist the various schemes of the Emperor Joseph

* Mission de Custine à Brunswick : *Revue Historique*, i. 177. Malmesbury, iii. 156.

† See Mr. Lecky's observations, v. 273.

for the extension of the dominion of the House of Austria in Germany, whether by the old and favourite plan of the exchange of the Austrian Netherlands for the High Palatinate, or otherwise.

At Berlin two divergent streams of opinion in regard to the proper policy to be pursued by Germany towards Russia had long existed. The rise into power and importance of the great Northern State, then first recognised as a force looming up huge and portentous on the political horizon, had for the previous quarter of a century been causing serious misgivings in the minds of the statesmen of Western Europe. Shelburne, in 1782, had told Rayneval that he had wished in 1766 to hold a firm and decisive language to Russia and Prussia, and thereby prevent the first dismemberment of Poland,* even then felt to be inevitable, unless some steps were taken to cure the anarchy of the country, which Russia laboured to maintain in her own interest.

'Russia is a terrible Power,' Frederic the Great had written to Prince Henry in March 1769; 'in another half-century it will be making all Europe tremble. The issue of the Gepidæ and the Huns, who destroyed the Eastern Empire, they are capable before long of impairing the Western Empire, and of filling the Austrians with sentiments of grief and repentance that they, by their mistaken policy, have invited this barbarous nation into Germany, and have taught it the art of war. . . . I foresee no other remedy than in time forming a league of the Great Powers to resist this dangerous torrent.' †

But notwithstanding this deliberate expression of opinion, a different policy had prevailed; and Frederic, not being able to dam up the torrent, chose the alternative of staying any further advance by Russia towards the Black Sea by allowing her partly to dismember Poland in 1772, on the condition that Prussia should receive a large share in the spoils. The weakness of Turkey and of Poland in 1790 was now again presenting Prussia with a choice between the two alternatives; and, as in 1772, each policy had supporters. Pitt and Hertzberg were exerting their powerful influence in favour of restraining the further advance of Russia. With most of the old soldiers of the Seven Years War there was a tradition of hostility to Russia. How strongly the current was running in this direction in Berlin can be realised, when we find Luccchesini, whom Lord Malmesbury afterwards de-

* Life of Shelburne, iii. 262.

† The King to Prince Henry, March 8, 1769. Sorel, '*La Question d'Orient au XVIII Siècle*,' p. 43.

clared had been bought by Russia, writing to Göltz in January, 1791:—‘God be willing that we maintain the war-like tone which beseems us. We must absolutely revenge ourselves on these filthy Scythians, who, spoilt by fortune, have forgotten the days of Frankfurt and Zorndorf.’ *

These views were fully shared by the Duke. He wrote a memorandum to the effect that the further partition of Poland would be as dangerous to Prussia as the conquest of Holland by France; since by the former Russia would advance to the Vistula, while by the latter France would advance to the Rhine.† Mirabeau reported that he showed the greatest anxiety in regard to the ‘oriental system’ of Russia, and strongly objected to all new arrangements tending to the dissolution of Poland, which, in his opinion, required to be reconstituted with readjusted boundaries as a defence to the eastern frontier of Prussia. He therefore threw the whole of his weight into the support of the policy of Hertzberg and Pitt, so as to check, if possible, the external encroachments of Russia and the internal intrigues of Austria. ‘I keep up my family connexions,’ he said to Mirabeau. ‘We perhaps shall be the last who will be smitten by the overthrow of the Germanic body, because of the confraternity which unites us to the Elector of Hanover.’ He was apparently also ruminating a project of his own for the reconstruction of the Germanic Confederation, for he could not fail to perceive that the antique and ruinous body must be propped up in order to be preserved; and that if it was not to fall, it must be repaired.‡

It would appear that an offer was actually made to him at this time of the crown of a new projected State, which was to consist of Limburg, Gueldres, and Luxemburg. There is also little doubt that his name was mentioned for the reversion of the crown of Poland; but he foresaw that if rearrangements of territory on a large scale once began in Europe, his own duchy might be endangered in some new distribution; and that the idea of personal aggrandisement was inconsistent with his own view of his true position as a German prince. He was at bottom more German than Prussian, however much he dreaded putting himself into opposition with Prussia. He observed with regret the tendency the King was already beginning to show to lean

* Creux, ‘Pitt et Frédéric Guillaume II,’ p. 99.

† Massenbach, ii. 58.

‡ Mirabeau, ‘Secret History,’ i. 30, 274, 277, 321.

towards Russia; and above all things he dreaded the influence of Prince Henry, 'that partitioning Prince,' as he termed him, who he said might some day prove the worst enemy of his country,* and carry out even more dangerous schemes than the first partition of Poland, of which he had been the principal adviser. But his broad and statesmanlike ideas, Mirabeau began to observe, were largely paralysed by an inveterate tendency to see two sides to every question, and to be unable to decide between them when action was required. His brilliant imagination and ambitious energy began by catching fire at first emotions, although at the moment he might betray no outward symptoms but those of tranquillity; but the rein he had long since learnt to put upon his passions 'reconducted him to the hesitation of experience, and to a superabundant circumspection 'with which his great distrust of mankind, and his chief foible '—his dread of losing his reputation—incessantly inspired.' He also seemed to Mirabeau to have another great weakness: 'a prodigious dread of having his reputation injured even by 'the most contemptible Zoilus,' and to suffer, as a natural consequence, from a tendency to listen too easily to praise, 'if gracefully embellished and artfully concealed.'

The Convention of Reichenbach, by which Austria was detached from the Russian alliance, in August 1790, was the first victory of Pitt's policy. It had the immediate effect of inducing Russia to make a moderate peace with Sweden in order to prevent that Power joining the hostile coalition which Hertzberg was known to be designing. Denmark had meanwhile been compelled to withdraw from any further attack on Sweden, and a treaty had been concluded between Poland and Prussia on March 29, 1790, by which the two States mutually agreed to guarantee one another's territory without prejudice to their rights to settle any outstanding territorial questions which had existed before the conclusion of the treaty. Dantzic and Thorn were meant by the negotiators, but any cession of territory was known to be so unpopular in Poland as to make it dangerous to mention the matter publicly, at least for the moment, and Pitt desired, if possible, to avoid territorial changes.

Thus far the policy of the Triple Alliance had been eminently successful. The death of the Emperor Joseph on

* Mirabeau, 'Secret History,' i. 312-314. Notes by Alphonse de Beauchamp in the 'Biographie Universelle,' iv. 50, nouvelle édition. Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, xv. 279.

February 10, 1790, had materially assisted it, not only by removing his ambitious personality from the scene, but by substituting for him on the throne the cautious and politic Leopold II., who was well affected to Poland, and desired to see a thorough reform of the constitution of that kingdom carried out. There now remained only the war between Russia and Turkey to terminate, and the peace of Europe would be secure. To that object Pitt and Hertzberg, supported by the Duke, now directed their attention. France was already paralysed by increasing domestic discord, and the new men were known to be favourable to a Prussian alliance. Encouraged probably by the reversion of Austria, after the death of Joseph II., to her traditional policy of resisting the progress of Russia to the northern bank and mouths of the Danube, Pitt now made an advance on his former strictly conservative policy, and smiled on the plans of Hertzberg in regard to Dantzic and Thorn, evidently believing that the favourable attitude adopted by the Emperor Leopold towards Poland would facilitate them, by facilitating the proposed exchange with part of Galicia, while Russia was to be coerced by a threat of war into accepting them and also into making peace with Turkey.

How the policy of Pitt and Hertzberg was defeated by the series of events connected with the failure of the British Government to secure the support of Parliament for the so-called 'Russian armament' of 1791, by the dread excited at Berlin at the idea that a reformed and reconstituted Poland might itself prove a menace to Prussia, and by the obstinate refusal of the Poles to surrender any territory whatever even by way of exchange, and by the alarm caused at Vienna and Berlin by the course of events in France, is part of the general history of Europe. These events shook even the strong position of Pitt in England, and gave the long-wished-for opportunity to the enemies of Hertzberg in Prussia to charge him with failure. In Frederic William II. they unfortunately found a ready listener, especially when, instigated by Catherine II., they were able to tell the superstitious monarch that the finger of God pointed, not to a war to save Poland from Russia, but to a crusade to put down the anarchists of France, while she performed the same kindly office towards the reformers at Warsaw.

After the brief attempt already described to appear as the continuator of the traditions of the previous reign, Frederic William II. had surrendered himself to the influence of mistresses—of Mme. Rietz, *née* Henck, who was created

Countess of Lichtenau; of Countess Doehnhoff, whom he married, *de la main gauche*; and of Mdle. de Voss, who blossomed into the Countess von Ingenheim. It was even more detrimental to the interests of the State that the King allowed himself to be influenced by the spiritualistic ideas of the illuminati and by the Rosicrucian Society. These mystics and religionists with Wöllner their high priest disseminated an atmosphere of mawkish and sentimental pietism around them, and pretended to be able to evoke the shades of Moses, Cæsar, and Jesus Christ. The true heirs of Frederic the Great had no place at such a Court, though Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, then tending to a condition of dotage, joined the new sect. Hertzberg and his colleagues were pushed aside in favour of supple courtiers, such as Lucchesini and Lombard. In military affairs an outward show of respect was preserved for the Duke and for Moellendorff; but Mannstein and Bischoffswerder, who had the support of the illuminati, and both professed, however jealous of each other, to hold their tenets, had the ear of the King. Favouritism reigned triumphant; the royal treasure was dissipated; and the whole system of the late reign was rapidly disorganised. ‘The master, what ‘is he?’ Mirabeau had said in 1786. ‘It would be rash at ‘present to decide, though one might be strongly tempted ‘to reply “King Log.” No understanding, no fortitude, ‘no consistency, no industry: in his pleasures the Hog of ‘Epicurus, and the hero only of a pride which we should ‘perhaps better describe as a kind of narrow and vulgar ‘vanity.’*

By 1791 this forecast had been only too amply justified.

‘Oh! this Lichtenau,’ said Massenbach, for once becoming almost humorous; ‘the wife of two men, and the courtesan of the favours of every big-boned and lusty youth! And then, too, all these subordinate assistant concubines, whose only fatherland is the theatre! . . . Every heir to a throne should have three works, not under his pillow, but on his writing table. The first is Machiavelli’s immortal work; the second, Gibbon; the third, Adam Smith. But I never met Machiavelli, or Gibbon, or Adam Smith, when I have had to pay my respects to Frau von Voss.’†

Under the system which now ruled it has been pithily said that ‘the officers interfered in Church matters, the ‘theologians in political affairs, the diplomatists lectured

* Mirabeau, ‘Secret History,’ i. 330.

† Massenbach, ii. 155, 158.

‘ the generals, and the generals felt themselves called upon to give their opinion on foreign policy, a state of things by which each and all were necessarily injured. It gave the country an administration affecting piety, a bureaucratic Church, and a political army.’ *

The whole grouping of the European Powers was now quickly changed. Hertzberg had fallen, and the alliance of Prussia with Austria with reference to events in France was the first consequence. The abandonment of the favourable policy of Prussia towards Poland, which was the legacy of Hertzberg’s policy, was the next sacrifice. In the place of the recent guarantee of the integrity of the Polish territories, an agreement with Russia, on the model of the first partition, was gradually substituted. Poland, after the sudden death, by smallpox, of the Emperor Leopold, on February 29, 1792, soon found herself abandoned by Austria also, and was left an easy prey to Russia, which, after concluding a favourable peace with Turkey, in January of that year, found herself with an entirely free hand in the East. This abrupt transition of policy on the part of Prussia was fatal to all the ideas of the Duke as a party leader. For resistance to Russia was now substituted an attack on France, and the policy of the reconstruction of Poland was displaced in favour of the second dismemberment of that unhappy country: at the very moment when, encouraged by the example of Sweden and the good will of the Emperor Leopold, she had cast herself free from the interested intrigues of Russia, and was reforming her government and administration. Poland was in future merely considered a convenient fund by the three Great Powers to draw upon: the fund in which Prussia was to find a compensation for the expenses of her share of the crusade against France; Russia for the temporary abandonment of her hostile designs against Turkey; and Austria for the abandonment of the ambitious schemes which she had so long entertained in Germany.

It was in connexion with this projected change of policy on the part of Prussia that, in the month of February, 1792, the Duke of Brunswick was summoned to Berlin to give his advice on the military aspects of the new situation. In the previous year he had found in a serious illness a fortunate excuse for not attending the conferences at Pillnitz,† and in now obeying the summons of the King to Berlin he commenced the ruin of his own career. At the

* Sybel, book iv. ch. i.

† Massenbach, i. 23.

commencement of 1792 he was at the height of his reputation. He held the first military rank in what was regarded as the finest army in Europe; he could at any moment have received the chief command in the Imperial service, if he had desired to have it; he had been offered the sovereignty of part of the Low Countries by one set of reformers, and, it was said, the reversion of the throne of Poland by another. Hertzberg's early successes had been due to his support. He was connected by political agreement with the great Minister who ruled England, and by marriage with her Royal House. If he had gone down into the grave at the same date as the Emperor Leopold, men would have said afterwards that not the least of the misfortunes of Europe had been that, on the eve of the events which followed, she had untimely lost the one man able to pilot her through those troublous events; the general able to lead her armies; the statesman pre-eminently fitted to moderate victory by prudence; and historians would have delighted to linger round the problem of what the later action of his life might have been, even as they still speculate whether Mirabeau would have been able to bend the fierce democracy of France to his will, or if Chatham would have succeeded in restoring a good understanding with the American colonies, had his life been prolonged.

An incident had just happened which proved in a remarkable degree how great was the desire to secure his services. At the commencement of 1792 a constitutional ministry had been formed in France to meet the recently elected *Assemblée Législative*. In this ministry Narbonne had the leading part. Delessart was Minister for Foreign Affairs. Narbonne himself was Minister for War. He held the view that the security of the King depended on the strict yet vigorous support of the new Constitution, and on the adoption of a spirited foreign policy against Austria. Though for a totally different set of reasons, the Girondins, who dominated the recently elected Assembly, held an identical view in regard to the policy to be pursued abroad. But for a great foreign war no general existed in the country who commanded public confidence. Lafayette, Rochambeau, Biron, Custine, and the aged Prussian soldier of fortune, Lückner, were the most prominent men in the service. But neither they nor Narbonne himself were judged fully equal to the emergency. It was determined to look further afield, and Narbonne declared

the Duke to be the man of the hour. The Girondins, even the Jacobins, regarded him as one of the friends of liberty. His sympathy with everything French, like that of Frederic the Great, was notorious. 'He only lacks a crown,' said Carra, one of the most famous journalists of the day, 'to be, I do not say the greatest of kings, but the restorer of the freedom of Europe. Should he arrive in Paris, I am ready to bet that his first step will be to go to the Jacobin Club and put on the bonnet rouge.'* Dumouriez had done something of the kind, and Dumouriez was a known admirer of the Duke; so was Talleyrand. Lafayette approved the idea of sending for him; Mme. de Staël supported it with enthusiasm, and Delessart, though apparently unwillingly, accepted it and placed it before the King and Queen, who in their turn also adopted it. Such was the origin of the proposal which led in 1792 to the mission of François de Custine, the son of the general already mentioned. He accepted it with delight, and to Brunswick he accordingly repaired, armed with a private letter from Louis XVI. as his credential to the Duke. The French Archives contain the story of the mission in a series of despatches between Custine and Delessart. Custine arrived at Brunswick in the early part of January. He was a little disappointed at not finding the Duke so ardent a Liberal and Democrat as he had expected.

'He appeared indeed to identify himself,' Custine wrote, 'with the position of our party in France, and, speaking generally, with our principles. Some of them he had always approved, but to give a just and complete idea of him it was necessary to acknowledge that many others of these principles he totally disapproved, although his truly philosophical intellect thereby came sometimes into conflict with opposite sentiments.' 'I cannot define him better,' he summed up in his report, 'than by likening him to those reformers in our own country who, as they are endowed with intelligence and enlightenment, are the partisans neither of the aristocracy, nor of the clergy, nor of the long robe, nor of an arbitrary and despotic system. But with reference to that absolute equality of rights on which our Constitution rests, it claims the allegiance of his intellect, but not his sympathy; he approves it possibly, but of a certainty he loves it not.'†

Custine, in fact, found in the Duke 'un grand seigneur philosophe, mais au demeurant un grand seigneur,' with as little love for democracy as for the clergy, and quite

* Précis de la défense de Carra (1793), quoted by Sorel in 'La Mission de Custine à Brunswick: Revue Historique,' i. 157.

† Rapport à Delessart, Feb. 13, 1792, ib. 163.

prepared to see in the Revolution another 'infâme à écraser.' His criticism of prejudices, his zeal for particular reforms, were, he said, united in him, as they were in Voltaire and Frederic, 'to a profound contempt for the vile multitude' and for the ignorance of the mob.'

The Duke told Custine that he was satisfied with his own position. His business was to command the Prussian army in time of war and to administer his Duchy in time of peace. He absolutely disowned all sympathy for the *émigrés*, and for the absolutist sympathies of the Court of Berlin; but he expressed pity for the position of the King of France, and a regret that the French Constitution had not established two Chambers, as Mirabeau had wished. He found no difficulty in clearly pointing out to Custine the impossibility of the proposal put before him. Custine, however, returned to the charge again and again. Like Mirabeau before him, he became more and more impressed by the ability and character of his host in proportion as his stay at Brunswick was prolonged. But the Duke was immovable. If war broke out it would, he said, be a war of aggression by France, and therefore, if placed in command of the French army, he would not be able to rely on the enthusiasm always evoked by foreign attack and invasion. The German princes were not going to attack France.

'What, then, would be my business?' he asked. 'To succeed by means sought in the genius of your nation, to which I am a foreigner, to give to your army the degree of discipline required by your new *régime*, and to regenerate it by a good selection of officers in a country where I practically know nobody. Believe me, the commonplaces and the sophistries of those who might asseverate that it would be against royalty that I would have to go and fight are not what can hinder me. I know what to think of such declamations, and to reduce them to their proper value. During the course of my existence I have not avoided great undertakings, and I know how to appreciate a leading rôle on the stage of the first theatre in the world. But I would have to be a very presumptuous or a very incapable man were I not to feel in this affair the utter impossibility of success; and being certain, as I am, in my present position of commanding some troops—if they are confided to me—at least as well as anybody else, I have too much *amour-propre* to be willing to risk my reputation in an enterprise altogether too hazardous and complicated.'*

So spoke the philosophic Duke; and after some further interviews this curious negotiation came to the inevitable

* Ibid. p. 167.

end. An imperfect knowledge of the circumstances led M. de Lamartine and M. Louis Blanc to exaggerate the offers made by Custine into an offer by the constitutional party of the throne of France to the Duke.* Custine returned to Paris, to perish, before the end of 1793, on the scaffold on which his father had died before him; while the Duke, as we have already seen, was summoned to Berlin to advise on an enterprise of an exactly opposite character to that to which he had been invited by Narbonne. He had just told Custine that the German sovereigns were not going to attack France; but on his arrival at Berlin he was offered by the King, in his name and that of the head of the House of Austria, the supreme command of the army which it had been decided should invade France; and he was directed to prepare a plan of campaign for the conquest of the very country which he had just been invited to defend. In an ill-starred moment he obeyed the royal commands.

In his conversations with Mirabeau and Custine the Duke had shown the finer side of his mind. We see his unbiassed judgement and penetrating intellect criticising the European situation with marvellous sagacity, and refusing to be tempted into hazardous enterprises, even into those which political sympathy or the chance of further renown might have rendered most attractive. But at Berlin all is different. There he allows himself to be overawed by the King into becoming the adviser and the director of an enterprise essentially distasteful to him: an enterprise dangerous in his opinion to the political interests of Prussia, because certain to leave Russia a free hand in the East, and doubly dangerous from a military standpoint because of the existing confusion and corruption at Berlin. The enterprise, too, was the project of the King, of whose capacity the Duke had the lowest opinion, and of the French *émigrés*, whose ideas he detested, however willing he was to accord personal hospitality to the Duc de Castries and other old antagonists of the Seven Years' War, who had taken refuge at Brunswick.† He had told Custine, as he also told Massenbach, that he was very far from being of the opinion that the want of discipline of the French army was likely to cause a general rout, as the *émigrés* pretended was certain to be the case; that, on the contrary, he thought war would itself bring the remedy to that evil; that the valour of the French,

* *Histoire des Girondins*, v. xxii. *Hist. de la Révolution*, vi. 249.

† Massenbach, iii. 241. *Life of Beugnot*, vol. i. ch. x.

excited to the highest pitch by the peculiar passions of the hour, would without doubt be equal to their established reputation; that, if he had to lead an attack on France, he would carefully avoid taking any precipitate course, or fighting pitched battles, in which chance always counted for much, as a French victory would mean ruin to her enemies, while a French defeat would be very far from definitely settling matters; and that his own plan would be to move several armies to different points of the frontier, and maintain them there, in the occupation of positions impregnable to attack, and there await the ruin of the French from internal divisions and disorganised finances, rather than from an overt attack, which would only rouse them to preternatural exertions.* Yet, at the request of the King, he now drew up a plan for the invasion of France and a direct march on Paris, and consented to lead the attack in person, at the same time carefully annotating the plan as not really his own, but that of the King, so as to justify himself before posterity. In the inner circle of his friends he did not keep back the expression of his dissatisfaction at not having been consulted on the policy of the expedition, instead of only on the military means of carrying it out. Nothing of any real advantage to Germany could result from it, in his opinion. He at once recognised the immense forces, the unknown strength, which lay behind the apparent confusion of things in France. No professional pedantry blinded him. Disorganised the French army and administration undoubtedly were, and whence they would get officers or supplies might not be clear, 'but a headlong plunge into the crater he 'dreaded above all things.' 'Our other complications may 'unravel themselves,' he wrote to the Duke of Brunswick-Oels, 'but would to heaven we had done with these French 'devils!' And he plainly 'told Frederic William that 'events might occur of which the consequences would be 'incalculable, as the heads governing France were under 'the influence of an effervescence from which the most 'extraordinary results might be anticipated.'† As to the Bischoffswerders and the Mannsteins, and the royal entourage generally, the late King, in his opinion, would have

* Custine to Delessart, February 24, 1792. *Revue Historique*, i. 176. Massenbach, i. 267.

† Sybel, book iv. ch. i., who is quoting from the correspondence at Brunswick to which he was given access, and also refers to Schlieffen's 'Denkwürdigkeiten.' Massenbach, i. 267-278.

quickly sent them all about their business. But it was to the plans of the Bischoffswerders, the Mannsteins, and the *émigrés*, that now, at the crisis of his career, he abandoned his own mature opinions, both on the political issues and the military methods to be adopted.*

There are mental conformations which are rendered faulty by a marked disproportion between the ingredients of intellect and of will, of mind and of moral force. A less penetrating and perfect intelligence, under the driving power of a more powerful will, often produces greater results than a broader intelligence moved by a comparatively weak character. So now, when the decisive moment arrived, which Mirabeau had indicated must sooner or later come, when the Duke would have to decide if he would act with authority or not, it was proved that the early suspicions of Gaudi and Westphalen were true, and that while nature had granted him every faculty of the intellect with an unstinted hand, circumstances, if not nature herself, had deprived him of the equally necessary quality of moral determination. Hardenberg is said to have once implored him, if he disapproved the proposals put before him, at least to say 'No' to them in a determined manner.† It was his want of power to do this, his lack of civil as distinct from military courage, which give so protean an aspect to his career, and account for the opposite verdicts of his contemporaries, sometimes from the same persons, according as the intellectual resources of his mind, or his failure to give effect to his own conceptions, were at the moment most present to the mind of the writer.

Lord Malmesbury, who accompanied the expedition to Holland, and was afterwards specially accredited to the Court of Brunswick, describes, on one occasion, how the Duke, having laid aside all his *finesse* and suspicion, 'appeared in all 'his lustre;' and then soon after declares him to be 'all 'suspicion, cunning, and irresolution;' and 'to want 'mental decision;' adding that he failed in these respects as much as his daughter, Princess Caroline, did 'in 'character and tact,' which was to say a good deal.‡ Stein abuses him for his conduct in 1792 as 'selfish and insincere;' but in 1804 declares him to be the one 'noble' exception to the general meanness and imbecility of the lesser German royalties.§ Massenbach at one moment compares

* Malmesbury, iii. 166, 167.

† Ranke, Hardenberg, i. 81.

‡ Malmesbury, 'Diary,' iii. 159, 160, 190.

§ Life of Stein, by Sir John Seeley, i. ch. iii. iv.

him to the hesitating Mornay of Voltaire's 'Henriade,' who condemns the battle, pities his master, and then follows; at another he says he is the only man who can save Germany or is fit to command the army.* He extols the Duke in 1791 as the greatest general in the world; in 1792, after a remarkable instance of hesitancy at Homburg, he declares that he washes his hands of him altogether. In 1793, after the victories of Pirmasens and Kaiserslautern, he devotes page after page to panegyrics of the Duke's military skill and greatness of character.† In 1799 he fills the air with lamentations on the impossibility of inducing the Duke to act with resolution and to seize the helm of the State. In 1805 and 1806 we find him denouncing his want of strength of character; and then, finally, after the Duke's death, declaring that he, and he only, might have been able to save the situation after the battle of Jena. The worst of it was perhaps that the Duke knew his own weakness. 'I cannot resist it,' he told Sir James Harris; 'it is stronger than I.'‡ With advancing years the failing did not diminish. It was heightened by the apprehension, constantly present to his mind, that if the policy of his own little Duchy did not move in the orbit fixed from Berlin, he might bring political ruin on his family. It was further stimulated by an almost superstitious feeling as to the military obedience due by him to the King, which compelled him, as he thought, though a sovereign prince, to obey, as a marshal of the Prussian army, whatever orders came from the successor of Frederic the Great, incompetent—in his own well-matured judgement—as he knew that successor to be, and thoroughgoing as was his own contempt for all the subordinate personalities of the Berlin Court, whom he depicted to Custine either as odious or as personally ridiculous.§

The Duke had a horror of the *émigrés*, who swarmed into his camp at Koblenz. 'He could scarcely,' says an eyewitness, 'find elbow-room in the crowd of them. He paid 'compliment after compliment, and made obeisances to the 'very ground; but his cheeks glowed, and his eyes glittered

* Chuquet, 'La Première Invasion Prussienne,' p. 127.

† 'Ich betrachtete Carl Wilhelm Ferdinand als den Hirt und Stolz der Preussen und den Heros des Zeitalters.' Massenbach, ii. 47.

‡ Malmesbury, iii. 160.

§ Custine to Delessart, February 13, 1793. *Revue Historique*, i. 173. Malmesbury Memoirs, iii. 173.

‘like those of a tiger.’* And yet from Koblenz on July 25 was issued the celebrated manifesto to the French people, which embodied all the fiercest passions of the French *émigrés*, and this manifesto, alas! was signed ‘Brunswick.’ It is immaterial whether the publication, coming as it did at so critical a moment, was or was not the cause of the excesses of September in Paris. This will be a matter of permanent controversy. But the misery of the thing is that the most liberal and enlightened prince of his time, a known sympathiser with France and with all reasonable reforms, should, contrary to his own feelings and wishes, have allowed himself to yield to the wishes of the King, and be persuaded into attaching his name to this fatal document—and subsequently to two others of the same character—of which not he, but one M. Geoffroy de Limon, who was acting as secretary to the Comte de Provence and his little cabinet of exiles, was the real author. When Bertrand de Molleville, in his ‘Memoirs,’ charged the Duke with having been the author of the manifesto, he solemnly denied it, and asked if people wished to take him for an ‘unreflecting madcap.’† Years after, when Massenbach observed on the fearful menaces they had then hurled against France, ‘Ah,’ replied the Duke, ‘that unlucky manifesto! I shall repent it to the last day of my life. What would I not give never to have signed it!’‡

‘A great man,’ said the ‘Moniteur,’ ‘has made himself the instrument of a faction.’ ‘It is the *émigrés*,’ wrote the Italian adventurer Gorani from Paris to the Duke—and the Duke got the letter—‘who have deceived your Highness.’ He was wrong. The Duke had yielded in despite of his own better knowledge.§ Klopstock, with the true voice of genius, had already called on him, for the sake of his own reputation, to throw up the command; and Klopstock was right. But the Duke allowed himself to be persuaded into keeping it.

Next to the *émigrés* the Duke most of all disliked his Austrian allies, whom he suspected from the Emperor Francis II. downwards of ambitious designs. ‘The Duke of Brunswick,’ Pellenc wrote to Pitt, ‘is, without fear of con-

* Massenbach, i. 33.

† Mallet du Pan, ‘Mémoires et Correspondance,’ i. 236.

‡ Massenbach, i. 236.

§ Chuquet, ‘La Première Invasion Prussienne’ (ch. iii.), gives an account of the whole subject.

‘tradiction, the cleverest and the most deceitful man in Germany. His political principles are notorious. He detests the ‘Court of Vienna.’* And yet the Duke consented to command an army which was as much an Austrian as a Prussian force, and with objects as much dictated by the policy of the Court of Vienna as by that of Berlin, and supported also by the Empress Catherine. The plot in the East was thickening, and the risk of sending the bulk of the Prussian army headlong into France grew more and more obvious every day when a Russian army was evidently about to enter Poland. The Duke could not fail to notice how anxiously the Russian emissaries at the royal headquarters were pressing for the advance upon Paris, and he knew the reason.† And yet he consented to lead the advance, and become responsible for it. The consequences to the history of Europe and to his own hitherto unquestioned reputation will be discussed in a subsequent article.

* Mirabeau, Correspondence, iii. 396.

† Massenbach, i. 96-7 ; ii. 16.

ART. VII.—1. *Habit and Instinct.* By C. LLOYD MORGAN, F.G.S. London: 1896.

2. *The Sagacity and Morality of Plants.* By J. E. TAYLOR, Ph.Doc., F.L.S., &c. London: 1891.

THE word ‘instinct,’ which forms part of the title of the book named at the head of this article, has been the subject of many a tough battle amongst naturalists, philosophers, and men of science before and since the days of Gilbert White, to say nothing of some famous makers of dictionaries; and, as the meaning of the word is more or less a key to the books with which we have to deal, it may be well to quote a few of the more striking definitions given to us by men best qualified to speak on the subject. Dictionaries shall come first.

‘Instinct,’ says Webster, is ‘inward impulse; unconscious, involuntary, prompting to action; a disposition to any one mode of action, bodily or spiritually, without a distinct apprehension of the end or object which Nature has designed to be accomplished thereby;—specifically, the natural, unreasoning impulse which guides an animal to the performance of any action without thought of improvement in the method.’

This definition, though wordy, is certainly clear and comprehensive; while that from the pen of the great sage of Bolt Court—who had no great leaning towards the study of the book of Nature—is abrupt, and less accurate. ‘Instinct,’ he writes, is ‘a desire or aversion acting in the mind without the intervention of reason or deliberation. The power of determining the will of brutes.’ The learned Doctor, by denying, as he does elsewhere, the existence of ‘innate dispositions’ as rigorously as Locke did that of ‘innate ideas,’ so far seems to deny both to man and to other animals that which they certainly possess. Nor does he make the way clearer for us by the example which he quotes from the great master of words, Shakspeare himself: ‘Thou knowest I am valiant as Hercules; but beware instinct; the lion will not touch the true prince; instinct is a great master.’* For, surely, this very feeling or disposition was a part and parcel of Falstaff’s very nature—born in him, and with him—on which he acted, and which he obeys as ‘a master.’†

* Henry IV.

† Even if exaggerated, or pretended, by Falstaff, yet clearly acknowledged as a strong motive power, as it was by Shakspeare himself.

One of the concisest definitions is that of Paley, who says instinct is 'a propensity prior to experience.' Another, not so curt, and far more complete, comes from the logical pen of Whately, an acute reasoner on all such topics as demand clear and exact definition of terms: 'Instinct is a blind tendency towards some mode of action independent of any consideration on the part of the agent of the end to which the action leads.' Much of the same character are the words of another equally acute thinker, who regards 'instinct' as 'a *natural* impulse—meaning by that term *innate*—to certain actions of animals which they perform without deliberation or having any end in view, or knowing why they so act.'

Thus, a calf will butt long before his horns are grown, or even appearing; a hen broods over eggs of another species, or over sham eggs, as long and patiently as over her own; a wasp, that does not feed on flesh herself, and knows not that a larva is to spring from the egg she has just laid in the sandy crevice of a wall, stores up worms and caterpillars for the food of a grub who eats nothing else, and so fixes them that they cannot possibly escape the devourer. Thus, also, the bee builds her cell only of one exact shape and size, the hexagon, which, as far as can be traced, she has, with rare exceptions, ever done since the days of the first garden in Eden. The water-spider, if but a day old, dives into water, an element of which she can know nothing by experience, and there at once weaves her fairy palace of silken thread. If now we turn to naturalists themselves, we have the well-weighed words of Gilbert White, who, after long and careful study of the subject, says of 'instinct':—

'That wonderful, limited faculty which at times raises the brute creation as it were above reason, and at others leaves them far below it; that secret influence by which each species is impelled to pursue at all times the same way or track without teaching or example; whereas reason, without teaching, would often vary, and do by many methods what instinct does by one. And this, though instinct, usually uniform and consistent, does (rarely) conform to circumstances, place, and special condition.'

In further illustration of which uniformity he cites three examples of the distinctly different ways in which three different wild creatures—the squirrel, the field-mouse, and the nut-hatch—deal with their favourite food, the hazel-nut. Each opens the nut in his own special way, and from this he never varies. The first, after rasping off the smaller end,

splits the shell into two with his long fore-teeth, as a man does with his knife. The second nibbles a tiny hole with his teeth as neatly as if drilled with a winble, and yet so small an orifice that the wonder is how the kernel can ever be extracted through it. The last picks an irregular, ragged hole with his sharp bill, but having no paws to hold the nut firm while piercing it, he, like an adroit workman, fixes it in some cleft or crevice of a tree, or a post, as in a vice, and then, standing over it, perforates the stubborn shell.

Before coming to our author's own definition of instinct, we will quote a few more words from a writer whose wit and wisdom once often sparkled in the pages of this Review.* Speaking generally of the subject, he says:—

‘All the wonderful instincts of animals seem to have been given them either for the combination or preservation of their species. Without these instincts they would long ago have been swept off the face of the earth. The bee that understands one particular kind of architecture so well, once out of his own special line of business, that of making honey, is as stupid as a pebble stone, and with all his talents only exists that we may eat his labours, while poets sing of them; or he constructs his boasted edifice for an egg of which he knows neither the meaning nor the object, to produce a grub of which he can form no possible conception; whereas man knows the beauty and use of every brick he lays, or tower that he builds. The bee now builds just as he built in the days of Homer; the bear is as ignorant of good manners as he was two thousand years, or ages, ago; the baboon still as unable to read and write as persons of honour and quality were in the days of Queen Elizabeth; but there is no progress among the three B's, whereas now among all classes of men those who can read and write are to be counted by millions.’

Professor Morgan's own definition of ‘instinct’ must speak for itself. He considers it more satisfactory, he says, to restrict the term ‘instinctive’ to those ‘activities’ which are in greater or less degree congenitally definite, and in this sense uses the words throughout his work, summing up his definition in a tabular form as follows:—†

‘INHERITED.

Congenitally definite activities, under which those termed “instinctive” are comprised.	<i>Innate capacity</i> involving (a) a power of association, and (b) hereditary susceptibilities to pleasure and pain.
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* Sydney Smith: ‘Wit and Wisdom of Sydney Smith,’ p. 260.

† Habit and Instinct, p. 27.

' ACQUIRED.

(a) Confirmation or (b) modification of congenitally definite or instinctive activities so as to render them habitual by repetition. (c) Suppression of congenital activities.	Particular application of innate capacity: (a) occasional, and under special circumstances; (b) frequently repeated, with the consequent formation of acquired habits.'
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That is to say:—

'Instincts are congenital, adaptive, and co-ordinated activities of relative complexity, and involving the behaviour of the organism as a whole; not characteristic of individuals as such, but similarly performed by all like members of the same group under circumstances either of frequent recurrence or vitally essential to the continuance of the race—broadly speaking, constant in character, subject to variation, often periodic in development, and serial in character, to be distinguished from "habits" which spring from individual acquisition and the repetition of individual performance.'

Such are the author's own words (very slightly condensed) in defining the meaning of the two subjects of his work, which for the general reader's sake, as well as our own, one could wish less in number, simpler, and clearer. We notice this, because, in spite of the many admirable qualities which adorn Professor Morgan's book, the freshness, variety, and beauty of his illustrations, and the skill with which he has massed together an interesting and valuable storehouse of facts—when he comes to draw deductions, to demonstrate, and to argue, the style becomes wordy, ponderous, and at times obscure. As this is the only fault that we have to find with him, we gladly turn to the far pleasanter task of trying to show more exactly the objects he seems to have in view in the treatise before us; and if the audience which the argumentative portion of his work is likely to attract and convince be rather select than numerous, the wider circle whom he is sure to win by his pages of illustration will be charmed and instructed by the variety and abundance of new facts which their guide offers, and draw for themselves with ease the lesson they seem to teach.

The space at our disposal will not permit of more than a general survey of Mr. Morgan's 450 well-filled pages, to show by example the nature of its style and contents, and the conclusions aimed at by the author. The book is divided into fifteen chapters, the first five being devoted, after some preliminary definitions, &c., to admirable examples and studies of the habits and instincts of various young birds and mammals. From chapters v. to ix. the author

takes us to subjects of much higher and graver importance, such as 'The Relation of Consciousness to Instinctive Behaviour;' 'Intelligence,' and 'The Acquisition of Habits;' 'Imitation'—a chapter full of most brilliant and apt illustrations and shrewd reasoning; and 'The Emotions' in their relation to 'Instinct.' 'Nest-building, the Pairing Season, and Migration' occupy the next two sections—which every young naturalist will read with delight; while the remaining ninety pages are devoted to the consideration of 'Organic and Mental Evolution,' 'Acquired Habits in Animals'—again full of choice examples—and, lastly, the tougher problem of 'Heredity in Man.'

All these much-vexed and knotty problems are discussed, at times minutely, not without many divagations into kindred but side issues, and an abundance of technical phraseology which, however dear to scientists,* adds neither to the clearness nor cogency of their reasoning. One is apt to long for the lucid words of Huxley and Darwin, though, here, in vain. When, therefore, we come to Professor Morgan's final chapter, in which he enumerates twenty distinct and positive conclusions at which he has arrived, and which he seems to regard as proved, we must demur. They embrace a host of such intricate and moot points as, 'the instinctive activities characterised by relative definiteness of motor-co-ordination, and dependent on congenital structure in the lower brain,' &c. &c.

'This instinctive response,' he considers, 'is itself unconscious, but affords data to consciousness; data linked by association with those supplied by special senses. But, besides outgoing currents to motor organs, there are outgoing currents to the viscera, &c. From the organs thus "innervated"' (an uncomfortable word) 'proceed currents to the sensorium, affording the primary data of the states of consciousness termed emotions. These data are all of "afferent" (*sic*) origin, and whether sensory, motor, or visceral, may be either pleasant or painful, the power of associating them, and the susceptibilities to pleasure and pain, being alike innate. With the higher brain centres also is an innate control over the lower, exercised through augmentation or inhibition of their automatic action in the light of experience. Intelligence involves true selection; and the method of mental evolution, by the exercise of choice, must again be distinguished from the method of organic evolution by natural selection.'

* Equally dear it would seem to disciples of the latest, higher, school of criticism, one of whose pundits, Mr. H. James, thus sums up an estimate of the poet Browning: 'He was, indeed, a wonderful mixture of the universal and the alembicated.'—*Essays*, p. 239.

These are but a brief sample of an infinitely larger number of subtle speculations which Mr. Morgan's twenty conclusions embrace. Some are obvious. Many we are not prepared to accept, though the author regards them as proved. That they have been discussed—at times minutely, with greater or less success—skilfully illustrated, and ingeniously argued, may be freely admitted, but rarely, indeed, without being wrapped in a cloud of words; so that at the end of a paragraph the starting point would seem to be lost sight of, and the reader too often at a loss to know whither he is going.

To some few of the minor conclusions of Mr. Morgan, indeed, we should broadly demur; *e.g.* on the opening page to his definition of 'habit' as a more or less definite mode of procedure or behaviour which has been acquired by an individual, and become, so to speak, stereotyped through repetition. A habit, no doubt, may be fostered and strengthened by being often practised, but can scarcely be said to be formed by repeated action, any more than the gout can be said to be formed by repeated attacks of gout. The man who suffers from gout has inherited the seeds of that disease, or has planted them in himself by some specific course of action. In the same way, a tendency to any foolish or vicious habit, such as unmeaning laughter, or 'touching' certain spots or places or things, making wry faces, stammering, or even aptness to cunning, and equivocation, may be born in a man, or may afterwards arise from some chance cause of which the victim himself is at the time unconscious.

When a writer wanders into many words to show, say, the difference between a feeling, a disposition, an inclination—all being innate—and an instinct, it would seem to us much like the splitting of hairs, difficult, even if possible, and of no real value if accomplished. The reader who is fond of such pastime may easily gratify his taste in following Mr. Morgan through the various stages of his inquiry into habit and instinct. But he may also easily find far more and far better things in the delightful glimpses of the works and ways of young birds, and other animals, which the author again and again draws from his varied and ample stores of knowledge derived from personal observation. What, for example, can be fresher or more to the life than the following picture of young ducklings as exhibiting certain fundamentally instinctive activities?

'The ducklings thoroughly enjoyed a dip. Each morning at nine

o'clock a large black tray was placed in their pen, and on it a flat tin containing water. To this they all eagerly ran, drinking and washing in it. On the sixth morning the tray and the tin were given them without any water. They ran to it, scooped at the bottom, and made all the motions of the beak as if drinking. They squatted in it, dipping their heads and wagging their tails as usual. For some minutes they continued to wash in non-existent water, the coolness of the tin to their breasts perhaps giving them some satisfaction. Then I gave them water. The next day the experiment was repeated with the dry tin. Again they ran to it, shovelling along the bottom with their beaks, and squatting down in it. But they soon gave up the attempt to find satisfaction in a dry bath. On the third morning they simply waddled up to the dry tin, and sadly departed.'

From this he goes on to note the different behaviour of different birds when brought within reach of a bath—moorhen chicks, young jays, and even a magpie—each greeting it with peculiar ways and usages of his own, but all with great zest; the love of dusting or of bathing or splashing in water being inborn in almost all birds. But turn where we will through the whole gallery of pictures of bird life, the author's storehouse is full of variety and of freshness to the very last. He has not only observed every item of the picture with patient skill and care, but with the eye of a poet who loves his work. The result is charming, but immediately after the quiet enjoyment of such a pleasure the reader must digest with what comfort he can some such dainty morsels as the following conclusions as to whether the behaviour of certain 'partridges' is *instinctive* or *traditional*:—

'That which is congenitally definite as instinctive behaviour is essentially a motor response or train of motor responses, which often show very accurate and nicely adjusted congenital or hereditary coordinations, themselves evoked by stimuli, the general type of which is fairly definite, and may in some cases be in response to particular objects, of which latter possibility, or, indeed, of inherited ideas or knowledge, there is little satisfactory evidence—*i.e.* the facts can be equally well explained on the view that what is inherited is of the nature of an organic response. Association of ideas is strong, and is rapidly formed as the result of individual acquisition. Acquired definiteness built, on association, on the foundation of congenital responses, modified to meet new circumstances, may pass, through frequent repetition, into more or less stereotyped habits.' (P. 100.)

It is not easy to decide positively whether the behaviour of certain young birds at roosting time is distinctly 'traditional' or 'instinctive'—or, indeed, that there is any essential difference between the two terms—seeing that 'traditional' simply means 'handed on by example from

'parents to offspring,' that young partridges act as they do the moment they are hatched, that the prompting to this behaviour must be born in and with them, and must, therefore, be neither more nor less than an 'instinct'—*not* taught by the example of parents. It is of such apparent hair-splitting that we venture to complain—in which, however, Professor Morgan appears to delight. It is not to be wondered at if he now and then reminds one of an old and forgotten Eton squib of some fifty years ago under some such title as, 'Anecdotes of Animalcules, with Disquisitions 'as to Their Works and Ways, Usages, Customs, Manners 'and Modes, Behaviour, Feelings, Dispositions, Tendencies, 'Emotions, and Other Traits,' 'of which,' remarks a then young and ardent critic, 'it may be sufficient to say, "Anecdotes brilliant, but in other respects no sufficient 'evidence to convict or clear the accused."' But, joking apart, we could wish that our present author had included in his survey the instinct of insects, which, in some respects, displays an amount of intelligence far more nearly approaching reason than can be found in any other section of the animal world but that of man himself. For example:—

'What bird or fish,' says Mr. Kirby,* 'catches its prey by means of nets as artfully woven and as admirably adapted to their purposes as any that fisher ever devised or fowler fabricated? Yet such nets, even under water, are constructed by spiders. What beast of prey thinks of digging a pitfall in the track of the animals which serve it for food, at the bottom of which it lies hidden, waiting until some hapless victim falls headlong down the sides of its cavern? This is done by the ant-lion.'

Or, again:—

'The working bees as a rule build their combs of one exact size and shape; yet suddenly one is found with cells of a different shape, placed in a different position, to meet some special juncture of circumstances, as when the workman builds some cells of a larger size, expressly for the reception of the eggs and future grubs of drones—eggs not laid by themselves, but still in the ovaries of the queen.'

If the reader feel inclined to doubt as to the amount of marked, instinctive intelligence displayed in the insect world, let him turn to any one chapter in Sir John Lubbock's 'Ants, Bees, and Wasps,' and he will be charmed not only with the clearness and simplicity of style in every page, but the infinite variety and freshness of the author's illustrations of life in that curious economy which he has studied so long,

* Kirby and Spence's 'Entomology,' pp. 538-9.

and with such unceasing watchfulness. A student who has had colonies of ants and bees in his own house, under constant supervision, for years together, and was on terms of friendship with a pet wasp for upwards of nine months, has a right to speak with authority (as he does), and tell wonderful things as to their private moods and ways, their power of discerning colour and fragrance, of communicating with each other, their skill, endurance, affection, and devotion to the common good of their race. Hence arises the critical question (which want of space forbids us to do more than touch) 'Whence does the insect derive its grain of clear, 'swift, intelligence?' A cat teaches her kittens all they need know to start in life—how to keep clean, to use their claws and teeth, to hunt, to climb, to steal unawares on their prey, &c. &c. Young birds learn from their parents to find food, to build, to talk, and to sing. But from the insect world all teaching by precept or example is absolutely excluded. No grub can, when fully grown, imitate parents he never knew; no butterfly or other winged insect have a recollection of existence separated from it by the death-like sleep of the chrysalis.

In conclusion, we would commend to Mr. Morgan's careful consideration the further broad, bold words of Kirby, a student of ripe and rare experience, in summing up one section of his inquiry:—

'Without pretending to give an exact and logical definition of instinct, which, while we are ignorant of the essence of reason, is impossible, we may call the instincts of animals those faculties implanted in them by the Creator, by which, independent of instruction, observation, or experience, and without a knowledge of the end in view, they are all alike impelled to the performance of certain actions tending to their own well-being and the preservation of the species.'

With his varied and abundant store of facts, his power of description, and his ready command of simple words (when he chooses to employ them), by simply taking the above broad definition as a basis, and proving by illustration and example where it is true and where in need of correction, he may yet give us a handbook of the whole scheme at once worthy of his own reputation and certain to win a far wider circle of readers than he has as yet reached.

In this age of ever-widening light, keen inquiry, and fierce controversy, the larger the circle to whom the disputants appeal the better for their cause and the better for all concerned. In no case can the truth suffer. Of course, if the discussion is to be strictly 'esoteric,' for the inner

circle of the elect only—that is one thing. But if it is to be for the benefit of the world at large, we would humbly suggest that it should be carried on, as far as may be, in the ordinary language of mankind. There is no charm, there can be no special power, in a flood of darkened words. No inquirer of ordinary intelligence can fail to understand the reasoning of Lucretius, of Aristotle, Bacon, or Newton. By all means let the ‘sceptic,’ in the true sense of the word, make his inquiry as wide, as deep, and as minute as his utmost ability enables him to do. Let him sift and search, examine and weigh, every grain of fact and every particle of evidence to his heart’s content; but let the whole process, and, above all, the result, be *coram populo*. This may be no easy task, but of its value, if impartially conducted, there can be no possible doubt. It may be, indeed, as a true sceptic tells us, that

‘Our little systems have their day;
They have their day, and cease to be.’

But they may well suffice to teach one lesson, at least, of content that our present range of vision, if limited, is so far to be relied on; that our horizon ever widens in proportion to our own singleness of heart and endeavour, and will still widen as the age advances towards fuller day and becomes more and more conscious of its own power. There may still be much, as wise men so often remind us, that is unknowable at present, but it is no less true that ‘men may rise on ‘stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things.’ The more the love and the practice of true science prevail the deeper will be our conviction of the reality of the poet’s vision of the future:—

‘And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.’

We come now to a far simpler and plainer task, of dealing with what Dr. Taylor calls ‘A Sketch of the Life and Conduct of the Vegetable Kingdom.’ Had he been content with those words as the title of his book we should have had far less fault to find with him. But when he makes them merely subsidiary to the chief heading, ‘The Sagacity and Morality of Plants,’ we join issue with him at once. ‘Sagacity’ implies power of acute thought and perception, and to no one existing plant can be granted the power of thinking or perceiving, even to the smallest degree. As to ‘morality,’ in any true sense of the word, the case is more hopeless still, for the one obvious reason that to

practise morality the agent must possess the power of discerning between right and wrong, which to a thing incapable of thought or perception is of course a sheer impossibility. We might as well talk of the morality of a door for turning on its hinges at the instance of a puff of wind. In the well-known story of a certain terrier who, having stolen a piece of meat from the kitchen table, crept quietly into the parlour and laid it humbly at his master's feet, the narrator of the tale cited it as an instance of moral conduct on the dog's part. 'No,' replied his friend who heard it; 'no; if your excellent Ponto really possessed any 'sense of moral feeling, he would never have stolen the 'meat at all.' This may seem a severe judgement on supposed canine morality, but as such an act, springing from what motive it may, is some millions of miles beyond the utmost possible performance of any plant that ever grew out of the earth, the author's title-page must be ruled entirely out of court.

He himself, indeed, seems to anticipate this objection—though not as fatal—in the first line of his introduction, where he says, 'I shall be met at the outset with the remark that 'the term morality can only be rightly applied to conscious 'agents, among which plants cannot be classed.' Met he certainly will be; nor does he at all dispose of the objection by quoting Wordsworth's well-known words:—

'It is my faith that every flower that blows
Enjoys the air it breathes.'

It may be freely granted that every flower may be open in some degree to a new sensation in merely breathing fresh air; for Darwin, in speaking of the sensitiveness of the root-tips of plants, admits that

'The tip of the radicle thus endowed, and having the power of directing the movements of the adjoining parts, acts *like* the brain of one of the lower animals, the brain being seated within the anterior end of the body, receiving impressions from the sense-organs, and directing the several movements.'

But this is a very different thing and quite remote from every question of 'sagacity or morality,' which, as we have already shown, can be possessed only by such creatures as are fully endowed with a conscious power of thought and perception, to say nothing of the difference between right and wrong.

If Dr. Taylor had chosen for his title some such words as 'Traces of Certain Blind Instincts in the Vegetable

Kingdom,' we should have had no fault to find with him, but have gladly at once turned, as we now do, to his pleasant and ingenious researches into life and conduct in the world of plants. His primary chapter is devoted to a brief and clear exposition of plant-life as a whole, tracing it step by step up from the tiny seed to the embryo plant, the formation of cells, leaves, buds, blossom, and fruit, the nature and use of sap, and the express work of the root, the various functions of stamens and pistils, and the cross-fertilisation of separate flowers. All these topics are handled with such delicate accuracy of touch, and illustrated so aptly with woodcuts, as to charm the reader even while travelling over well-known ground, as a single brief quotation may suffice to show:—

'The true flowering plants are *now*' (*i.e.* since the classification of Linnæus based on the number and position of pistils and stamens) 'arranged simply in two groups, some having beautifully coloured or sweetly scented flowers, as the rose, lily, sweet-pea; others having flowers not conspicuous either for colour or perfume, like those of the nettles and grasses, the two groups being relatively termed *Entomophilous* (ἐντομον, an insect) and *Anemophilous* (ἄνεμος, the wind), the one being fertilised by the visits of insects, the other by the wandering breeze. No more brilliant discovery in botany was ever made than that which furnished the key to unlock the secrets of this floral difference, based on the known fact that "crossing" is not only beneficial, but in most cases of vital necessity. There are only two agents capable of effecting such cross-fertilisation—the insects and the wind—the former visiting flowers, many indeed, such as bees, butterflies, and moths, getting their living in no other way. The bodies of insects are covered with fine hairs, and the pollen grains discharged on contact with the ripe stamens stick to them, and are thus carried from one flower to another. As many insects on the wing, especially bees, often prefer visiting the same kind of flowers (*e.g.* clover, heather, sainfoin, &c.), it is clear how the cross-fertilisation is effected.

To render the service of insects more effective the pollen grains are usually so roughened as to make their sticking all the surer; hence the utility of colour and perfume in attracting their winged visitors. Grasses, and such other flowers indeed as possess no such attractive petals, hence have to be fertilised by the wind, and every farmer knows the need of dry, breezy weather when 'the corn is on the 'bloom,' for then the pollen has a chance of being widely scattered; every acre of wheat, it is said, producing about fifty pounds weight of pollen. This abundance of pollen is, of course, a matter of importance, as in wet weather much of it is washed to the ground, and never reaches the pistils

at all, and if they remain unfertilised no seed-corn is produced.

We have quoted largely from this chapter as a part of what Dr. Taylor calls 'stating the case'—*i.e.* the claim he is trying to make out for the sagacity of plants. All he has to say in this section of his book, and the eight succeeding chapters, is well worth reading. He writes like a man who knows his subject, and loves it with enthusiasm; who has looked into the book of Nature with keen eyes. But here and there his enthusiasm is apt to lead him into words of exaggeration—when dealing with the ordinary works and ways of vegetable life—as when he talks of 'the cruelty' and selfishness of the common ivy' in clinging to and half strangling the giant tree whose trunk it has utilised to lift itself above the ground; or of 'robbery and murder' as crimes illustrated in sundry episodes of plant-life. And yet he may well defend himself against such a charge, as he seeks to do, by quoting the impassioned words of Charles Kingsley, who, in dealing with the same topic, says:—

'Throughout the great republic of the forest the motto of the majority is—as it always has been even with human beings—everyone for himself, and the devil take the hindmost!—selfish competition, over-reaching tyranny, the temper which fawns and clings as long as it is down, and when it has risen kicks over the stool by which it has climbed; these, and other "works of the flesh," are the works of the average plant as far as it can practise them. Never do for yourself what you can get another to do for you, and you will soon develope into a true high-climber, selfish and insolent, choking and strangling all that comes in your way.'

Making allowance for this one exuberance of style and word, Dr. Taylor is a very pleasant guide through the almost countless phases of woodland life on which his facile pen loves to dilate, and which some admirable woodcuts serve to illustrate. Specially readable is he in his chapter on 'Woodcraft'—devoted to the description of the special devices adopted by the higher plants to grow, escape enemies, and propagate their kind; and in the final chapter on the strange class of plants, the Droseræ, or Sundews, and the Pitcher-plants, considered as cunningly devised machinery for the killing and devouring of insects. On these and a host of other kindred topics, he has much to say that is both new and interesting. This much praise is fairly his due, and will be freely accorded. But the reader who expects to find in the course of his journey any, even the least, clear evidence of sagacity or morality on the part of

plant or tree will expect in vain. Even in that one point of the fly-trap where the action of the plant might seem to be nearest the instinct of the insect himself, it may be urged that such plants often grow in places where their roots can obtain little if any of the special nitrogenous material which they need. Their habit of catching flies, and making a meal of them, is but a last, blind, mechanical resource of necessity, developed by sheer adversity. If any credit be so far due to them, by all means let them have it; but not a single grain nearer will it bring them to the title of being sagacious or moral. Of this, however, our readers must judge for themselves by Dr. Taylor's own words and our passing comment. Whatever their decision, to us there would seem to remain unchanged and well defined the three separate grades of instinct belonging severally to the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and to man himself. Between the first and second runs a distinct and undoubted line, not to be removed or crossed. Between the second and highest class, though neither so clear nor so marked, a line of separation, as between two distinct races, which no process of education can eliminate, and no developement can gradually remove. High above, and wholly different from, the sagacity of the elephant, the cunning cleverness of the monkey, and even above the swift and certain means which birds possess of communicating with each other by cries and notes of joy, alarm, and love, or the quick, trained intelligence of the dog, will still remain the imagination, the wit, the reason, the reflection, the memory, the judgement, and the consciousness of his possessions, which belong to man and to man alone. He can think, and know he is thinking; choose, and know that he is making a choice; resolve, and know what his resolution is. Above all, he possesses that immortal gift of speech, which distinguishes him from all other living creatures, in which they can never share, and of the beauty, comprehensiveness, and joy of which they can form not even the remotest conception.

Thus, the Sensitive Plant (*Mimosa*) shrinks away, closes its leaves, or droops, at the slightest, even friendliest, touch. The *Drosera*, or the marine *Anemone*, spreads forth its tentacles, and lures to slow death the winged fly or the passing small fish. The shepherd's dog, at a single word from his master, with swift intelligence rushes into the midst of a flock of sheep, separates the ewes from the lambs, or drives them all into the narrow fold. If by any chance death overtake that master, he has been known to show his

affection and his grief, by keeping watch on the grave, for days, without food or water.

Man has talents that have no sort of reference to his mere existence here, and without which his species might remain upon earth in the same safety as if they had them not. The bee works at that particular angle which saves most time and labour, and the boasted edifice he builds is only for his egg; but Somerset House, and Blenheim, and the Louvre have nothing to do with breeding. Epic poems and Apollo Belvideres have nothing to do with living and eating. There is no other animal but man to whom mind appears to be given for any other purpose than the preservation of his body.*

* Sydney Smith, &c. p. 261.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Protected Princes of India.* By WILLIAM LEE WARNER. London: 1894.
2. *Our Indian Protectorate.* By CHARLES L. TUPPER. London: 1893.
3. *The Indian Village Community.* By B. H. BADEN POWELL, M.A., C.I.E. London: 1896.

REGARDING the present condition and the future prospects of the native States of India opinions differ. There are the hopeful views of such distinguished servants of Government as Mr. Tupper and Mr. Lee Warner, of whom the latter may be considered an authority since he has, during the course of a successful career, been British Resident at Kolhapur and Mysore, and is now Secretary to the Political and Secret Department of the India Office. We have, next, the opinion of a most independent critic in Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, who is sometimes less cheerful than the authors just named.

‘For a considerable time after the Mutiny,’ he writes, ‘we became more cautious and conciliatory in administrative and legislative matters, more intent on doing what would keep the chiefs and rulers satisfied, the masses contented, and the country quiet, than on carrying out our own ideas. Gradually this wholesome caution is being disregarded. The Government has become more and more centralised, and the departmental spirit very strong.’*

Then, if these words of warning are not needed, the opinion of still another critic, the non-vocal but, possibly, discontented chief, must be erroneous. It is Mr. Tupper who quotes the words of a somewhat fictitious Cis-Satlej potentate: ‘The grip of Ranjit Sing on the Raja was that of cholera; the hand of the British Government lies on him like a consumption.’

Among such divergent views we seek to obtain data which may enable us to determine whether the States are and should be developing into separate entities, capable of adding to the resources of the Empire by assisting it from without, or whether they are, for good or for bad, being absorbed into the Imperial system, so as to be indistinguishable from the India called British.

‘There are,’ Mr. Lee Warner informs us, ‘six hundred and eighty-eight sovereignties in India, and the British Government employs

* ‘Forty-one Years in India,’ by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts of Kandahar, V.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. London: 1896.

every device, compatible with the interests of the Empire and the peoples, to keep them in a flourishing condition.

‘Its duty,’ we are told, ‘is not only to protect, but to give strength and vitality to the native sovereignties, allowing them full scope to develop their own systems of administration.’ (Lee Warner, p. 206.)

‘Care (indeed) must be taken that a policy of benevolent coercion does not prove more dangerous to the integrity of the Indian sovereignties than was the policy of escheat or annexation.’ (Lee Warner, p. 303.)

It comes upon us as a surprise that there should be 688 sovereignties in India; we doubt if as many can be found in all the rest of the civilised world. Be that as it may, this at least is certain. The sovereigns who, within the century, have passed out of existence were out of all comparison greater than those who remain. The Emperor of Delhi has gone, and with him his lieutenants, the Nawab of the Carnatic, the Viceroy of Bengal, the Nawab Vazir his Majesty the King of Oudh. The Tiger of Mysore and the Lion Ruler of the Panjab have alike departed. The titular head of the Maratha Confederacy, the Raja of Satara, its sometime virtual leader, the Peshwa of Poona, and the foremost of his captains, the Bhonsle of Nagpur, are no more. The last ruler of the House of Alompra is a pensioner and an exile. The present Sindhia, lord of some scattered districts, is not the master of Hindostan, whose battalions, disciplined by De Bogue, met Wellesley and Lake in the field; the present Holkar is not the leader of vast bodies of irregular cavalry. A mild and educated Hindu replaces Tippu Sultan in a fraction of the former kingdom of Mysore. Kashmir, a fragment, a late acquisition of the Khalsa, has been tossed over to the Raja of Jammu. The Talpur chief of Khairpur represents the Emirs of Sind.

It is true, however, that the 688 sovereignties, even after excluding the two really *independent* States of Nipaul and Bhotan, as well as a number of others situated in the extreme east and west of the Empire, cover more than a third of the map of India, 595,167 square miles, ‘an area equal to that of the Triple Alliance with Belgium and Servia thrown in,’ and that their inhabitants number over sixty millions, ‘equalling the population of the United States.’* Still, as they are very unequally divided, the number of States which are at all considerable is not really

* Census of India, 1891. General Report by J. A. Baines, Esq., F.S.S., of the Indian Civil Service. Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1893.

large, though on one occasion Mr. Lee Warner writes of 261 'more important' sovereignties,* without, however, specifying the measure of their greater importance. If, as is the case, the nine States of Hyderabad, 'which is as large 'as Great Britain,' Mysore, 'which is a little smaller, but 'more populous, than Portugal,' Gwalior, Kashmir, Baroda, Travancore, Jaipur, Marwar, and Oodeypur, occupy more than half the area of all the States, comprise 328 out of their 568 towns, and include far more than half their total population, it is evident that the importance of the remaining 679 sovereignties is relatively small. To the nine mentioned add thirteen more States, such as Indore, Rewa, Kolhapur, Patiala, Bhopal, and we find that forty-six millions are accounted for. Of the remaining 666 States there are not fifty which have a population exceeding 100,000 inhabitants. The problem, therefore, Government has before it is how to nurse a few considerable States and a large number of unimportant ones; but the object Mr. Lee Warner had in view, and in a minor degree Mr. Tupper, was to expound the policy of Government with regard to all the States indiscriminately—a very different matter. We object to the absence of differentiation, because the tendency is to place the important States on a level with the smaller ones, rather than to give the latter a position as good as that to which the former are entitled. Besides, should the political status of, say, 600 out of the 688 States be altered to-morrow, it would be a matter of no great importance, so trifling, as we shall see, is the individuality now left them.

There is a consideration which helps to explain the survival of the States. It is one noted not by the hot politician, but by the cold statistician. Mr. Baines, the compiler of the census of 1891, has discovered the mean density of population to the square mile to be 230 in British India and 111 only in the native States; and is of opinion that the comparative paucity of population in 'foreign' India is chiefly due to the fact that the States occupy those tracts of the Empire which are the least generous to man. They are tracts where, too often, the real sovereign is the ice of the mountain slope, or the salt and the sand of the desert, or the fever of the forest, or the thirst of a niggardly rainfall.

Thus, regarding the 23 States near or in the Himalayan range, Mr. Baines writes:

* Lee Warner, p. 249.

‘Most of them are comparatively insignificant, and though in the aggregate of considerable area, contain but a small population. Two run up the central mass of the mountains, and much of their territory is little more than rock and snow.’ (Census, p. 32.)

Thence he passes to the deserts. More than half Rajputana, which itself occupies from a fifth to a quarter of the total area of ‘foreign’ India, is made up of the three States of Marwar, Bikaner, and Jesalmer, which, since they enjoy only from thirteen to seven inches of rain, can support but a very scanty population. Bahawalpur, their vast neighbour, is in the desert country of the Indus, and is consequently but sparsely inhabited, as is for the same reason Khairpur in Sind. Mr. Baines turns from the deserts to the hills at the eastern end of what he calls ‘the central belt of India:’

‘It contains dynasties of ancient lineage strong in their mountain fastnesses. The tract is split up into many petty chieftainships, as might be expected from the broken and difficult nature of the country. It offers no attraction to the civilised denizens of the plain.’

Of the Central Province and Bengal States he writes:

‘They have been guaranteed, for the most part, to the descendants of some of the chief *forest tribes*, displaced from the plains by various waves of more civilised immigrants. The Central Province States are little more than private estates (!) to which has been given the status of political units within comparatively recent times. The largest, Bastar, consists chiefly of hill and forest, with so widespread a reputation for fever and bad water that it has been left to the *dark tribes*, to whom such tracts are congenial. . . . The circumstances of the Orissa States, of which there are seventeen (in Bengal), are about the same. The Chutia Nagpur States, which spread to their north-westwards, are still more thinly peopled. All of these are more or less within the dominion of the *dark tribes*.^{*} The same may be said of the small State of Hill Tippura, between Bengal and Burmah. If anything it is worse. There is little in the shape of a permanent village in the State, the only place of this character being the residence of the chief.’†

But let us follow the compiler of the Census to the Bombay Presidency, in which Mr. Lee Warner places no less than 361 out of his 688 sovereignties. It is our impression that not a dozen of them are of an appreciable size. Here is what Mr. Baines writes:

^{*} Census, p. 31.

† The forest tribes, the dark tribes, however ethnologically interesting, rank very low in the scale of humanity; men who are not even hewers of wood and drawers of water, because they live, masterless, in tracts where there is a superabundance of these products in the wrong places. Mr. Baden Powell has much that is favourable and instructive to say of them.

‘Many of the States are too small to require individual recognition in the Census returns. . . . Their lowest density of population is in the forest States, where the Satpura (range) and the (Western) Ghats (hills) subside in the plain. Further north, in Gajarat, there are wide expanses of light sandy soil, as in Cutch and Palanpur, and hilly country, as along the banks of the Mahi and Rewa rivers.’

Of these 361 Bombay sovereignties, Kathiawar, a peninsula crossed and recrossed by hills, contains no less than 188 separate units, and Mr. Lee Warner informs us that if the British Government had not interfered to save these sovereignties from being split up into petty private estates, there might by this time have been 400 of them. The Census report disposes of Kathiawar summarily: ‘Under the general title of Kathiawar are included many small States and four’—Mr. Baines says only four—‘of considerable size—Junagadh, Nawanagar, Bhaunagar, and Drangadhra.’*

The truth is that Hindu Rajas, Kshatriyas, Rajputs, quasi-Rajputs, false Rajputs, pre-Aryan chiefs, call them what you please, were driven by successive waves of Mussalman conquest into the poorer tracts, into the mountains, into the hills, into the deserts, to the very shore of the sea. There, after pushing the aborigines into still obscurer corners, they made good their last desperate stand, many a Duchy of Cornwall, many a gallant little Wales. To-day, at any rate numerically, they figure largely among the 688 sovereignties of India, and long may these poor wayfarers over history’s changeful path sing among the thieves.†

Contrast with these poor bits of India the British Panjab, the plains watered by the Jamna and the Ganges, the east coast of Southern India which makes up the Madras Presidency, and we can understand why, while the mean density in British India is 230 to the square mile, that average is exceeded only in the large States of Travancore, Baroda, and Patiala, in the two Madras States of Cochin and Padukotta, in nine other unimportant instances, and in some petty States in Eastern Panjab. The ‘foreign’ third part of India contains less than one-fourth of India’s population, so inferior in present well-being and in future possibilities to the British three-fourths that the difference between them exceeds all contrasts between areas and numbers. Of the

* Census, p. 18.

† Regarding the great successive armed invasions of India and the consequent formation or displacement of States, Mr. Baden Powell gives an impressive account.

twenty-eight towns in India which have a population exceeding 100,000 five only are in the States, and the two largest of them comprise purely British cantonments.

It is because the sovereignties of the mountains, the deserts, the hills, the sea-shore, if rugged, were the ones spared by the British, as by previous conquerors, that the States are, for the most part, not only poor but widely scattered, except in the case of one broad tract of desert soil where the Rajputs congregate. From the Shan States in the far north-east to Kashmir in the far north-west, along the Himalayan range, we find the long line of States on the fringe of the Empire. Again, from Afghanistan in the north to the Indian Ocean in the south, among the hills which separate Persia from Sind and the Indus, we find the same long line. All the mouths of the great rivers which flow into the Indian Ocean—the Indus, the Tapti, and the Narbada—are British, but the States hug the coast elsewhere, or the hilly country which approaches it: Cutch, with its salt marshes, the hilly peninsula of Kathiawar, Cambay, portions of Gujarat, and, further south, the line of Western Ghats, till at the very extremity of the continent we come to Cochin and Travancore. Finally, there are the States which occupy in one long straggling line what Mr. Baines calls the central belt of India, from Orissa near the Bay of Bengal to where in the west the poor lands merge into the deserts of Rajputana.

This geographical segregation of the States from each other and the connection of them severally with the British power have been fostered by powerful political devices, as we shall see later, and by material means. When the history of British India began, the country, unprovided with communications, was largely covered by jungle, the haunt of tigers and banditti, which had a tendency rapidly to encroach on the domain of civilised man, if the latter ceased to toil or toiled mainly to take his neighbour's life or to defend his own.* State was isolated from State, town from town, and village from village, the smallest of which had its mud wall and tower of refuge. Brief raids, brief conquests, brief coalitions between chiefs were possible, but confederacy or permanency of policy for any end, except to levy a violent and spasmodic tax, tribute, or plunder, was almost impossible. The British began making roads the moment they had the leisure, but the special feature of Anglo-Indian history is that

* See Baden Powell, for instance, note 2, p. 50.

they had only been a few years at such work when they commenced constructing railways. Such segregation of communities in an old and crowded country, followed so instantaneously by a network of rapid and safe communications, is absolutely without a parallel in the history of the world. In the course of a very few years the road, the steamer, the railway, the electric wire and cable, together with the postal service and the newspaper, have brought the States into the closest proximity, not so much with each other as with the British Government and with Great Britain itself. For Government has not only, as we shall see, reserved to itself the complete jurisdiction over all railway and telegraph lines in the States, but has so managed that the broad gauge through lines, the Great Indian Peninsular with its extensions, the East Indian, and the North-Western, should pass almost continuously through British territory, except in the unavoidable cases of Hyderabad and Baroda, or where the line hurries across the States in the 'central belt.' They are the mighty links between the great towns and centres of government and commerce, the frame into which the narrow or metre gauge lines fit, and it is by lines of the latter kind that almost all the States are penetrated. Again, leaving out of count the Kathiawar lines, which tie little States together, it is seldom that many States are linked by any one line, except in the instances of the Rajputana extension of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India line and of the Rajputana Malwa line. Even here the great junction at Ajmere is in British territory, as indeed are almost all the important junctions in India, such as that of Jhansi, whereby Gwalior and Bhopal are isolated, and it is only by feeder lines even here that such States as Bikaner, Jodhpur, and Oodeypur are attached to the system. Through the agency, therefore, of steam and electricity a constant control over the mostly petty and still segregated States has become an easier task for Government than could have been imagined forty years ago; and this, in a way, accounts for their survival. It has been well said that had the railway been invented sixty years earlier, it is probable that much more of foreign India would have continued to exist, and Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation not have been so determinedly carried out.

It is with hesitation that we pass from statistics, maps, and railways to the fantastic realm of history to find an explanation for the survival of these hundreds of States. Fantastic, indeed, is the only word that fairly describes

Mr. Lee Warner's notion of 'the policy so faithfully pursued 'throughout the nineteenth century of preserving the native 'States.'* It is true that it was in 1799 that Lord Wellesley finished what Lord Cornwallis had begun, when he took Seringapatam for the second time, and Tippu died under its walls. But he did not begin preserving native States immediately after, because of the advent of the new century. The next four years were years of wars and sieges and sequestrations, of the relegation to private life of some sovereigns, of stern treaties which imposed on others the maintenance of British troops. There followed a brief pause due to the prudence or frugality of the Court of Directors, and then the process recommenced. The sovereignties preserved throughout this century are as nothing compared with those destroyed. It was not through the preservation of States that three small grew into three large presidencies, and that British India now includes the Central Provinces, the North-West Provinces, the Panjab, Sind, Oudh, Assam, and Burmah. Nor was it to preserve them that bloody campaigns took place in Afghanistan and Nipaul. Our almost unconscious aim has been the foundation of a great and a beneficent empire at the cost of many sovereignties. Incidentally the creation or the preservation, under stringent conditions, of a few States, which for the most part sought our protection to escape the tyranny of their neighbours, became not only possible but easy, and, let it be said to the credit of the Government and the States, perhaps profitable to both parties, as our supremacy became more and more evident. It is true that during the last forty years there have been no annexations, but it is also true that during the same space of time fresh sovereignties have been brought under the suzerainty of the Empire, or have been extinguished, in Beluchistan, Waziristan, to the north-east of Afghanistan and in and round Burmah.

But let us now inquire how far the survival of the States is due to the moderation of conquerors after a series of struggles and victories. From first to last have three considerable States ever combined to delay the British conquest of India? If we count the Sikhs and the Sindis as single foes, no, not even in the case of the so-called Maratha Confederacy. As for the existing hundreds of rulers, how many of them, besides, say, Sindhia, Holkar, Bhartpur, now shadows of their former selves—how many have, singly or otherwise,

* Lee Warner, p. 180.

put the British power to any serious trouble? It would be hard to give a single name, though now and again one has been foolish or restive. How many have never raised a hand against us, but have been consistently loyal and obedient? Almost all. This we believe to be one explanation, as pleasant as it is true, of the survival of the States and of our moderation.

If we have, from the outset, insisted upon isolating ruler from ruler, our main motive has been to prevent their injuring each other, not ourselves. Between them stable alliances have never been possible. They differ too widely by race, by origin, by religion, by length of tenure, by habits, by physical and moral characteristics, and have, when close ties might otherwise have been formed, suffered too much from the jealousies and rivalries which have set house against house and many a house against itself. Aborigines some of them are, prehistoric Hindus others, of whom a number were under Brahmin influence while the rest were not, Rajputs of mythological ancestry, Marathas of recent political growth, as rulers of States the still more modern Jats, their half-cousins the Sikhs. Then, among the Mussalmans, some were Sunnis and some Shias; some had entered India centuries before our advent, some were almost strangers in the land, Arabs, Persians, Afghans, or Turks. There is, therefore, this reason too for the survival of the mostly petty and segregated States, that between them there was no combination possible, while each has found its interest in obtaining the austere friendship of the British Government.

All this is very reassuring for the internal quiet of the Empire. The fact, however, remains that there are 688 sovereignties of sorts in India, covering a vast area, and containing many millions of inhabitants, so that there may still seem to be room for anxiety. Fortunately, when we come to look into it a little narrowly, we find that the term 'sovereignty' is employed in an academic sense by Mr. Lee Warner and Mr. Tupper, who do so under the very high authority of Sir Henry Maine. This eminent jurist has laid down that a sovereignty is made up of a number of attributes, some of which may be withdrawn with impunity to the correctness of the term. The idea, however, is of much older date than Sir H. Maine, and has been most vigorously carried into effect. James Mill, in Book vi. chapter x. of his '*History of India*,' describes how in 1801 the Nawab of Arcot was deprived of 'all the powers of government

‘ (which), were delivered over in perpetuity to the English, ‘ and totally and for ever renounced by the Nabob,’ who became a pensioner. But at the same time Government and he signed a treaty: ‘ The Nabob Azeem ud Dowlah ‘ Behader is hereby formally established in the state and ‘ rank, with the dignities dependent thereon, of his ancestors, heretofore Nabobs of the Carnatic; and the ‘ possession thereof is hereby guaranteed by the Honourable ‘ East India Company,’ &c. It is, therefore, evident that the Nawab retained his sovereignty, though one attribute alone was left him—the right of being paid a pension out of the revenues of the country. It is not, of course, implied that the 688 rulers of India are pensioners; but if the sovereignty of some of them is very limited, the policy which brought this about is of old standing. Mr. Wilson, who criticises both Lord Wellesley’s action and Mill’s strictures thereon, explains that the Nawab was a dependent, and not an independent, prince in the language used by Lord Dalhousie, now surprisingly incomprehensible, so rapidly have matters changed. The term ‘ independent ’ as applied to any State is now deemed erroneous. Mr. Tupper calls the rulers ‘ feudatories; ’ Mr. Lee Warner, ‘ protected princes ‘ in subordinate alliance with Government; ’ to ‘ subordinate ’ Colonel Malleeson prefers ‘ subsidiary, ’ and if the epithet is more emphatic it is preferable. Officially, perhaps, the States are ‘ allies under the suzerainty of her Majesty.’

No objection need be raised against these different terms if they convey correct impressions. Native States may be called sovereignties if it is understood that commands are issued by two authorities, the great British Government and the petty native ruler. In this paper a few of the principal limitations to the latter’s powers are mentioned, and only then if they are of general application. But the authority of the lesser rulers—say of 600 out of the 688—is so exiguous, that it matters very little if what remains to them vanishes and they become landlords, often of much less importance than the big zamindars, or if they continue to be placed in a somewhat higher social grade. There are hundreds of sovereignties in which the ruler has not the authority to pass a capital sentence; there are very many in which he may only try criminal cases where the adequate punishment is imprisonment for a few weeks or months, or civil cases where the subject-matter is valued at a few pounds: ‘ the numerous class of States, ’ as Mr. Tupper puts it, ‘ in whose territories a great deal of the

criminal jurisdiction is exercised by officers of the British 'Government,' or, according to Mr. Lee Warner, the States 'in which the entire administration of justice, both civil and criminal, is conducted under arrangements made by the executive (*i.e.* British) Government.' This state of things Mr. Lee Warner explains by such terms as delegated authority, residuary authority, substituted jurisdiction, &c., and the expressions are good enough if the fact is grasped that *all* rulers have very limited powers, and a great many are supposed to rule over dominions which are, in point of fact, scarcely distinguishable from private estates. Nor is there any reason why native rulers should not be called allies, provided it is remembered that they are not free allies.

Two gentle protests, however, must be raised. One is against the idea that any alliance now rests on a treaty, simply because treaties were once made by one or other of the rulers, and by our Government, which justly boasts of its honesty. The Indian treaties are but milestones which mark the road along which the Empire has travelled. Mr. Lee Warner would have them 'read as a whole;' says that they are the acts of statesmen, which are in the nature of things temporary; declares that they must be studied in the light of subsequent comments passed on them by our Government, one of the contracting parties; allows, finally, as does Mr. Tupper, that usage rather than the treaties directs the course of relations between the suzerain Power and its subordinate allies. It would be, is our protest, extremely injurious to some of the States if the treaties were 'read as a whole,' and not singly, just as the lumping together of 688 sovereignties is to be deprecated. The tendency might be to treat them all alike, the highest, who are not very high after all, as the lowest; those tied by no specific engagement as those tied by the most stringent engagements. It is thus that Mr. Lee Warner, losing sight of the recent origin, under very peculiar circumstances, of Mysore, wishes to draw a general principle from the memorandum penned by Lord Ripon on the accession of the late Maharaja of that State. Again, when Mr. Lee Warner hints that Lord Canning's *adoption sanads** must be read by the

* Letters patent or written promises by Government to certain rulers that they should be allowed to adopt in case of failure of heirs. In Lord Dalhousie's time, as previously, certain States had escheated to Government, as the suzerain Power, owing to the non-existence of heirs.

light of that Viceroy's explanations to Government, regarding which the rulers knew nothing, and that the words explicitly used bear a particular meaning, he does not so much shake our confidence in Lord Canning as illustrate the quotation from Lord Roberts's recent work, given at the commencement of this paper.

The other protest is against any loose comparison of the relations which exist between our Government and the States with those that bind the members of such polities as the United States, the German Empire, or the Swiss Republic. The surrender by each of the federated units of certain powers is so accompanied by the great privilege of a voice in large matters of common interest that no analogy can be instituted. Every Canton in Switzerland, argues Mr. Lee Warner, is bound to send to battle every one of its males of a certain age, and the native States, in return for the protection they receive, are not called on to provide any troops. The argument should be pushed: the native States are not only not called on to provide troops, but are not allowed to have more than a small, limited number, which remain under surveillance. The Swiss Cantons are equal partners in their concern; our allies, the native States, are not in the position of partners—salaried clerks, at the best, with an interest in the house.

Let us gain a general idea, then, of the direct, acknowledged, universally applied limitations—first, to the external authority of the native ruler, which are absolute, and, next, to his internal authority, which are considerable.

Each and every native sovereignty, from the Nizam's downwards, is to this extent a limited one, that it has no existence outside of the four corners of its territory, save only and in so far as it has dealings with the supreme government. Should a doubt arise regarding the exact position of the frontiers themselves, should, for instance, a boundary river, shifting its channel, add a spadeful of earth to one of its banks and remove as much from the other, the correct delimitation becomes the business of Government. Fortunate is the ruler whose territory is compact, if only because he is the less frequently called upon to extradite foreign criminals or to seek, through Government, for the arrest of those among his own subjects who have skipped across the border. Not even an amicable arrangement can be arrived at by two chiefs on any question, however trifling or praiseworthy, without the previous knowledge and sanction of the suzerain Power. Or, again, the moment

a subject of a native ruler steps out of the dominion the latter has no authority over him, he is under the protection of the British Government, and, to almost all intents and purposes, becomes for the time a British subject. The ruler himself, if he leaves India, is not recognised as having an existence apart from the Empire. He may not receive a commercial agent at his court. He may not employ, without first getting leave to do so, the services of any European or American for any purpose whatsoever. It would be as well if he did not borrow from British subjects, whether European or native.

Since the chief may neither attack nor defend himself against any foreign, and, as we shall see, had better not deal with a domestic foe, it follows that he need not maintain any military establishment except for police purposes, so that the result of our policy has been practically to disarm him. Our early policy was either to impose on the prominent States the maintenance of what was called a subsidiary force, or occasionally to permit them to retain an auxiliary or contingent force. The former plan recommended itself, because thereby the ruler paid for British troops which were stationed in or near his territory to defend him—first, against foreign foes; secondly, against internal commotions; thirdly, against himself, if he were so weak or so mad as to break from his great ally. Of the surviving sovereignties there are eight, all but two of the first rank, on whom a subsidiary force was imposed: Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin in the south; Hyderabad in the Deccan; the three Maratha chiefs Sindhia, Holkar, and Gaekwar; and, finally, Cutch. But the other plan, the permission to certain States to assist Government by maintaining troops of their own, has ended in a fiasco in every instance but that of Hyderabad, where a respectable force under British supervision exists to this day. In all other cases such forces have been either suppressed, or converted into a British regular or irregular subsidiary force, or changed into police which is moved by British agency and paid for by the native ruler. Should it be asked if there exists a prince who may, without permission, enlarge his military establishment beyond the needs of a police for his own territory, the answer must certainly be that none such exists.

‘There are several circumstances,’ writes Mr. Lee Warner, ‘which contribute to confer upon the British authority the right to settle the strength of the military establishment maintained by each one of the

protected provinces in the interior of the Empire.' (Lee Warner, p. 230.) 'The Imperial Government must fulfil its accepted responsibilities by intervening to arrest the progress of fortifications or by regulating the manufacture and traffic in arms and ammunition.' (Lee Warner, p. 233.) 'Only arms of a suitable kind (muskets for the most part), and in such quantities as, in the opinion of the British agent, are really needed (for police purposes), are supplied. If the quantities are not trifling a statement of them is required by the Government of India, which either supplies them from the public arsenals on payment, or expressly authorises their purchase in the market through the agency of the political officers.' (Lee Warner, p. 234.)

But the ruler has to observe certain duties with regard to British forces in his State. He has to grant rights of passage to troops and the occupation of forts, to keep up military roads and bridges, to assist in the matter of supplies and of the extradition of deserters; above all, so long as there is a British cantonment in his territories, he must surrender all rights of sovereignty over the area occupied by it, and sometimes over lands in its neighbourhood.

It is useless to pursue the subject any further. Immediately before our conquest the whole country was overrun by fighting men, and to that awful state of things there succeeded a dead calm, as soon as the Empire had spread over the land. Common soldiers and non-commissioned officers were enrolled by Government into the only valid army in India, but the command of it was reserved to British officers, all petty military forces belonging to the States being at the same time suffered to wither away. Agricultural and commercial instincts have, since then, been fostered; but the fighting qualities of most of the previously warlike peoples in the interior of the Empire, and of all who would naturally be leaders of men, have been repressed. After the unavoidable work of destruction must at some time or other come that of construction, and it would appear that we are slowly approaching the transition point. Some States have recently been invited to give a strictly limited assistance to the defence of the Empire, provided that they place their quota of disciplined troops under the guidance of a British military officer. The difficulty of the problem to be solved by Government and the chiefs is evident. On the one hand, we count the numbers of their soldiers, purchase for them their swords and muskets, and measure out their gunpowder; on the other, we permit of their co-operation in the defence of the Empire. The rulers, for their part, have to be at one and the same time very enthusiastic and very submissive. Granted that

the experiment is successful, another perhaps follows. The native States contain one-fourth of the population of India, a comparatively poor, backward and scattered fraction. Should they prove that, under advice, native leaders can lead native men, are we to grant our own more powerful and intelligent fellow-subjects the privilege of leading in battle? Other problems follow.

Let us now pass on to a consideration of the limitations to the native ruler's internal authority. It is generally understood that, though he may have no external existence, he is unfettered in the administration of his internal affairs. But any such notion must be entertained with a great deal of reserve. He is 'protected' not only against external but against internal foes. We may go further, and assert that very frequently other lesser rulers, once his tributaries, are protected against himself, and that, sometimes, individuals and classes of his own subjects receive what is termed the British guarantee that he will not oppress them. The chief's rule must, consequently, be such as to entitle him to protection, as it cannot be extended to the furtherance of abuse. 'Every chief,' writes Mr. Lee Warner, 'may claim the right of intervention, between himself and 'recalcitrant subjects provided that it is unconditionally 'accepted' *—that is, he must bind himself beforehand to accept whatever decision Government may arrive at. But Government is naturally most unwilling to interfere in this way, and, consequently, begins to inquire and advise long before matters come to a crisis. It follows that the knowledge that an appeal lies from the chief unto Cæsar is widespread among the former's subjects, and his prestige is thereby diminished. Malhar Rao Gaekwar was deposed, not because he was found guilty of conspiring to poison the Resident, Colonel Phayre, but because his rule was profoundly unsatisfactory. Other rulers have not been deposed, but have been deprived of their powers, temporarily or for life. Others have been warned to mend their ways, and such warnings become public property. It is not the case that only bad rulers suffer; all are affected, and the consequences are very far-reaching. No line of chiefs can continuously produce individuals able to grapple with the very difficult problems that have constantly to be resolved. Minorities occur, and, however well disposed the house may be, cases of mental incapacity or moral de-

* Lee Warner, p. 182.

fectiveness, whereupon the necessity of protection arises. 'Once a State always a State,' we are informed, is the benevolent policy of Government; there are to be no more escheats, no more annexations! Quite so; but, since the suzerain Power so greatly protects the ruler, it is all the more deeply pledged to safeguard what it conceives to be the welfare of his subjects. The further Government goes in the one direction, the further it must go in the other, and it goes very far. The more independent of all others the native ruler is in his external and internal relations, the more dependent he must unavoidably become on the supreme Power. The office is secure, the incumbent is constantly called upon to render an account of his deeds.

It is with this double process well in mind that we contemplate the extent of the protection personally enjoyed by the chief. It commences before he is seated on the cushion, and continues to the day when, if possible, his last wishes are executed for him. 'The succession of a chief,' writes Mr. Lee Warner, 'requires the recognition of the Queen's representatives. Hence it follows that the British Government has the right to settle disputed successions—i.e. it 'must select a successor.'* The latter is frequently a minor, whereupon Government is his guardian, carefully educates him, and entrusts the administration of his State to safe people, some regent or council admonished to act in concert with the British agent. The opportunity is seized to bring the youth nearer to that high standard of Western civilisation to which it is hoped that all rulers will some day attain, and to reform, or at least to modernise, his State. Take an instance of the latter process: former Sindhias and Gaekwars used to hoard treasures, but, during the late minorities, large sums out of these were invested in British funds. Useful interest accrues therefrom, and the stake of the ruler in the stability of the Empire is, whether he likes it or not, proportionately increased. Such opportunities have up to recent times frequently presented themselves for reasons which need not here be given. Native rulers have not, as a rule, been long lived, and frequent recourse has had to be made to adoptions. Who of those present at the Great Delhi Darbar, when Lord Lytton, towards the close of 1876, proclaimed to the assembled chiefs of India that her Majesty had assumed the title of Empress of India, can fail to remember that in the

* Lee Warner, pp. 311-15.

centre of the semicircle round the Viceroy stood, as premier chief, the youthful Nizam, while on his right and on his left were two other lads, the Raja of Mysore and the Gaekwar of Baroda, all three his Excellency's wards? A little beyond them was Sindhia, who in his youth had seen the great Mutiny, and now his son has been educated in a way other, perhaps, than that which his father would have selected. The gentle and enlightened Raja of Mysore, too, has died since then, and his heir is the ward of the Government whose duty it has been to nurse this State through a remarkable recurrence of long minorities. As with the foremost houses, so it has been with others, as, for instance, Kolhapur. The childless Jam of Nawanagar, again, adopted a son, and the adoption was fully recognised by the Viceroy in January 1879. Later a son was born to him, and he was permitted to set aside his adoption of Ranjit Sing, much to the benefit of cricket in the Cambridge University, Sussex, and England. It is interesting to note hints in the newspapers that advances were once made to the famous batsman in the direction of a seat in the House of Commons, but we are not prepared to understand that a possible native ruler can also be a British subject in the full meaning of the word.

There is no phase of the 'protection' lavished on the native ruler more pleasant to contemplate than the wish of Government to push the education of young princes, singly, in small groups, or in such larger institutions as the Mayo College at Ajmir or the Rajkumar College at Rajkot. It is not possible that the consequences of the training they receive should be trifling or harmful; it is most probable that they are beneficial. Of course the difficulties once were and still are great. The education of the boy cannot be extended to the elders and ladies of the palace, to his servants, or even to all his playmates. Yet the mere placing of impressionable lads in daily proximity to such men as Colonel Loch, the late much-loved Mr. Chester Macnaghten, or his energetic successor, cannot, one would think, but bring about excellent results. A contrast could easily be drawn between the old-fashioned chief, surrounded by coarse and ignorant flatterers, immersed in childish pursuits, plunged, if the colours are to be lurid, in cruelty and debauchery, and the modern product, which is frequently very satisfactory. The industry of many of the present rulers is considerable; their amusements are innocuous and often praiseworthy. Some have become great travellers, and have been seen in all the big towns of Europe

and of the United States, as well as at the hill stations of India ; some are patrons of the Turf, or, like the gallant Partab Sing mentioned by Lord Roberts, appear to advantage on the hunting or the polo field ; some are royal authors ; some have musical tastes ; one has taken his degree in medicine ; two have unfortunately married European wives. All live in finer palaces than they used to do, designed on European lines and filled with the European knick-knacks which have replaced the barbaric profusion of roughly-cut gems, chandeliers, mirrors, crystal globes, clocks and musical boxes, once the pride and the joy of the Raja's heart. Their servants are handsomely uniformed, their equipages are brilliant, their own dress is, save for the turban, an approximation to that of an English gentleman. One cannot refrain from imagining how well some of these princes, whose tastes and means have expanded, while their anxious responsibilities have diminished, would grace the court of a Grand Monarque, if such a personage could be procured.

It must be confessed, however, that all their tastes remove them a little from their countrymen, and that their expenditure is on foreign articles. The jewellers, the brocade workers, the poets, the musicians, the dancers, the brawny wrestlers, who once ministered to their luxury, have shrivelled up. Their very courts and capitals are changing, and while one cannot but view with sober satisfaction the model gaol, the college and girls' school, the hospital and dispensary, the museum and the public park, the scavenger and the policeman round the corner, one misses (it is folly, perhaps) the colour, the movement, the fun, the individuality of former days. Even the State sowar, the dirty little rider on his screaming tat, once ubiquitous, is shamefacedly ambling off to the dim country whither the chivalry of Rajputana and the hordes of Marathas and Pindharis have gone before ; and there is a picture the less in a land which easily becomes monotonous. What if his turban was ragged—had it not once been surprisingly yellow, and was it not still majestically cocked ? Did he not wag his spear most effectively ? What if he rode on a parti-coloured pillow and not on pigskin—had not his seat the ease and grace begotten of old ancestral habit and of no stiff drillmaster ? Even if his horse was but a spavined creak, were not the tail and hocks dyed of a pink that was inimitable ?

Scarcely less pleasing than the care given to the education of the youthful ruler is the bestowal of rewards on

those who have earned them. The most prized is the rare instance in which the salute of guns is raised by two; but to the chiefs are also granted the G.C.S.I. or K.C.S.I. or C.S.I., or again the G.C.I.E. or K.C.I.E. or C.I.E., and, rarely, the honorary rank of general, colonel, or major. It should be added that the Empress of India is the sole fountain of honour, and that no ruler may receive a title or decoration from any other sovereign without her permission.

It may not be out of place here to mention that it is almost imperative on prominent rulers to visit the Viceroy at least once during his term of office, that the latter, in his turn, should see as many of them as possible in their own territories, and that similar meetings take place between governors or lieutenant-governors and such chiefs as depend on them. The result is most beneficial in a country where the longing to see authority personified surpasses anything we in Europe can realise; and the high officers of the Queen to whom we refer generally personify authority in very adequate fashion. It is well, therefore, that their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the late lamented Duke of Clarence visited many of the chiefs. What, then, are we to say of the gracious reception accorded by the Empress of India to such of them as have travelled as far as England? The constant presence of native attendants, the self-imposed and arduous task of acquiring an Oriental language, are but public indications of the love and solicitude entertained by the Queen for her vast dependency. But the great anxiety displayed by the august Lady to recognise the customs of the chiefs, in such minute matters as the food they may eat, the closeness of her inquiries into their individual well-being, the benevolence of her bearing, are the less widely known means she employs to bind, as in countless other ways, the Empire together by the strong ties of reverence and affection for her own person.

We resume our consideration of the limitations to the chiefs' internal jurisdiction. Government has to be careful that the 'protection' given to the ruler does not injure Imperial interests. The railway is one Imperial interest.

'The native States,' Mr. Lee Warner writes, 'cede all jurisdiction over their railway lines to the British Government, short of sovereign powers. The reservation saves the railway lands ceded by them from annexation.' (Lee Warner, p. 344.) 'The sovereignty of the ruler of the country survives, although latent and suppressed for the time being.' (Lee Warner, p. 346.)

The reservation was not devised in the interests of the ruler, but to avoid the necessity of putting very cumbrous machinery to work when restoring to him land which had once been acquired out and out. So long as the railway is in work, the land it occupies is simply British territory; and the same may be said of all cantonments, many imperial roads and bridges, and some civil stations. What is the consequence? The imports into and the exports from the State, together with an appreciable amount of goods traffic inside the State, are mainly borne by rail, and, so long as they are being thus borne, the goods are treated as if they were the goods of British subjects. Its subjects, again, step on to British territory the moment they enter the railway station, of which the gate perhaps swings on to the High Street of the petty capital; and, as has been said, when on British territory they become for the time, to almost all intents and purposes, British subjects. To continue:—

‘The exclusive right of Government,’ says Mr. Lee Warner, ‘to maintain and manage all lines of telegraph or telephone which take public messages has been repeatedly affirmed.’ (Lee Warner, p. 242.)

To the imperial direction of the railway and telegraph systems should be added, as a rule, that over postal communications, and the result is that the control of almost all the important circulation of private and official persons, of their goods and of their letters and messages, is absorbed by our Government, and is carried out by British subjects, the servants of our Government. The indirect consequences of the railway and telegraph are of an importance that cannot be exaggerated. They destroy the exclusiveness, the distinctiveness, the very identity of the petty State with the same certainty that they foster the cohesion of the Empire. There are not a few States which, thirty years ago, were seldom entered except by a limited number of traders belonging to a few well-known races or castes who, during their stay, were amenable to the whims and usages of the local sovereignty, States which are now thronged with merchants who are foreigners, and employés who are British subjects, over whom, therefore, the British Government ‘exercises personal jurisdiction.’* It is only the curious few who can tell how great is the influence on native society of the station-master and the postmaster, who are necessarily British servants, of the vakil or barrister, the doctor and the school-master, who, if they are not British subjects, at any rate

* Lee Warner, p. 326.

belong to the classes most impregnated with Western ideas. Add to these the modern merchant and banker or money-lender, who have taken the place of the great capitalists whose business it was, like the Omichunds and Jugget Seits of Lord Macaulay's essay, to supply the chief and his nobles with that extremely rare commodity in old native States, ready money. One and all of these new men are either British subjects, or connected with British houses whose affairs are transacted in the all-absorbing and once distant British centres of trade. The influence of the newspaper and the press on the public is comparatively a small matter, but, whatever its importance, it of course emanates from the large towns, and, as has been remarked, 23 out of 28 of these are in British India.

The merest hint may be added regarding an indirect but natural result of the railway and electric wire. In all relations between Government and the States there is now such centralisation as was impossible a few years ago. In every large State, in every group of smaller ones, Government places a political officer, as often as not a military man, to be its eye, its ear, and its mouthpiece, who may also act independently on occasions, though in consonance with some definite policy. This officer is now more frequently shifted than of old; he initiates less; he reports more; he has become a frequent channel of communication; the subjects with which he has to deal are of a far more complex character than they used to be; they are also very often pettier. The central bureau, to which innumerable and frequently trifling references are made, incurs the danger of tying them up in red tape, or, more probably, of treating all the 688 sovereignties alike according to some preconceived system, policy, or theory. The Imperial machinery, though it has to satisfy the multiplied needs of a new civilisation, exacts from the living organisms that they should sacrifice some originality or independence, in order that it itself may work uniformly and smoothly over the wide area now placed within its constant influence.

Space fails us to review the interests termed Imperial, a most elastic word, or it might be interesting to estimate the difficulties rulers have to overcome in assimilating their administration to that of Government when the latter finds occasion to alter its ordering of the salt monopoly, for instance, or of the opium monopoly, or of the liquor laws, or of the best means to meet a wide famine, or of any measure, large or small, such as the marriage laws of some

caste, or the riddance of locusts. To keep abreast of the great Power they have to perform acrobatic feats which leave them dazed, panting, and exhausted.

A great duty of rulers, the one next in importance to that of loyalty to Imperial interests, is that of promoting the welfare of their own subjects. Now, the British Government is unfeignedly anxious to secure the prosperity of its own subjects by devices which are largely Western, and it naturally desires that the efforts of the native rulers should tend in the direction it itself judges best. This reasonable wish is powerfully assisted by the public opinion of those comparatively rich and influential three-fourths of India's population which live in British India. These no longer look on any one chief, or on the chiefs taken as a whole, as rivals to the British power, or as dispensers of benefits which cannot be obtained in British India. The minority, too, the subjects of the native States, add to the difficulties of the rulers by welcoming all changes borrowed from the British Administration which bring new benefits, privileges, liberties, while they are unwilling to sacrifice in return old advantages, long since surrendered by British India. We go further: we assert that there has set in throughout the great Dependency a powerful tide of imitation of British forms, and, to a certain extent, of British thoughts, which easily sweeps away any futile attempt an isolated ruler may make at being conservative. The imitation to which we refer is not necessarily accompanied by love, gratitude, or a feeling of fellowship. It represents rather the punctilious learning by heart of a half-understood task imposed on a scholar by a severe, if kindly intentioned, master.

Mr. Lee Warner would, for some reasons, like to see 'a single judicial system' throughout India; still—

'It must not be forgotten that the introduction of Roman law into the protected States of the Republic was the precursor of annexation, and the Indian sovereigns value above all other rights their guarantees against the intrusion of the law of British India' (p. 5). 'Only in native States like Mysore, Baroda, and Kolhapur, which have long enjoyed administration by British officers during a minority and for other causes, do there exist any body of laws, and they are *simply taken from the British Code, mutatis mutandis*.'

He places 361 out of his 688 sovereignties in the Bombay Presidency, but every one of these has adopted the British code, except in some trifling particular. The great States of Hyderabad, Indore and Gwalior have adopted British laws to some extent. Even Rajputana, the conservative, is be-

ginning to imitate. Mr. Tupper instances as copyists some of the Panjab States, and all the Madras States. The end is neither doubtful nor distant. If Roman history is to be repeated—though there is not the least reason why it should—the States are as good as annexed, for where our laws are not being copied to-day they will be to-morrow.

Other instances of imitation may be given. The colleges in the States send their best pupils to the universities in British India, and are fed by the State Anglo-vernacular schools. It follows that the elementary schools, in their turn, submit to the curriculum and organisation which obtain in British India. Or, again, when any State creates, say, a medical or a public works department, the foremost employés must necessarily have received their training in British India, and very frequently they are led by an Englishman, or, at least, a British subject. Truly have the Western sciences swooped down upon India like so many full-grown eagles out of the blue—no fledgelings whose early rearing has been watched, as by us, from the first crack of the eggshell. It is not the little native States that will make a show of independence by ignoring their formidable existence.

It is not, however, solely to Western arts and sciences that the supremacy of Great Britain over India is due. It is the work of all the sons she has sent out to the East, each trained to know her aims, and the means by which they are to be attained, all penetrated by a common sentiment of patriotism. But in the little native States there is a want not only of modern skill, but also of cohesion. Theoretically, the native ruler is a 'protected' autocrat; practically, he is too often an almost isolated individual, between whom and his subjects the requisite links are missing. He has been raised above his surroundings to a height which he never attained in the old days, unless he was endowed with great personal gifts, as was the upstart Hyder Ali, or Madhava Rao Sindhia, the village beadle and slipper-carrier to the Peshwa, or each of the first three Peshwas, or the obscure Ranjit Sing. The modern ruler, however poorly endowed, stands apparently pre-eminent, for the simple reason that formerly he had many supports—the Arkhandaulat, or pillars of the State, and now he has but one—the suzerain Power. Among the Rajputs the chief was one of a brotherhood, *primus inter pares*, but now the importance of the brotherhood is gone. Among the Mahrattas he belonged, sometimes to a respectable, sometimes to an obscure, family, but always to one whose prominence was

recent, and due to the personal qualities of some fortunate cavalry leader. Most of the Mussulman chiefs were nobles from the Court of the Emperor of Delhi, and till the decay of the Empire removable from office. One and all constantly required the assistance of their immediate subordinates, in the midst of quickly recurring successes or dangers. Nothing eventful can happen now, and the classes on whom the chief leant have consequently lost all consideration. He has to reckon with the supreme Government only, and can more easily satisfy it by imitating it than by sticking to old customs, even the wisest, which keep bumping up against the new style of rule at point after point. He has, therefore, had to seek the assistance of educated native gentlemen, whether they be his subjects or not. It is well if they are good English scholars, university graduates; it is quite imperative that they should be well acquainted with the aims, or, at any rate, the forms, of British administration, so that those are most prized who have served in some department of the British Government.

The first Sir Salar Jung, the Nizam's Minister, was a fine example of the old school of Ministers, a very rich and well-born noble, who served Hyderabad alone, as Sir Dinkar Rao served Gwalior. Their contemporary, Sir T. Madhava Rao, Raja (titular) and K.C.S.I., may be cited as a typical representative of the new school of servants. A Brahmin of Tanjore, ever a Brahmin of the Brahmins, he was so well educated by the missionaries that not only was he a sound mathematician and astronomer, but so perfect a master of the English tongue that few Englishmen could rival him in eloquence or precision of language. His knowledge of the Maratha tongue was inferior, and he was not acquainted with Gujarathi. He was Minister first to the Chief of Travancore, in the Madras Presidency, then to Holkar, the Chief of Indore, in Central India, and finally, during a six years' minority, to the Gaekwar of Baroda, in Gujarat, of the Bombay Presidency, a true servant, not of one State, but of the Empire. He was a successful instance of a class of men who are creating what resembles an organised department, of which the aim is to modernise the native States, while it tends to dissolve their separateness and individuality with a power and certainty rivalled by the 'railway' alone. Ambitious men, feeling that the higher grades of the Civil Service in British India are not as accessible to them as they might wish, regard the States as a field for the educated native rather than as a sphere for the evolu-

tion of native sovereignty, unless, indeed, that evolution is to assume the aspect of constitutionalism. But by this, perhaps, is sometimes meant the limitation of the ruler's influence in favour of enlightened native gentlemen, the firstfruits of our rearing, free lances and pioneers, if such terms may be used without the least disparagement of their commanding merits. The Minister who now holds the post last filled by Sir T. Madhava Rao has long served the Madras Government, and has published a large official work in excellent English, while his predecessor had worked in the British political department and been Minister in two States, and his predecessor, again, had been in the Bombay revenue department. Mysore naturally draws its prominent officers from the Madras Presidency. At Indore, gentlemen from the Bombay Presidency, such as the Chief Justice, Mr. Dhurandar, LL.B., and Mr. Gupte, the Police Commissioner, are largely employed. At Bhaunagar, Mr. Guzdur is of the new school, as are many of his peers. The list is too long to go through. Nor is it merely the higher posts that are filled with men who know English and are acquainted with the principles of British administration. Far down the ranks there is a premium on these accomplishments, and it is noteworthy that, as in British India, the old custom of entertaining hereditary service is giving way to employment by contract, and to promotion by merit (so called), with all the apparatus of public service examinations.

The 688 so-called native sovereignties, in spite of their vast aggregate area and population, are neither a danger nor a menace to the Empire. On the contrary, they are friendly and too imitative. The great majority of them, the petty ones, cannot be said to have retained any appreciable individuality beyond what there is in British India, and even the more important ones, perhaps owing to excessive 'protection,' run the risk of losing it to a regrettable degree. This is a pity if the Empire is strengthened and not weakened by free growth in different directions, by diversity of views and interests, by conservatism as well as progress, by the links which natives possessing a large stake in the country form between us and the foreign masses we rule, by the existence of an influential class of men who are neither merchants nor clerks. It is not our object here to suggest remedies. Lord Roberts, in a passing word, deprecates too much eagerness in the carrying out of 'our own ideas,' deprecates centralisation and the departmental spirit, and his advice is very good.

ART. IX.—1. *Travels in West Africa.* By MARY H. KINGSLEY. London: 1897.

2. *An Introduction to the History of Religion.* By FRANK BYRON JEVONS, M.A. London: 1896.

3. *Contributions to the Science of Mythology.* By the Right Hon. Professor MAX MÜLLER, K.M. London: 1897.

THE comparative study of Natural Religion, like other branches of empirical research, divides itself into two working departments. In one of them is the collector of materials, who roams far afield and scrambles about among wild folk to gather his specimens and take note of varieties; in the other is the philosophic savant who remains at home to receive what is brought him from different countries, to classify, collate, and form his scientific inductions. Sometimes the two branches are successfully combined in one person; though we usually find that the adventurous traveller, with an eye for primitive beliefs and customs, and the gift of interpreting them, is differently constituted from the home-keeping student of results. The former has the great advantage of knowing the environment, the true connexion of one species with another, their signification among the people on the spot; while the latter, who deals with them in a library or a museum, may have a wider range of survey and a better method of classification. On the other hand, as his aim is toward bringing a heap of material into symmetrical arrangement, he is often prone to overstrain his theories, to use the same weight and measure for all his facts, to lay stress on superficial resemblances, and in other respects to suffer the disadvantages which beset every judge, however able and learned, who is obliged to take evidence at second hand.

The writers of the books which we propose to review may be taken as fairly exemplifying these two classes. Miss Mary Kingsley has explored, with great enterprise and an admirable disdain of discomfort, some regions of the West African coast that have been hitherto little visited by competent observers. She has consorted with cannibals, visited their homes, travelled in the company of the fetish-worshipper and discoursed with him on sacred things; she has trusted herself alone with savage tribes, and has won their confidence. Of all these opportunities she has made excellent use. Mr. Jevons, again, has equipped himself for a

comprehensive investigation into the foundations of primitive beliefs by an attentive study of all recent writings upon this obscure and intricate question; he has a wide knowledge of the literature, ancient and modern, that has accumulated over it; and his design is to apply evolutionary principles (with certain important reservations) to the whole History of Religion. Professor Max Müller has long since attained a brilliant reputation and great popularity as the interpreter of Aryan mythology.

As the hearing of witnesses goes before the summing up of the judges, we may begin, logically, with Miss Kingsley's book. It must, however, be in the first place clearly understood that Miss Kingsley's travels were not undertaken exclusively in quest of the religious idea. She says, indeed, that her 'fixed desire was to study fetish,' but we learn that she went also for beetles and fishes; her general object appears to have been to see life in the deadly climate of the West African coast within the tropics, and to examine the social and administrative conditions under which it is endured by mankind in and about Lower Guinea. On the whole, although Miss Kingsley enjoyed the country and likes its people, these conditions seem to be unattractive. Very grisly anecdotes are told of the sudden and fatal illnesses, the rapid succession of official vacancies, the fevers, the putrescences, and the noxious animals. Scorpions, snakes, and crocodiles infest land and water; the insects are even more ferocious, proportionately to their size, than the wild beasts; and the men are no better than the animals. In regard to Sierra Leone its English Bishop has recently printed the painful admission that small social gatherings are almost unknown there through fear of poisoning, which is apparently a practice universally prevalent among all classes of the native population, and operates as a check upon the excessive ill usage of wives. Miss Kingsley's courage and scientific ardour have enabled her, in spite of all these risks and of serious hardships, to mix freely with the people, to wander in magnificent scenes of mountain and primeval forest, and to bring back stores of fresh information regarding the fishes, the folklore, and the fetish. We must reluctantly leave untouched the record of her personal adventures, although it abounds with shrewd remarks and amusing incidents. Her style is plain and unvarnished, though we may hazard the conjecture that during her sojourn in a region notoriously overcrowded by spirits, she may peradventure have become unconsciously possessed by

a jocose and humoristic fiend, whom in this Christian land she would do well to cast out.

The first thing, says Miss Kingsley, before starting to hunt the religious idea in West Africa, is to burn all one's notions about sun myths and the worship of elemental forces. She herself had set out in full confidence that Mr. Frazer's book, '*The Golden Bough*,' provided the 'semi-universal key' to early customs and beliefs everywhere; and she soon discovered how very few it would unlock of the inner mental chambers in which the wild man's fancies are bred. 'The study of natural phenomena knocks the bottom out of any man's conceit, if it is done honestly and not by selecting only those facts which fit in with his preconceived or ingrafted notions'—true words that should be gravely pondered by all ingenious folklorists. And she rightly enjoins upon the student, as before all things necessary, a careful reading of Dr. E. B. Tylor's work, which really contains almost everything that can be soberly and safely written upon Primitive Culture. She observes that the Africans often have remarkable acuteness and a large share of common sense, that the form of their mind is quite different from the childish stage; nor are they flighty, mystical, or dreamers. The remark is important, because nothing is more common than a comparison of primitive mankind with civilised children, whereas the only common ground is unbounded credulity; for the experiences, which shape the imaginative faculty, are in the two cases altogether unlike, and the child mostly takes his fantastic impressions from the sayings and doings of his elders. The animistic tendency of civilised man to treat a ship or a steam engine as a living creature, whom it is possible to love or hate according to its behaviour, is much nearer the intellectual attitude of the savage to Nature at large.

Now the peculiarity of West Africa, as a field for the botanical study of beliefs, is that while almost every other part of the four continents has been more or less overlaid by some great conquering faith, in this region the indigenous superstitions grow as rank and free as the primeval forests. The proselytism of Islam or Christianity has only scattered among them a few ideas and doctrines that have been absorbed, with various distortions, into the mass of legends and practices. Probably the aboriginal African has for many generations been moving westward, under the pressure of stronger tribes, until he has been brought up against the coast-line of the impassable Atlantic, in a climate where the

struggle for existence is fierce and unceasing. Here if anywhere the life of man is, to borrow the words of Hobbes, 'poore, nasty, brutish, and short;' and as is their life so is their religion. The people who inhabit the inland country are for the most part cannibals, among whom to kill or be killed is as much their everyday lot as among the wild animals, and of whom some tribes have become degraded during many generations of retreat before stronger enemies. May we not expect, then, to find in this very low stratum of human society some of those primal forms which the evolutionist can treat as the simplest germs of higher religious conceptions, providing the materials for a connected demonstration of the growth and developement of Natural Religion?

One may regret, as Miss Kingsley's collection of facts and observations is so valuable, that she has not thought it worth while to arrange and group them in more consecutive order, instead of dropping them somewhat fortuitously over her five chapters on Fetish. But she has evidently no intention of propitiating the critical spirit embodied in indolent reviewers; and as an artist she may have desired us to realise the cloudy atmosphere that overhangs the whole region of African supernaturalism. It may, therefore, be useful to our readers if, in our attempt to summarise briefly the results of her inquiries, we begin by taking, in the first place, her information regarding the beings, divine or disembodied, whom the West African fears or adores, their origins, attributes, the tokens that denote their presence, the signs of their power. The second part of our summary would then deal with the rites and customs, the rules of procedure for doing business with divinity, and the phenomena of that universal delusion, which has infested all early communities like the Plague or the Black Death, witchcraft. We have to understand that in the primitive world there are two great societies, of gods and of men, with a strong family resemblance in the matters of tastes, feelings, diet, habits, and vicious propensities in particular; having also reciprocal needs and grievances, so that they are to a certain degree mutually dependent on each other's good offices. The divine community, being much the stronger and more aggressive, is able to levy oppressive tribute upon long-suffering mankind, and even to insist upon servile obedience. Nevertheless we find that in West Africa, as elsewhere, the two societies keep up constant communication; there is much emigration to and fro; the

human soul quits its earthly tenement with a distinct *animus revertendi*, the deities take bodily shape for a season; and it is plain that without continual intercourse and the interchange of dues and services neither of them could flourish satisfactorily. It is also clear that even to spiritual despotism there must always be a certain limit, a point at which long-suffering humanity begins to rebel, as when the gods do very little for worshippers and demand too much of them.

With these remarks we may take up Miss Kingsley's account of African demonology and witchcraft. In the first place, what sort of mind is it that transforms its impressions into fearful or grotesque shapes, and peoples the surrounding atmosphere with them?

'The mental condition of the lower forms of both races seems very near the other great border line that separates man from the anthropoid apes, and I believe that if we had the material, or rather if we could understand it, we should find little or no gap existing in mental evolution in this old undisturbed continent of Africa.'

It is among the negroes, therefore, that may be found 'the earliest forms both of religion and witchcraft'—witchcraft being definable as the power possessed by some malevolent mortal who has acquired control over spirits; whereas religion may be roughly described in this stage as a belief in their direct supernatural action. With regard, then, to the divinities, we are told that there is somewhere a god who originally created the world and all that it contains, but who, like the Indian Brahma, takes no interest in its management; he has laid out the universe and stocked it; he has done his work, and left the administration to others; he is evidently the Final Cause invented to explain phenomenal existence, as an architect is necessary to explain a house. The unfortunate consequence of his abdication is that the everyday affairs of mankind are consigned to the caprice of a disorderly crowd of spirits, very largely recruited by the incessant transmigration of souls, with diverse local origins and habitats, in the trees, the rocks, or the bodies of wild animals. There are also pure nature deities, household lares, and mere fetish, the animistic fancies suggested by queer uncanny things. Wandering demons, like Sasabonsum and his wife, and horrid apparitions which to see is to die, are also common; while dangerous places, such as rocks, whirlpools, and swamps, are haunted, as usual, by sprites invisible. The disembodied ghost roves unresting, a mournful and troublesome vagrant, until its

manes have been appeased by the proper rites, when it is relegated to the dim underground kingdom, which represents the crude indistinct notions formed by all early polytheists of some refuge, or prison house, or penal settlement for those who have finally vanished beyond the world of sense. This place 'has its pleasures and pains, not necessarily retributive 'or rewarding, but dim . . . a veritable shadow land where 'men have not the joys of life, but only their shadow;' and the native proverb, which says that one day on the upper earth is worth a year in the nether world, corroborates what we know from the *Odyssey* of the classic Hades, where Achilles says that he would rather be a ploughboy than reign over the innumerable dead. One finds traces of the universal tradition that in old times there was closer intercourse between gods and men, who went up and down by a ladder reaching from earth to sky, until it was thrown down from above because the earthborn tried to push their way into heaven.

All this is merely the simpler sort of paganism that has prevailed in all times and places wherever superstitions have been left to grow in their natural disorderly fashion, to vary according to the environment, and to reflect through the popular imagination the conditions of human existence. There is nothing new in these African beliefs and legends; they are chiefly valuable as cumulative proofs of the very narrow grooves to which the image-making mind of man seems to be confined, of the short range within which its inventive faculty appears to work, passing the ideas from hand to hand, adapting, enlarging, and refining a few original conceptions. The typical form survives all changes, as the steel axe of the modern carpenter has not varied far from the shape of the prehistoric stone hatchet; it is obviously moulded by sensations and experiences, by moods and manner, by changing circumstance and perceptions of utility. And the process of thought moves step by step.

'You soon become conscious of the careful way a negro follows his idea. Certain customs you can, by the exercise of great patience, trace back in a perfectly smooth line to their source in some natural phenomena, or to reasons of utility.'

The killing of wives at their husbands' funeral is a fair utilitarian example. The colourable object is that they may accompany him into his next existence; but a Calabar chief explained to Miss Kingsley that the custom was also

a salutary check upon husband poisoning; and one cannot doubt that he is right. The progress from the rough and ready expedients of early society, where the same individual turns his hand to all trades, up to the specialisation of handicrafts, may be traced in supernaturalism as in political economy. Miss Kingsley tells us that the African sprites are not easily classified by their functions, although they are all to some extent limited as to the nature of their power, and work only on certain lines, so that there is no one of them who can do all things. We have here the first stages of the gradual evolution of the professional or departmental divinity.

At the bottom of all this confused jumble of gods and goblins lies, so far as we can make out, the inveterate belief in the migratory soul, whom death renders homeless until it can find another abiding place by re-embodiment, which again is dependent upon the due performance of mortuary rites. This idea of the wandering soul is so universal, so obviously founded upon the instinctive human refusal or incapacity to accept death as the final extinguisher, that it may be taken as the ultimate ascertainable basis of religion in a state of nature. 'The really important part of every funeral is the burying of the spirit, which allows it to settle down in some fresh tenement.' Nevertheless, although the ghosts are all worshipped, although men and animals are offered to the souls of deceased persons, Miss Kingsley maintains, if we understand her rightly, that a clear line of demarcation exists between ghosts and gods; that the former never develope into the latter; and she warns us against confusing the offerings to the dead with sacrifices made for the propitiation of deities. At this point, therefore, she differs from the conclusions of Herbert Spencer and other authorities; nor is it easy to make out plainly from her book the grounds upon which she disentangles such a distinct and important dividing line out of the complicated medley of souls and demons, spirits and deities, with much the same habits, powers for mischief, and wonder-working characteristics, that are the objects of fear and adoration in West Africa. That famous men were constantly taking rank, after death, among the gods of classic Greece and Rome, is beyond dispute; that ancestral worship is often the first step to divine honours in polytheistic Asia, especially in China, cannot be gainsaid; the promotion of heroes, saints, and martyrs goes on continuously and manifestly. Yet we admit that what is true of ancient civilised religions, that have been to some

degree systematised, may be untrue of worships and incoherent superstitions of African tribes, who might easily make the distinctions in practice and belief, without noticing the close filiation which connects the two ideas. We notice, indeed, that in the West African Hades the souls of great men are privileged to prey upon the crowd of ignoble ghosts; yet they seem not to return to power in the upper air. And we may throw out, also, the conjecture that in remote and obscure West Africa men do not reach the necessary pitch of renown for mighty deeds or sanctity that qualifies them, in larger countries, for elevation after death to high place among recognised divinities.

Sacrifice and incantation are the well-known professional methods of dealing with spirits. The meat of the sacrifice is eaten, for the blood is the life offered up; and incantation may be by prayer or by mystic words and signs of the masonic order. The Taboo, or interdict laid upon certain things, is, Miss Kingsley thinks, a form of sacrifice, being a kind of religious abstinence imposed upon persons, and varying infinitely, as to the thing prohibited, with each person. Of this worldwide custom, upon the meaning of which learned folklorists have expended great ingenuity, we shall have occasion to make some observations presently. Meanwhile it is clear that the really dominant feature of West-African superstitions, to which all others are secondary, and which permeates the whole religious atmosphere, is the belief in witchcraft. This is the terrible plague which is always at its worst in the lowest stages of human society, which disappears very slowly as the intellectual level rises, and which has never been entirely extirpated from the most civilised communities. Where witchcraft is uppermost the religion is most degraded; nor is it until religion gathers strength enough to draw apart, to give fierce battle to witchcraft, and to denounce it as a black disreputable art, that there is any hope of spiritual improvement. The following extract contains Miss Kingsley's definition of witchcraft:—

'They regard their god as the creator of man, plants, animals, and the earth, and they hold that having made them he takes no further interest in the affair. But not so the crowd of spirits with which the universe is peopled; they take only too much interest, and the Bantu wishes they would not, and is perpetually saying so in his prayers, a large percentage whereof amounts to "Go away; we don't want you;" "Come not into this house, this village, or its plantations." He knows from experience that the spirits pay little heed to these objurgations, and as they are a people that must be attended to,

he develops a cult whereby they may be managed, used, and understood. 'This cult is what we call witchcraft.'

In a later passage, however, we have 'the origin of man's 'religious belief' ascribed to motives and impressions that seem almost identical with those out of which witchcraft is said to have been developed. It is generally assumed, says Miss Kingsley, in the infancy of humanity, that death is always the consequence of the action of some malignant spirit, and that there is no accidental or natural death.

'A man having thus gained a belief that there are more than human actors in life's tragedy, the idea that disease is also a manifestation of some invisible being's wrath and power seems to me natural and easy; and he knows you can get another man for a consideration to kill or harm a third party, and so he thinks that for a consideration you can also get one of these superhuman beings which we call gods or devils, but which the African regards in another light, to do so.

'A certain set of men and women then specialise off to study how these spirits can be managed, and so arises a priesthood; and the priests, or medicine men, as they are called in their earliest forms, gradually, for their own ends, elaborate and wrap round their profession with ritual and mystery.'

While this view of religious origins does by no means cover the whole ground, there is, of course, much truth in it; but the point for observation is that from these extracts we should judge Miss Kingsley's conclusion to be that witchcraft and religious rites in West Africa are originally indistinguishable. If this is correct, there can be no doubt that such a confusion of two ideas, that in their later forms not only stand widely apart, but are always irreconcilably hostile, denotes the very lowest stage of aboriginal superstition wherever it prevails, for it has been held that, although the line between abject fetishism and witchcraft may be difficult to trace in the elementary stages, yet from the beginning a true distinction can invariably be recognised. According to this theory the witch is more nearly allied with rudimentary science than with priestcraft: for he relies not upon prayer, worship, or propitiation of divinities, but upon his own secret knowledge and experience of the effect producible by certain tricks and mysterious devices upon the unseen powers, over whom he has attained a sort of command. Instead of serving, like the priest, these powers, he is enabled by his art to make them serve him; and it is for this reason that his practices very soon become denounced and detested by the priesthood. To the priest belong

adoration and propitiatory sacrifice; if these things will not move the divine authorities there is nothing else to be done by the supplicant; but where the case can be diagnosed as witchcraft there is a human being within reach who can be cruelly punished; and the fact that he is treated as personally responsible shows that the occult faculty of mischief-making is actually detected in him. When a man sets up in sorcery he becomes the scapegoat for all the ills of mankind which kings and priests cannot cure, and every inexplicable wrong is laid to his account, so that his reputation for direct wonder-working becomes fatal to him. The priest, on the other hand, is merely the steward or minister of an irresponsible and unapproachable divinity. The first step necessary in West Africa for the profession of sorcery is to entertain a familiar spirit, which is done by cutting a rude wooden human figure, into which he is persuaded to locate himself, when his services become at the sorcerer's disposal. Here we have already the tendency to obtain command over supernatural forces, instead of obedience and prostration before them; and if the witch has hit upon any very rude observations of physical cause and effect, if he knows some quackery in medicine, is weatherwise, or is cunning in what has been called 'natural magic,' the familiar spirit will get all the credit of his ingenuity. In the departments of love and death he has an immense practice; while all the intelligent folk know, as Miss Kingsley remarks, that 'there is a lot of 'poisoning' in the business, as is shown by the wide diffusion among her African acquaintance of the treatment of persons bewitched by a strong emetic. But in witch ordeals your only real chance of escape is by bribing the presiding expert.

Miss Kingsley has much to say of the secret societies, which operate in the dark, like the Spanish Inquisition, for the discovery and punishment of social and religious backsliding, and which also cover a great deal of sheer wickedness in the way of murder and cannibalism. Of course there is initiation, followed by hideous rites and the marking down for assassination of some victim, who may be a rich relative or some other obnoxious person whom it is convenient to put away under the pretext of an ordained sacrifice to the society's fetish. The worshippers of one notorious fetish are called Human Leopards,

'because when seizing their victims for sacrifice they covered themselves with leopard skins, and, imitating the leopard's roar, sprang upon their victims, plunging two three-pronged forks into each side of the throat. There are also human alligators, disguised as alligators, who swim in the creeks upon the canoes and carry off the crew.'

These associations work in the dark because their deeds are too shocking for public opinion even in West Africa, being also, of course, highly criminal within any colonial jurisdiction; and they illustrate in its lowest and most nefarious stage that spirit of license under the cloak of religious mysteries which has given such meetings an ill repute in all ages and countries. The terror caused by the real leopard or crocodile has invested these animals with a kind of sanctity, so that to kill them brings bad luck; and this immunity is to the advantage of the murderer in the beast's skin, against whom it is difficult to bring proof that will satisfy white man's law. The best way of putting down these hideous practices would probably be to institute a detective police with special powers, upon the plan that was successfully adopted for extirpating the Thugs, who were a secret society of stranglers and poisoners in India.

We owe some apology to Miss Kingsley for reviewing in this article only those chapters of her book which deal with West African superstitions. It should be clearly understood that the range of her narrative and observations is much wider, and that its value consists largely in the description which she gives of the state and prospect of manners and morals on the coast, where the native tribes are gradually feeling the influence of the commerce, the colonisation, and the missionaries of Europe. Her conclusions are not hopeful, for the savage, like the wild animal, seems to degenerate as soon as he is tamed; and security is apt to breed indolence, which is fatal to the tribe, 'for inactivity in 'Africa is death.' And when you have eliminated from the indigenous religion all its superstitious terrors, the African, according to Miss Kingsley, falls away into a condition of careless self-indulgent debauchery, under which the race loses its vital vigour, and degenerates physically without much moral compensation. The prospect of punishment in a future existence is not near enough to tame the unruly affections of the sinful savage; he adopts only what is pleasant to him in the new dispensation, and degenerates in consequence, because what he really needs is severe religious discipline.

‘Nothing strikes one so much, in studying the degeneration of these native tribes, as the direct effect that civilisation and reformation has in hastening it. The worst enemy to the existence of the African tribe is the one who comes to it and says: “Now you must civilise and come to school, and leave off all those awful goings-on of yours and settle down quietly.” The tribe does so; the African is teachable

and tractable. . . . He treats his religion much as other men do : when he gets slightly educated—a little scientific, one might say—he removes from his religion all the disagreeable parts. He promptly eliminates its equivalent Hell, represented in Fetishism by immediate and not future retribution.

‘Then goes his rigid Sabbath-keeping and food-restriction equivalent, and he has nothing left but the agreeable portions—dances, polygamy, and so on; and it’s a very bad thing for him. I only state these things so as to urge upon people at home the importance of combining technical instruction in their mission teaching, which by instilling into the African mind ideas of discipline, and providing him with manual occupation, will save him from these relapses, which are now the reproach of missionary effort and the curse and degradation of the African.’

From this curious and valuable description of primitive beliefs and customs in their natural state of entangled confusion we turn to the philosophic and well-ordered survey of their origin, interconnexion, and underlying psychology that is presented to us by Mr. Jevons. In the opening pages of his volume we are warned that such religions as Christianity, Mahomedanism, and Buddhism have no place in the history to which the author introduces us. These positive religions, as he terms them, were designed to supersede others to which, being practised as a matter of custom and tradition, he gives the name of customary religions, and with these only he intends to deal. To this vast residuum of institutions, beliefs, and usages prevalent everywhere among wild folk and in the countries of ancient civilisation, he applies the methods of science and the principles of anthropology.

Now the instrument chiefly employed by science in the prosecution of these researches is the comparative method, which examines apparent resemblances in phenomena for the purpose of bringing out their essential differences; the record of successive differences being the history of their evolution. But in tracing the developement of later from earlier forms, Mr. Jevons desires to guard himself against admitting that monotheism was reached by a slow condensation out of rudimentary notions. Ideas and institutions, he observes, not only grow but decay; the Roman empire was a moral degeneration from the republic, and art often goes backward. The principle that religion is evolved may thus be accepted without rejecting the possibility that monotheism may have been the original religion, although on the other hand our lack of complete evidence prevents our assuming it to have been so.

The author's views in regard to the evolutionary process are worked out at length in his concluding chapters 'On 'Monotheism and the Evolution of Belief.' After stating very fairly the data of observation and experience which go to support the hypothesis that monotheism was evolved out of polytheism, he proceeds to argue, on the other side, that on evolutionary principles, and following the analogy of the law governing the developement of physical organisms, this hypothesis is untenable. Two of the highest existing species (monkeys and men, for example) may be descended from a common ancestor, but not one from the other. To suppose that monotheism could have descended from polytheism is, therefore, in his opinion, unscientific; and, what is more, Mr. Jevons holds that it would be contradicted by the actual facts of religious history, for he contends that the polytheisms known to science never pass into monotheism. And we gather that he prefers to conclude that the original ancestor of the monotheist was the worshipper of one out of a multitude of gods; the Henotheist of Professor Max Müller. The view adopted seems to be that man recognised from the beginning—subjectively, not from the external facts of which he was conscious—his dependence on a personal and supernatural Will, but found it to be impossible to identify this Will with more than one external object. Such may have been, originally, the totem or tribal god, and this single point of adoration is only lost eventually in polytheism by the confusion of deities resulting from a conflux of tribes, when each clan of a confederation worships not only its own totem god but the other clan totems. Or else the different gods are identified and their cults are fused, so that one deity is produced out of many; but in either case, whether of polytheism or syncretism, the original antecedent worship may have been monotheistic.

'The sacrifices offered to Jehovah by the Jews point back not to polytheism but to a low form of monotheism, in which each clan that offered sacrifice worshipped but one god, though that god was conceived in the form of the animal or plant which was sacrificed. This brings us to the question whether totemism, that lowest form of monotheism, is the earliest form of religion; and for the answer to that question we are reduced to conjecture.'

Mr. Jevons argues, also, that since of spiritual things the knowledge comes by inward intuition, not by means of inference, deductive or inductive, so it is quite possible that

a revelation of monotheism may have been made to pre-historic man.

It would not have been fair if, in endeavouring to review briefly an interesting book, we had omitted to mention the limitations thus placed by Mr. Jevons upon his application of evolutionary principles to the history of religion. But neither can we abstain from intimating the opinion that by diverging, with some incongruity, from the main lines of his argument, he has unnecessarily imported some disputable matter into his investigation of the origins and developement of primitive beliefs. It was enough for him, we think, to have excluded at the outset the great monotheistic faiths from the scope of his dissertations, without entering upon theories regarding the separate sources of monotheism, which are not likely to convince the thoroughgoing evolutionist, while the theologian may repudiate them as offering battle to the enemy on unfavourable ground. Revealed religion will have nothing to do with totemism, or with the hazardous contention that the pagan who selected for worship one god out of a legion carried in his breast the primeval monotheistic revelation. On the other hand is the risk that the students for whom this book is professedly written may not hold fast to the rather fine distinction between this view and the Comtist induction that the adoration of many supernatural agencies gradually concentrated upon the notion of a single omnipotent personality. To quote from one of the able essays issued under the title of '*Lux Mundi*' (a book with which Mr. Jevons is evidently familiar), 'It is impolitic as it is unscientific to identify Christian Apology with a position' (the belief in primitive monotheism) 'which may one day prove untenable.' And though Mr. Jevons attempts no such express identification, the drift of his argument sets plainly that way.

Apart from these speculations there is substantial value in the careful comparison made by Mr. Jevons of the different shapes and species of religious belief to be found among all sorts and conditions of men, wherever the great creeds and churches have not formulated and moulded them authoritatively. His views are set out ably and persuasively, with great wealth of illustration, and a considerable capacity for assorting and co-ordinating a vast array of heterogeneous facts. We may perhaps suggest that the spirit of scientific arrangement, the craving of the modern mind for logical demonstration, are often too strong for him, so that he is impelled to lay down the basis of primordial ideas in terms

that are, in our opinion, inapplicable. In the remarkable chapter, which is well worth close reading, on the 'Super-natural,' he contends that from the beginning man has distinguished between the natural and the supernatural, because from the first he had a clear though a very confined perception of uniformity in nature. Laws on which man could count, and sequences which he habitually initiated and controlled, were, he says, natural. It was the violation of these sequences and the frustration of his expectations that produced his original notion that the supernatural power was manifested merely in suspending or counteracting the uniformity of nature. According to this view any unusual movement of a river, such as a great flood, was first taken to be the sign of an active water spirit, who subsequently became identified, as the river god, with the ordinary aspect and customary flow of the stream which he had been discovered to inhabit.

It is always very difficult for the civilised inquirer to follow out and define the train of logical thought which brings primitive folk to their beliefs, and we doubt whether any light is really gained by crediting them with the ideas which underlie such terms as the 'uniformity of nature,' 'supernatural,' and 'natural.' So far as one can understand the savage, he makes no such distinction, and what the higher minds mean by supernatural is to him the most natural explanation of everything, usual or unusual, which surrounds him. He accounts for all movement by life and will; he invests even motionless objects with an indwelling spirit; he worships them all indiscriminately; and the fact that certain sequences are ordinary, and rarely if ever interrupted, does not remove them out of the divine category, for a tree or a stone may have mysterious influences; nor is there anything about a wolf, a tiger, or a snake that frustrates the wild man's expectations. It is to a large extent his experience of certain uniformities that suggests to him the action of extra-human forces, as in the case of fire, of wind, or drifting clouds. He does not worship these phenomena because they are unusual, but because they are unintelligible; and in his ignorance of second causes, as Hobbes says, he attributes to all these things existence; they appear and disappear; they are animated by the souls or spirits whom he locates everywhere, and so they are gifted with the attributes of power. Undoubtedly this power is most clearly signified in things casual or unexpected; but where every such sight, sound, or feeling whose cause is not obvious, from a headache to

a hurricane, is thus ascribed to some capricious agency, it seems hardly worth while to provide the bewildered savage with a logical basis for his ideas by crediting him with a fundamental perception of uniformity in nature. It seems better to say at once that in his instinctive attempts to link effects with some kind of cause he infers, by human analogy, that the perpetual motion and change round him of things visible must come from the incessant activity of beings like himself, but invisible. The savage theory of causation, Mr. Jevons observes truly, is not fundamentally different from the scientific; the inductive methods form the common framework of both minds. But when he goes so far as to say that 'the savage would probably be able to give his 'assent to all the principles of Mill's logic,' and that the differences between the two minds are not formal but material, we think that he overstrains the connexion to a point where it becomes misleading, and tends to darken the clear vision of actual facts. Of course the mental processes, like the brain structure, are the same in the lowest Australian as in a Newton or a Darwin, and even a monkey can reason, within his tether, from effect to cause like a philosopher. But this statement of the vague imbecile guesses of wild creatures in the rigid terms of art will bring little help to students, who should beware of too much method; and at any rate we submit that the simple habit of always attaching an effect to some immediate cause might have been touched upon with a lighter hand.

We acknowledge readily the careful and comprehensive treatment, the skill in marshalling facts to show their interconnexion and to support conclusions, that are brought to bear in this book upon the genesis and growth of primitive beliefs. It seems to us, however, that the writer's argument is complicated by the necessity of maintaining his initial thesis that mankind has from the beginning made a distinction between spirits natural and supernatural. 'Not all 'spirits,' it is said, 'are supernatural spirits. The man who 'believes the bowing tree or the leaping flame to be a thing 'like himself does not therefore believe it to be a supernatural 'being;' and we understand Mr. Jevons to hold that spirits of the dead are not ranked among the supernatural, that the ghost never becomes a god. We cannot affirm that this distinction is altogether untenable, but we think that it is much too absolutely stated here, and that it is open to quite as much objection as the converse theory, which Mr. Jevons rightly rejects, that all the gods of the earlier races

were the spirits of dead men divinised. But we do observe that Mr. Jevons finds the dividing line between his two spiritual classes, and their separate origin, rather difficult to keep up, for he has to admit that 'the spirits of the dead 'are occasionally credited with supernatural powers, that 'offerings to the dead become sacrifices to deities,' that 'there is a tendency to assimilate the private cult of 'ancestors to the public worship of the gods,' and that 'certain ancestors are, by some unexplained process, raised 'to the rank of gods.' The evidence that such promotion does occur is irresistible, and Mr. Jevons has to rebut it by declaring that these ancestors must have been originally reckoned as divine, else would they not have been worshipped? 'The fact is,' he says, 'that ancestors known to 'be human were not worshipped as gods, and ancestors 'worshipped as gods were not believed to be human.' How can Mr. Jevons, sitting in his library, be reasonably sure of that? And is it scientific to frame such positive generalisations regarding ideas and practices which vary infinitely at different periods and places, and which are always complex, entangled, and liable to become accidentally intermixed? It is also argued that the two systems—ancestor worship and public worship—could not have existed side by side if they had a common origin, because in that case one would have absorbed the other. But we much doubt whether this general assumption is incontrovertible, and we think it rests mainly upon notions of symmetry and consistency that are foreign to primitive religions, although they prevail among highly organised creeds, which do always absorb or destroy earlier and weaker forms.

Three very instructive chapters are devoted by Mr. Jevons to the subject of Taboo, a Polynesian word which has been adopted by the latest anthropologists to comprehend all the branches of what is certainly in one sense a universal institution. As thus used it includes not only that vast group of ideas and practices which attribute sanctity to certain persons, places, animals, and things tabooed, but also all ordinances of ceremonial purity or uncleanness, all prohibitory rules of caste and custom, all negative commands regulating social intercourse, especially between the sexes, and the etiquette which hedges round priests, kings, and women. The peculiarity of this code is that it operates mechanically, for any offence against it is punished mysteriously, so that he who touches things forbidden is as evilly infected as he would be by a virulent leprosy, and since the

infection is transmissible he becomes an outcast. Any interdiction laid on property or land, to preserve rights or keep off intruders, falls within this category; you can employ the taboo maker to taboo a diamond mine against inconvenient explorers; and a European ship's captain has called him in to frighten from his vessel troublesome native visitors. The whole notion of mysterious curses attaching to some original sin or offence given to divinities, and descendible to posterity, belongs to the conception. It would almost seem as if such notices as 'No admittance except on business,' or 'Trespassers beware,' might be classed as modern survivals of taboo, if one could only persuade people that some unintelligible penalty would follow unlawful entry. That any breach of taboo was unintentional or well intentioned, made in good faith or for a moral purpose, tells no more in mitigation of the consequences than in cases of smallpox or diphtheria; it is simply a matter of contagion.

Now in regard to a very large proportion of cases this system admits easily either of a religious or a rationalistic explanation; it is probably the aboriginal method of enforcing respect for rules, whether superstitious, sanitary, or merely fanciful, that became current in savage societies; it contains the germ of all caste ordinances and excommunications. Where the taboo seems inexplicable and plainly irrational there is, as Mr. Jevons points out, greater difficulty, though the incoherence of ideas, and the freaks of the 'wild ranging mind' of primitive folk, may well account for our failure to trace out a meaning. Mr. Jevons decides that the sentiment, as it appears in its lowest manifestations, cannot have been derived from experience, because in many instances 'it is prior to and even contradictory to experience;' his conclusion is that taboo 'is an inherent tendency of the human mind,' and that the belief in its contagious properties is due to the association of ideas.

'In the history, or rather the prehistory, of man, taboo was never grossly material. It marked the awe of man in the presence of what he conceived—often mistakenly—to be the supernatural, and if his dread of contact with blood, babes, and corpses appears at first sight irrational, let us remember that in these, the three classes of objects which are inherently taboo, we have man in relation to the mystery of life and death, and in his affinity to that supernatural power which he conceived to be a spirit like himself.'

This somewhat metaphysical theory will not altogether satisfy those who find it hard to believe that the primitive mind is capable of travelling beyond the limits of experience,

hereditary and acquired; who think that all senseless, unmeaning and absurd applications of the taboo are little more than childish guesses, or tricks, or the survivals of some impression left by those chances and coincidences which timid superstition is constantly misinterpreting. Nothing can be more irrational, for example, than a large class of omens; or than the connexion discerned very recently in Persia between a stone set up by European surveyors and the failure of rain; yet it is quite evident that these foolish random conjectures easily harden into accepted beliefs, of which the origin becomes as utterly lost as the name of the first peasant or soothsayer who invented them. And it is not clear why senseless taboos should need a deeper explanation, while, if Mr. Jevons is right, as we think he is, in observing that taboo, once established, was enforced, perpetuated, and developed as a social obligation, its earliest meaning would very soon be transfigured in the process. The mischievous and useless customs are weeded out; the prohibitions that have some sense or motive in them are retained; the taboo follows the evolutionary course of all other fallacies, and it was probably bred out of the same haphazard conjecture that generates every kind of superstition.

In regard to Totemism Mr. Jevons adopts the theory of which Mr. Frazer has been hitherto the leading exponent, and which we must endeavour to state very briefly. It is well known that one of the earliest forms of human society is the grouping of men in tribes or clans, of which every member is akin to the other, either by descent, real or imaginary, from a common stock, or by the fiction of the blood covenant. These groups may be allies or may be enemies *inter se*; and the killing of any member by a hostile group creates a blood feud between the two tribes. But upon the totemistic hypothesis every species of animal is also regarded by man as a tribe, friendly or hostile, and in choosing an ally he naturally prefers some species that possesses supernatural powers. Every animal of this chosen species is a member by kinship of the human tribe; and every tribesman becomes a blood relation not only of the beast, but of the god incarnate within him, who is thus the ally and protector of the tribe—that is to say, its totem. From these aboriginal roots Mr. Jevons traces the growth of all the widespread conceptions regarding the worship of animals and plants, the sanctity of certain species, the sacred feasts, the whole order of sacrificial rites, the

slaying and eating of victims. 'The mere existence of sacrifice is an indication of the former existence of totemism.'

'Worship, as an act in its rudimentary stage, means only the sprinkling of blood on the altar; the blood sprinkled is that of the totem animal, and the only object of the rite is to renew the blood covenant between the totem clan and the totem species, and to procure the presence of the totem god. The idea of offering a sacrifice "to" a god is a notion which can only be developed in a later stage of totemism, when, on the one hand, the monolith has come to be identified with the god, and, on the other hand, the god is no longer in the animal.'

Thus in its primitive form the animal sacrifice and eating of the victim signified a desire to assimilate, with the flesh, the supernatural powers of the sacred animal; the notion of the victim being eaten by the god was a later transformation of the original motive; and still later comes the idea of atonement, that one member of the tribe must die for the rest. Trees and plants were, like animals, adopted as tribal totems; and so 'it is to totemism that we owe the cultivation of plants as well as the domestication of animals.' 'Trivial pretexts for slaughtering victims were frequently invented,' until what was at first eaten as a communistic sacrament became afterwards consumed for less mysterious purposes, with a few pious ejaculations, like grace before meat, as the sole relic of the primordial taboo.

Every consecutive link in the chain of this demonstration is carefully set out by Mr. Jevons, with a powerful array of examples collected from all parts of the earth to support each position. Those who read his book attentively will admire the conscientious workmanship, the skill and diligence with which an attractive theory is maintained, and they will be impressed by the curious colligation of strange and remote fancies with ideas which have since become world-wide religious conceptions, or with industries to which, like agriculture, we are indebted for the settlement of human society. With a very moderate amplification of these evolutionary principles one might trace almost every important idea and institution to the two sources of taboo and totemism. Our readers must understand that, for obvious reasons, we have been able to give no more than the outline, on a very small scale, of these interesting speculations; and with this warning we may confess that they suggest to the critical reviewer a certain degree of scepticism. In the history of all religions, even of those which first began among the ancient civilisations of Asia (where all the historic faiths arose), the problem of origins

is obscure and complex; the psychologic situation was even there so different from our own; the accidental circumstances, the causes and consequences, which determined the line of developement are so imperfectly appreciable. In the much earlier stages of the human imagination, when it was uncontrolled by reflection and reasoning, the whole superstitious atmosphere is so clouded and capriciously changeful that it is impossible, in our opinion, to be sure of discovering the elementary motives, or to give orderly sequence to a miscellaneous heap of disorderly customs. To construct hypotheses out of the materials available, to make intelligent conjectures, is quite legitimate and praiseworthy, so long as the student is fairly reminded that he must look for no certitude, and that he must not allow his mind to be so possessed by a comprehensive theory as to prevent his examining facts, if he gets the opportunity, very closely and independently. It is a well-known saying of Bacon that 'Method carrying a show of total and perfect knowledge has a tendency to generate acquiescence;' and for explorers in the field of folklore to be provided at starting with a master-key to the meaning of all queer ideas and customs is distinctly deleterious. It is apt to produce a kind of atrophy in the faculty of genuine observation.

We think that this caution is the more necessary, because Mr. Jevons pushes his evolutionary argument very far, and has framed a considerable scheme of psychological developement, which embraces the whole domain of religious sentiment, from the rude natural imagery of the savage up to the lofty intuitions of devout philosophy and the mystic symbolism of the Churches. Man, he observes, began by attempting to synthesise the external and internal facts of consciousness by a reasoning process; animals were the first of the external objects that thus came to be worshipped, and totemism was the first form of that worship; the totem or tribal god being for a long time the single object of worship. 'Totemism is the attempt to translate and express in outward action the union of the human will with the divine.' Finally, 'sacrifice and the sacramental meal which followed on it are institutions which are or have been universal . . . but before there can be a sacramental meal there must be a sacrifice. That is to say, the whole human race for thousands of years has been educated to the conception that it was only through a divine sacrifice that perfect union with God was possible for man.'

These extracts may serve to indicate, of course imperfectly, the line of thought upon which 'the bewildering details,' as Mr. Jevons truly calls them, of early ritual and adoration are arranged in this book, and the connexion which he discovers between the lowest and the highest efforts of human consciousness. There is much force and attractiveness in the demonstration of instinctive ideas animating all stages of religious belief, at times taking the shape of some monstrous chimera, and latterly becoming simplified and refined into deep intellectual convictions; nor are we in the least prepared to deny that all gradations of religion are pervaded, from the bottom to the top, by a sense of awful dependence on the supernatural powers. Whether it is possible so to co-ordinate and exhibit the filiation of innumerable facts and fancies, to appraise their value and determine their meaning, as to establish confidently the train of associated conceptions which leads up to these conclusions, is the point which may well be considered doubtful. We are by no means sure that anthropological phenomena of this class, the mental operations of primitive mankind under widely different circumstances, are yet reducible to general laws of growth and correlation like those which can be verified by physical science. Nor is it safe to borrow the terms of that science, or to rely upon analogies which it suggests; as, for instance, when we are told that differences of belief may be compared to the variations of organisms, so that whatever varieties of belief are not favoured by their environment will perish, while the rest will survive. You could not lay out the history of religion upon these self-acting principles, nor explain by them the great cataclysms which have swept over Asia, or the persistence and revivals of certain radical conceptions; while if no more were meant than that beliefs are modified by circumstances, this would be a mere truism.

That the religious idea is migratory and incessantly mutable, that the seeds of superstition are blown to and fro by chance winds, we all know; but it is just as certain that they are always springing up spontaneously out of congenial soil, and that accident, as well as imitation, brings about unexpected resemblances. Prehistoric archaeology shows that the arts and implements of the earliest races were simple and similar everywhere, and the same may be said of the works of their imagination. The chapters in Mr. Jevons's book on 'The Next Life,' on 'The Transmigration of Souls,' and on 'The Mysteries,' are finely written, with

a true insight into the needs and propensities out of which arose and were developed ideas which have enormously influenced the mind of humanity. And he is quite right in pointing to Egypt and to India as the two countries in which the aboriginal notion of the soul's survival was purified and exalted by the priesthood into a sublime metempsychosis, with the theory of reward or retribution in the next world superadded to satisfy the conscience, and to provide the discipline of hopes and fears. But his main object in examining these subjects is to 'trace the career' of totemism, beginning with the view that after death man rejoined his totem, and assumed the shape of the plant or animal which he worshipped. Both in Egypt and in India the souls of the dead were understood to migrate into animals; though gradually, we are told, the totemist faith became generalised and dissociated from the particular animal, and the soul was allowed to take any such shape, until finally the virtuous were born again into a superior beast, and the wicked got something low or unclean. Now it is very probable that man's rudimentary animism did follow some such upward course as is here laid out, while it is certain that everywhere the superior priesthood trained and pruned the wild popular fancies into decent shapes and towards useful purposes. The question is whether we can really do more than register the broad lines of evolution, or whether it is necessary to insist on the universality of such customs as the totem and the taboo, enlarging them in order to interpret a miscellaneous quantity of customs which may possibly be akin, but which may have had, for all we can tell, other motives and origins. Let us take, for example, the custom (observed also by Miss Kingsley in West Africa) of savages daubing themselves with white clay, a kind of war painting. 'War,' says Mr. Jevons, 'is to the savage a sacred function; the tribal god himself fights for his clan, the warriors are engaged in his service; as such they are taboo and dangerous, and they notify the fact by donning war paint.' This view is corroborated by the fact that in Greece, when a novice was to be initiated to the mysteries, he was plastered with white clay as a cleansing process. But is it demonstrable that the ceremonious plastering had anything to do with the war painting? Herodotus tells us, in a passage quoted, that when the Phocians consulted a Mantis upon ways and means of defeating the Thessalians he made six hundred of them plaster themselves with white clay, and sent them to make

a night attack, which was entirely successful. This is regarded by Herodotus as a clever stratagem, whereby the Phocians knew each other in the darkness; it reappears in the old French wars as the *camisade*, which means that the assailants wore their white shirts over their armour for fighting at night. But Mr. Jevons holds that Herodotus missed the real point, which was 'that warriors should be 'prepared for battle by previous purification and dedication 'to the gods.' A little straining of this theory would cover the suggestion that all military uniforms may lay claim to a long descent through the ages from the garb of taboo. Nor can we avoid the impression that these hypotheses flourish better in the modern scientific hothouse than in the open air among the rough emergencies of military life. Herodotus was the best observer of all ancient travellers, and while he had a good eye for divine things in their proper place, he lived among the realities of a rough time. Mr. Jevons proceeds to remark that 'the actor, like the warrior, 'was a sacred person during the discharge of his functions,' that the satyric clowns wore goat skins, and that the actor smeared his face with lees of wine to show that he was under the protection of the wine god—another clear case of totem and taboo. So it may have been, for all we know, but the derivation seems to us a little far-fetched.

We have permitted ourselves to pass some criticisms upon the leading generalisations relied upon in this book, because the principle of evolution seems in these post-Darwinian days to have obtained almost too complete a mastery over the minds of those engaged in all branches of research. With the vast increase of data requiring some kind of systematic and rational adjustment to human capacity, the employment of this dominant hypothesis has spread from the handling of things to the assortment of ideas, and in this region the most fascinating study is that of the religious idea. There is, we think, room for doubting whether some of the solutions proposed by Mr. Jevons for some of the most recondite problems of primitive psychology are tenable; and we are much inclined to agree with Miss Kingsley's warning to explorers that they must not set out with foregone conclusions, but must on the contrary leave at home all such baggage, with the other ingenious luxuries of civilisation. Nevertheless there is much worth and value in Mr. Jevons's work; nor does he insist dogmatically upon his own views, while the lucidity of his exposition and the large repertory of facts from which he draws his illustrations

are certainly impressive and possibly persuasive. The book also contains many truly philosophical remarks and reservations, and before taking leave of the author we may quote the following passage, which may be taken as explaining by analogy his general view of the evolution of belief:—

‘The desire to unify our experience is a perennial need of human nature. The faith that it can be unified is not peculiar to religion, but is the base of all science. The track by which science has marched in its conquest of nature is marked by the ruins of abandoned hypotheses. One hypothesis is cast aside in favour of another which explains a greater number of facts; and though no hypothesis, not even evolution, accounts for all the facts of the physical universe (*i.e.* for all the external facts of consciousness), yet no man of science believes that the facts are incapable of explanation. On the contrary, he believes that they are only waiting for the right hypothesis, and that then they will all fall into line.’

It is from this standpoint, if we rightly understand him, that Mr. Jevons regards all the evidence of man’s religious acts and feelings; and upon this principle he desires to establish some orderly scheme of their harmonious and consistent developement. Some doubt may be permitted whether in this department of research the data are as surely ascertainable, or the inferences as verifiable, as in the purely physical sciences which rely on sight and touch, on experiment as well as on ancient record and personal observation. Nevertheless we may freely acknowledge and admire the philosophic spirit, the sympathetic appreciation of man’s striving upward out of darkness towards light, which Mr. Jevons has exhibited in his endeavour to decipher the obscure and intricate riddles of primitive psychology.

Professor Max Müller’s book is the work of a distinguished scholar, who, after having devoted many years to the building up of the science of mythology upon a linguistic basis, has now resolved once more to affirm and energetically defend his main position. It has been so often and so strenuously attacked that some have hastily imagined it to have become untenable and even to have been abandoned; but the Professor has no thought of surrender. On the contrary, he has strengthened and provisioned it with vigorous arguments and fresh evidence; while he is so far from retreating that he makes sharp sallies upon his adversaries. To attempt, in a few pages, any adequate review of such an important contribution to the literature of religious origins, would be in the highest degree

presumptuous, especially as etymologic controversies lie beyond the scope of this article. We must be content with warning all rival folklorists who may have supposed that Professor Max Müller's views can be passed by as obsolete, that they are still within the range of a formidable battery; and we shall therefore touch only on those points in his book which contravene or bear down upon the theories that we have just been examining.

Although mythology does not, of course, cover the whole ground of historical religion, yet the interpretation of myths is so essentially concerned with the evolution of beliefs that by their conclusions upon this article opposing schools must stand or fall. Mr. Jevons makes no use of etymologic analysis, whereby the original and subsequent meanings of a divine name or legend can be extracted out of the comparative study of cognate languages. To Professor Max Müller, on the other hand, this method is of cardinal efficiency as a clue and a test; he maintains that the *hyponoia*, the underlying and related ideas, the way to unlock all the secrets of Aryan mythology, the solution of all its riddles, are to be found in the scrutiny of linguistic anatomy, in the rules of phonetic change, and the maladies of words. His attitude upon all these subjects, upon the modes of primitive thought, upon the fundamental analogy at the base of all religious conceptions, is too well known to need exposition here; though he has carefully restated them in the book now before us. That 'the gods were originally 'personified representatives of the most prominent phenomena of nature,' and that natural events were taken as the acts of these representatives, is the vital principle upon which he takes his stand, and whoever does not hold this faith regarding the generation of the Aryan divinities is in mortal error. As the deeds of great men were said to be godlike, so the stories current about the Nature gods came to be told of real heroes or heroines, and as it is not possible to speak of the weather without personifying in speech the elements, so out of words meaning the sky, the clouds, rain, and thunder were evolved the great figures of polytheism; they arose, not only out of a necessity of thought, but also out of a necessity of language. The irrational and immoral characteristics of the classic deities should not be explained as survivals from prehistoric savagery; they are distorted misunderstandings of naturalistic allegory, derived from the first abstract conceptions of physical forces; for 'the foundation of all mythology was physical.' It is true that

other influences and impressions soon get to work upon the primary plastic material, that in later stages the authentic facts of human deeds or suffering become embedded in the primordial fiction; but those who are ready to discover historical fragments in mythology 'ought never to forget 'that, in this marriage between myth and fact, myth comes 'first.' It is not until a solar hero has been created that any other real hero can be called Hêrakles, and his achievements can be sung as the achievements of Hêrakles. In short, the gods impersonated the sense of will and design stamped upon the primitive mind by the action of the elements; they were the actors in the great drama of nature; and man's worship of them expressed his feeling of dependence upon those embodiments of the manifest yet mysterious powers which surrounded him.

So powerfully and positively is this comprehensive theory stated that, upon the principle of avoiding foregone conclusions as injurious to independent inquiry, we should be inclined to warn off all beginners in folklore from the study of these volumes, and to place them upon Miss Kingsley's index among the books which are dangerous for novices. In his own bright Aryan kingdom the philologist is supreme: he will have nothing to do with the outer barbarian; he takes slight account of customs and tales picked up among wild folk without any scientific knowledge of their language. Not much can be gained, in Professor Max Müller's opinion, by using such general terms as animism, totemism, fetishism, as solvents of mythological problems; and he rightly declines to trace back all theriolatry to totemism, particularly since some of the highest authorities on the myths and customs of savage races are by no means on the side of the thoroughgoing totemist. Dr. Codrington, whose book is the standard work on Melanesian folklore, has collected many specimens of ancestral animals revered and spared by various families or kindred groups; and not only the practice, but the word 'taboo,' is indigenous in the South Pacific Islands. But in regard to the full-blown totemistic system he is decidedly sceptical; and for the taboo custom, which is a prohibition with a curse, he cites various examples showing its accidental and arbitrary character, and indicating that for an explanation one need go no further than the worldwide and very useful practice, indispensable to all early lawgivers, of investing general rules and even casual orders with divine sanction. In short, if you spread out a custom so as to bring into affinity with

it or derivation from it anything belonging to the same category of notions or habits, the whole theory is reduced to the recognition of some general instinct or primitive human tendency, of the kind described under such a term as animism or supernaturalism.

The ethnological school, as led by Mr. Andrew Lang and Mr. Jevons, would hunt an Aryan myth or custom back to a state of pre-existent savagery; they would discover its germs in similar beliefs or practices prevalent among Red Indians or Andaman islanders. This is one of the capital points upon which Professor Max Müller resolutely joins issue. Granted, he says, that the Aryans must have been savages, it does not follow that the Aryan savage, in his elaboration of myths and customs, acted exactly like other savages.

‘Ancient languages, ancient beliefs and customs were not formed according to rule. Even if we were to admit that all human beings were born alike, their surroundings have always been very different, and their intellectual productions must have differed in consequence. Mythology is . . . determined in its growth by ever so many accidental circumstances, by ever so many human and inhuman influences, even by individual poets and sages. . . . It forms an immense conglomerate which excludes hardly anything that has ever passed through the mind of man.’

This is undoubtedly sound reasoning; and we may add the observation that it should be applied impartially to all methods of research into the origin of religious ideas. The attempt to trace out the long-winding course of any particular idea or practice up to its ultimate source, entangles the explorer in an intricate maze of queer habits and hallucinations, of which the nature and significance have really become undecipherable; the line is crossed, diverted, and unravelled until the clue becomes lost or erased; nor is it possible to stop at any one spot in the journey and proclaim that the source is found. To show that some rite or worship has a clear historical origin, or began within the memory of competent witnesses, is of no avail; the folklorist or the mythologist will so analyse and rearrange the facts as to explain the underlying hallucination which distorted them, or will maintain that the true incident was caught up into the atmosphere of a solar myth, and precipitated again upon earth in the shape of a divine legend. As in the metaphysical order all religions may be melted down into pantheism; so there is hardly any institution or article of faith, or ‘thought that wanders through eternity,’

that may not be gently and reverently relegated through many transformations to its far-off birthplace among the elementary fictions or experiences of humanity; it can be provided with a home in the prolific bosom of some capacious theory. Totemism has been disinterred by Professor Sayce from the ruins of ancient Babylon; and the heraldic monsters of our own day might easily claim descent from the tribal worship of animals; the spider story may be nothing else but a totemistic impulse moving in Robert Bruce; and the horror of cats which possesses a distinguished soldier of our own day may be plausibly identified with the superstitious awe felt by earlier heroes in the presence of animals that were taboo. All warriors, indeed, are said to be themselves taboo by reason of their sacred profession; insomuch that it has been gravely asserted that an ordinance prevailing among certain fighting tribes of the Hindu Kûsh, which enjoins abstinence from women during war time, is a sort of taboo, although a more practical motive lies very ready to hand.

It is easy, indeed, to show that the scientific folklorist often rides his hobby too hard and too far, and does violence to the evolutionary principle, when he uses it to prove that some modern rite or rule, which can be accounted for historically or by common sense, is allied by descent to a savage custom, nationalised and modified by changing environments. On the other hand some of Professor Max Müller's illustrations of his general thesis, that 'All Vedic gods, nay, all Aryan gods, were in the beginning physical,' may still be received, even by good comparative mythologists, with respectful hesitation. That a large number of the divine shapes and legends are mainly personifications and poetic remains of natural appearances and forces is undeniable; but the determined application of etymological analysis, as if it were an infallible instrument or chemical test, produces results which strain the credit of an otherwise legitimate process. We cannot here enter upon questions of high scholarship; but we may refer our readers to the section in which, after pronouncing Leda to be a representative of the grey dawn, the Vedic Suranyû, the writer tells us why he is 'as strongly convinced as ever' that in the name of Helena we have a remnant of the 'Vedic Saramâ, a near relation of Saranyû.' Yet the abduction of women and disputes over beautiful brides have been frequent causes of fighting in all rude ages; and who is to assure us that Homer's story is not historically founded

on some such very probable fact? Again, the watchdog, who guards the gate of a house or village, has been known everywhere; nor does the legend which posted him at the gate of Hell seem to need any deeper explanation than universal custom transferred from the upper to the lower world. Professor Max Müller, however, insists in this book on his well-known view that the word Kerberos is connected with the name of night (Sárvarî), of which he is said to be a representative.

‘If,’ he goes on to say, ‘it be asked what could be the meaning of the fight of Hérakles with Kerberos, and of his dragging him forth from Hades if only for a short time, that is a question difficult to answer in any case. But there is no reason why it should not have arisen from some proverbial saying that the rising sun had grappled with the darkness of the night, and let it fall into the abyss the very moment he himself had risen to the sky victorious.’

There is certainly no reason why such conjectures should not be hazarded; although the eminent scholar who makes them must be aware that he has thereby quitted his own special domain of high scholarship, and has generously offered battle upon the open field of ingenious guesswork and unverifiable probabilities, where all suggestions may pass current at an equal value.

We must be content, however, with passing rapidly over a book in which the author throws down a bold challenge to his numerous adversaries, and fairly offers to renew the battle upon well-known ground. Literature and philology rely for evidence on the past; with the present they have little to do; the Solar Myth finds slender warranty among the ascertainable beliefs and worship of the contemporary savage. The folklorist and the traveller among wild folk undertake to compare and correct the traditions and records of the past by actual observation of primitive societies; they do not reject Vedic texts or Greek fables, they seek rather to reconcile classic paganism with modern folklore and barbarous superstitions, and to explain the grand procession of religious ideas, the long history of human credulity, upon a system that will include all periods and peoples. We must express a doubt whether any complete synthesis of religious evolution is possible, and whether the modern mind, which is unsatisfied with anything that is not consistent, precise, and logical, is a fit instrument for hewing into symmetrical shape the rude conglomerate blocks of superstition in the dark ages. In every chain of

proof there are always missing links which have to be supplied at haphazard; in the piecing together of a great jumble of miscellaneous facts there are many which cannot be fitted in, are anomalous, or even contradictory, and which must be rejected as spurious or silently thrown aside. They are naturally valued according to the use that can be made of them, so that upon this system a story extracted from some ancient writer, or the metaphor of an Indo-Aryan hymn, ranks equally with the latest myth-makings of Polynesia or Guiana.

Some of our readers may consider that our conclusions are too sceptical, and that the construction of trustworthy hypotheses upon materials carefully tabulated, assorted and cemented, is well within the resources of science. We agree that the immense information available in these days can be arranged upon general plans, and that the broad lines of developement followed by religious ideas can be demarcated, mainly because human imagination, like human inventiveness in dealing with things social and political, has always kept within certain definite channels of causation. But anyone who desires fairly to realise the difficulty of tracing any particular story, fact, or fancy to its actual origin, may do so by selecting some quaint custom or belief which has survived to our own day, with a clear historic pedigree, and considering what likelihood there would be of tracing it back to its real source, without the aid of authentic history. Who could ever discover, by the comparative method, the true reason why Guy Faux is carried round on November 5, why the curfew tolls the knell of parting day, why oak sprigs are worn on May 29, or even primroses on a fixed date in April? A strong savour of myth and totemism could probably be detected in all these things, and in others that might be easily added. Again, it is quite possible to bring within the sphere of taboo and totemism some of the chief rites and ceremonies of the three great historical religions, and indeed the evolution of belief is carried up to this point, in certain cases, by Mr. Jevons and others. Yet if we suppose the true record of the origin of Christianity and Islam, or even of Buddhism, to have been entirely lost, what a completely false and misleading theory regarding the causes and circumstances which governed the rise and growth of these rites and creeds might have been constructed out of their connexion with deep-rooted aboriginal instincts, out of fantastic analogies, and a philosophy which leans largely upon imaginative subtlety!

The attempt to solve the problem of origins requires, as Renan has said, a keen eye to discriminate between things certain, probable, and plausible, a profound sense of the realities of life, and the faculty of appreciating strange and remote psychological situations. And even with all these rare qualities, it is very difficult to attain certitude in the problem's solution. There must be always wide gaps and obscure interspaces where one can only measure possibilities, draw cautious inferences, note half-seen indications, and choose the likelier clue among many. All that can be done, for the most part, is to apprehend clearly the general course and character of prehistoric religion, to mark its outlines and prominent features, to catch its tone and colour, and so to preserve some true impression of social and intellectual states through which the foremost nations of the world have passed, and which still survive among many races for whose welfare the British people are directly responsible.

ART. X.—1. *Parliamentary Papers: South Africa.* 1896 and 1897.

2. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Assembly of Cape Colony on the Jameson Raid into the Territory of the South African Republic.* Capetown: 1896.

3. *Cecil Rhodes: a Biography and Appreciation.* By IMPERIALIST. With Personal Reminiscences by Dr. JAMESON. London: 1897.

4. *South Africa as it is.* By F. REGINALD STATHAM. London: 1897.

IT is eminently desirable that the public should have an accurate, if general, conception of what has really been happening in South Africa since the autumn of 1895. In the early part of 1896 the popular mind was keenly excited by events of a dramatic character, which called for the immediate action of our statesmen. Both people and statesmen, it has since transpired, were at that time, and for a considerable time afterwards, without knowledge as to the true nature of these events, and the part played in them by persons in public and conspicuous positions—positions which entitled them, *prima facie* at all events, to the confidence with which Englishmen are accustomed to regard their public men.

As time has progressed, abundant evidence has come to light bearing upon the transactions of the winter of 1895–96 till a point has been reached where the public judgement is in greater danger of being smothered by masses of detail than of suffering from lack of material. Yet to those who have taken the pains to study the whole story of recent events, and to keep their minds free from the violent prejudices of Mr. Rhodes's extreme partisans on the one side and of Mr. Labouchere on the other side, that story stands out in great simplicity and clearness. Indeed, the judicial inquirer is surprised that in so much bitter controversy there should at last be so little dispute about facts. What concerns us here is how these facts should be regarded. The criminal courts, committees of investigation, the Governments concerned, have to consider what shall be done. They are bound to regard the expediencies as well as the equities involved. More important, perhaps, in the long run than the treatment of individuals by courts, cabinets, and committees is it that a sound public opinion

should form itself and make itself heard upon the story as a whole. Here the judgement of the public will not and ought not to depend upon the view that may be taken as to some particular item or detail of evidence, as it is slowly extracted by an almost interminable inquiry, of a refusal by one witness to answer a question, of another to produce a disputed telegram, of the retailing by a third of some half-forgotten conversation. What is undisputed as regards facts is amply sufficient to justify certain conclusions, and to certain very definite and very decided conclusions, unless we are much mistaken, the healthy mind of the British public will come.

In April 1896, we considered very fully in these pages the causes which had brought about the existing position of affairs in South Africa and the rights and duties of Great Britain in that part of the world.* On the present occasion we shall confine ourselves to that special chapter of South African history which opened in the autumn of 1895 with the agreement between Uitlander residents (British subjects and foreigners) in the South African Republic and eminent personages in Cape Colony, to accomplish their objects by the employment of military force against the Transvaal Government and constitution. We have not yet seen the full consequences which are to result from the making, the failure, and the ultimate disclosure of these projects. Embittered feelings between English and Dutch fellow-subjects, strained relations between Great Britain and the Transvaal, massacres of colonists by natives, native risings vigorously suppressed, and a most unfortunate and unnecessary stirring of popular sentiments of national antagonism in England and Germany, are some of the fruits already reaped.

Much mischief has been done. More, perhaps, may yet follow. But no advantage is to be gained either as regards past or future by shirking investigation. We have no sympathy with those who have all along contended that public inquiry into recent events in South Africa was to be deprecated, and, indeed, that the Imperial Government would have acted well and wisely if, after the conviction of Dr. Jameson and his associates before the Lord Chief Justice of England, it had determined to let bygones be bygones, and to refuse to lend its sanction to any further investigation.

At that trial it was proved that a gross outrage had been

* *Edinburgh Review*, April 1896, vol. clxxxiii. p. 273.

committed by Englishmen on a friendly State. Moreover, the good faith of the nation lay, rightly or wrongly, under grave suspicion. The House of Assembly at Capetown had in May 1896 appointed a committee, before which evidence had been produced tending to implicate high officials in the Imperial and Colonial public service in aiding and abetting an elaborate conspiracy to overturn the government and constitution of the Transvaal, and which threw strong suspicion, to say the least of it, on their complicity with the raid itself.

A majority of the Capetown Committee, whilst regretting that Mr. Rhodes had not chosen to come before them, declared that

‘they could come to no other conclusion than that the Right Hon. C. J. Rhodes was thoroughly acquainted with the preparations that led to the inroad. That in his capacity as controller of three great joint-stock companies—the British South Africa Company, the De Beers Consolidated Mines, and the Gold Fields of South Africa—he directed and controlled the combination which rendered such a proceeding as the Jameson Raid possible.’

The Cape House of Assembly had itself, when appointing the above-named committee, unanimously requested the Imperial Government ‘to institute a searching investigation ‘into the originating and carrying out of the inroad,’ and to ‘establish effective measures, as regards the future administration of Rhodesia, or otherwise to render impossible ‘a repetition of any such event.’ The Government of the Transvaal had in the following month pressed, not unnaturally, upon her Majesty’s Government the taking steps to prosecute Messrs. Rhodes, Beit, and Rutherford Harris, as had already been done with regard to Dr. Jameson and his accomplices, and had expressed its conviction ‘that it is ‘urgently necessary that the entire control and administration, as well civil as military, should be taken out of the ‘hands of the British South Africa Company and transferred ‘to her Majesty’s Government.’ The Chartered Company, on its side, had also at a very early date, whilst Mr. Rhodes was still in Africa—viz., on January 9, 1896—requested the Imperial Government to institute a searching and thorough inquiry into the circumstances connected with the raid; and the Secretary of State had again and again undertaken at the earliest possible moment to cause thorough investigation to be made into the whole subject.

Nevertheless, when Parliament met last January a strong feeling became manifest in a portion of the Press and in

influential quarters in favour of dropping all further inquiry. 'Let bygones be bygones,' it was said. Let what might have been done, let who might be suspected, a wise statesmanship would bury the past. Why wash our dirty linen in public? it was asked. Fortunately for the good name of the nation the Government resisted this pressure. It is better that dirty linen should be washed in public than not at all. And Mr. Chamberlain was not the man to pursue the policy of 'hushing up' so energetically pressed upon him, and to stifle investigation which was rendered necessary by the general suspicion in which the whole story was wrapped, which had been expressly demanded by the Cape Parliament, the Transvaal Government, and the London directors of the Chartered Company, and which had been repeatedly promised by the Secretary of State himself.

On the day after the conviction of Dr. Jameson, Mr. Chamberlain had at once intimated his intention to ask the House of Commons to appoint a committee, and at the earliest moment of the present session that committee was duly nominated. Mr. Chamberlain himself would have preferred to have had the matter investigated by a body of a more judicial nature than a House of Commons committee, and one which would have made the investigation its chief business till its labours were ended. The Opposition, however, and Sir William Harcourt favoured a House of Commons committee. It was, of course, desirable that the House should act unanimously, and accordingly a committee, strong if we consider its personal composition, was appointed to investigate and report upon, first, the circumstances attending the raid; and, secondly, the administration of the Chartered Company.

This committee began its labours on February 16, and has accordingly sat for five months. During that time it has sat on thirty days, nominally for three hours a day. As a matter of fact, its sittings have frequently been much under three hours, and the time devoted to taking evidence has been much less still, owing to the necessity of the members of the committee having to discuss various points amongst themselves. Let us assume, however, that it has sat for ninety hours in the session—*i.e.* at the rate of eighteen hours per month. A judicial tribunal would in three weeks have given as much time to the inquiry as the committee has in five months. But the committee sits only during the session—*i.e.* for seven months it will not sit at all. So that we are far within the mark in stating that in

six weeks a judicial tribunal would do the work which it will take the House of Commons Committee two years to do!

There is no doubt something to be said against statutory quasi-judicial commissions, for which of course the Parnell Commission is the most conspicuous precedent. But on the other hand Englishmen, who fortunately are accustomed to a high standard in judicial inquiries, have been disappointed at the want of thoroughness, the lack of dignity, and the lamentable partisanship which from time to time have been manifested in the recent proceedings. Mr. Labouchere's action in writing to a newspaper an attack upon those very persons into whose conduct he was judicially inquiring cannot be too severely condemned. On the other side, the impatience with which Sir William Harcourt's very necessary and proper cross-examination of the Chartered Company's witnesses was received, and the antagonistic attitude assumed by certain members towards other witnesses whose evidence was probably distasteful to Mr. Rhodes and his friends, were far from edifying. In short, it is clear that the political partisanship of the House of Commons, and the impossibility of combining with the judicial character the advocate's business of examination and cross-examination of witnesses, unfit its committees from adequately performing quasi-judicial functions of this kind. Inevitably the inquiry degenerates into a party contest.

We have said that the main facts of the South African story, to which we shall shortly refer, are now hardly in dispute. It is an additional subject for satisfaction that the law applicable to the chief incident in this story has also been put beyond all question by the lucid charge to the jury of the Lord Chief Justice of England. Lord Russell, assisted by Mr. Justice Hawkins and Baron Pollock, formed as strong a criminal court as could be wished, to try the charges against Dr. Jameson and the military officers associated with him in the Raid.

The offence was the preparation and fitting out of an expedition from British territory against a friendly State. The taking part in the expedition was merely evidence of the preparation and fitting out, which the statute had constituted the gist of the offence. The offence, therefore, might have been committed by British subjects anywhere, and not merely on the borders of the colony from which the expedition started. Men who conspired to forward this expedition, whether they were in London, in Paris, or in

Capetown, had broken the law just as clearly as those at Mafeking. In the eyes of the judges who tried and sentenced the defendants, they could not be regarded as half-instructed men who almost unawares had blundered across the provision of an Act of Parliament. Here was no mere technical breach of the law. Dr. Jameson held the high and responsible public position of Administrator of Rhodesia. Sir John Willoughby and his associates held commissions in the household and other regiments of the army, and for months before the raid itself they had made use of their official positions to prepare a military attack upon a neighbour State. We now know beyond all cavil that the raid was no mere outburst of hot-headed enthusiasm. The political head of Rhodesia had for months past, in concert with officers of the British army, been collecting arms, storing provisions, inquiring into the military strength and equipments of the Boers, and of the arsenal at Pretoria—in short, taking the necessary preliminary steps to carry out a military *coup de main* upon the Boer capital, when the right moment should arrive. After crossing the frontier and before meeting the forces of the Transvaal, Dr. Jameson and his officers were on two occasions ordered in the Queen's name to return, one message having been sent by the Secretary of State, the other by the Governor of the Cape. Both were disregarded, and the advance continued till the surrender at Krügersdorp, after a considerable number of men had been killed and wounded. In some countries, as the Lord Chief Justice observed, those made prisoners would have been very speedily dealt with. In this case the Transvaal authorities handed them all over to the British Government to be tried by their own countrymen. Their leaders were alone put upon their trial. They were convicted, there being in fact no defence, and were sentenced by the court to terms of imprisonment, without hard labour, for periods ranging from fifteen months to five months.

It is not usual in this country for the court to take into consideration in sentencing prisoners the indirect consequences of conviction, such as the loss of situation or reputation may probably entail. Here, in truth, the main punishment as regards the officers was the loss of their commissions, and if this had fallen upon men who were merely blindly carrying out the orders of immediately superior officers, that punishment would undoubtedly have been severe. In themselves the sentences of the court seem lenient; but they

were immediately modified by the Home Secretary, who explained in the House of Commons that sentencing was the function of judges, not of ministers, but who next day practically altered these sentences by making the prisoners first-class misdemeanants only. But even yet justice was to be still further tempered with mercy. Dr. Jameson's ill-health in detention brought about his complete release when he had undergone, we think, about half the term imposed by the court; and Sir John Willoughby's was shortened apparently because, his evidence being needed before the House of Commons Committee, it would have been painful to him and them that he should have appeared before them as a prisoner.

The leniency with which the public has regarded the authors of so much evil is due very largely, it must be remembered, to the original misapprehension of the facts of the case. The Raid, as the circumstances attending it have become gradually known, bears a very different aspect to that originally accepted by nine-tenths of the people. When the news was flashed along the wires that Jameson with a few hundred Englishmen had burst across the frontier of the Transvaal to the rescue of English women and children at Johannesburg, who were calling for his assistance in their imminent peril from armed and infuriated Boers, and that, even whilst one read the news, in all probability Englishmen and Dutchmen were actually contending in the field, British patriotism as a matter of course rallied warmly to the side of its own countrymen. The country wished for the success of its own arms, and when a day or two later the German Emperor thrust himself forward as the friend of our enemies an explosion of popular indignation took place. The Government did well in at once sending to sea the special service squadron, thus taking the most appropriate step to convince all whom it might concern that no difficulties between ourselves and the Transvaal would render admissible the interference of foreign powers in the internal affairs of South Africa. In the Jameson Raid the Poet Laureate saw another Charge of Balaclava, and many people, perhaps of more prosaic temperaments, were ready enough to condemn the Colonial Secretary for repudiating, as he did from the very first instant in no measured terms, the 'filibustering' action of Dr. Jameson and his men. Why, asked Mr. Chamberlain's critics, should Englishmen be condemned unheard? Fortunate, indeed, is it for this country that at a time of such excitement the Colonial Office was

presided over by a strong man who knew his own mind. Two days before the surrender at Krügersdorp Mr. Chamberlain had telegraphed to Sir Hercules Robinson that Dr. Jameson had committed 'an act of war—or, rather, filibustering'—against a foreign and friendly State, for which the circumstances afforded no shadow of excuse. If the Chartered Company 'had set Dr. Jameson in motion or were privy to 'his marauding action,' the Government would be compelled to consider whether the 'charter should not be revoked and 'the corporation dissolved.' The Secretary of State in vain invited Mr. Rhodes—the Prime Minister of the Cape and the Managing Director of the Chartered Company—to join him in repudiating these lawless proceedings of his subordinates. Maybe the voice of Mr. Rhodes would have secured more attention from Dr. Jameson and officers of the British army than even the commands of their Sovereign transmitted to them by her Secretary of State and her representative at the Cape!

Mr. Chamberlain little knew then of the circumstances since brought to his knowledge and to that of the public. His despatches and his speeches conclusively show the ignorance in which the Colonial Office had been kept as to the part which had been played by leading officials of the Chartered Company. Badly informed as he was from the very first, he did the right thing in dissociating the Imperial Government from the action of that company and its officials, avoiding the mistake into which so many fell at the time, of identifying with the fortunes of its manager British patriotism and national feeling. It lies at the very root of the true understanding of the troubled events of the last two years in South Africa and of the present position, to realise that the difficulties with the Transvaal have been difficulties between that State and the officials of the Chartered Company rather than between that State and Great Britain, as represented by her statesmen, governors, and public servants. To the Chartered Company has been delegated, under the sanction of Parliament, wide authority over large districts of South Africa, but the relations between the Empire and foreign States are not in its hands, and it is intolerable that its officials should behave as if the sole duty of the British Government was to give the sanction of British force to any action which ambitious managers of that corporation may choose to take.

To-day the public is no longer in the dark. Krügersdorp was no Balaclava. The Raid was no gallant rush to the rescue,

but the premeditated part of a long-planned scheme framed with other objects than the safety of women and children. The inquiry before the House of Commons Committee has thrown little more light upon the circumstances of the Raid than was to be gathered or very clearly inferred from the evidence produced before the committee at Capetown. Still, in a case of so much importance to individuals, it was clearly most desirable that direct proof, so far as possible, should be given, and that persons affected by it should be invited to give their explanations. Moreover, the evidence and report of the Cape Committee had not received in the English press the full notice due to their great importance, and consequently the general public was still largely left in its original belief, that the whole trouble had arisen out of the gallant, if hasty, action of 'Dr. Jim,' in responding to an invitation from Johannesburg to advance to the rescue of English women and children from well-armed and infuriated Boers. The advance across the frontier, it will be remembered, took place on Sunday evening, December 29, 1895; the letter of invitation to Dr. Jameson from leading citizens in Johannesburg was published in the 'Times' of January 1, 1896, having been telegraphed on December 30 to that paper by Dr. Rutherford Harris, the secretary of the Chartered Company, upon the instructions of Mr. Rhodes. The history of this letter to Dr. Jameson is a very curious one. It was obtained by Dr. Jameson himself when at Johannesburg, in November 1895, from Colonel Rhodes and four other leaders of the Reform party, and was purposely left undated in order that the date might be put in, when in Dr. Jameson's judgement the time for acting upon it had arrived. On December 20, Mr. Rhodes asked Dr. Harris to telegraph to Johannesburg for a copy of this letter, and the copy he received bore that date—December 20. This date Dr. Harris did not altogether understand, so when on Saturday, December 28, he received a telegram from Dr. Jameson that the letter was to be published at once, he thought he would be carrying out Dr. Jameson's wishes by inserting the date of December 28, so as to suit the time of the actual invasion, and by further stating to the 'Times' that the letter of invitation had just been sent to Dr. Jameson at Mafeking. Thus a letter written to Dr. Jameson at his own request, six weeks before, was made to assume the appearance of an urgent demand for the assistance of Dr. Jameson's forces in the imminent peril to which the harmless English inhabitants of the

mining city had become suddenly exposed. This letter was read by Dr. Jameson to the troopers before the advance took place. Mr. Rhodes has explained that he himself did not notice the changes of date in the letter, and that in directing it to be sent to the 'Times,' he had no intention whatever of conveying that that invitation was the immediate cause of Jameson's advance. Jameson had made the raid without his, Rhodes's, authority, but, subject to that remark, he, Mr. Rhodes, declared himself quite ready to accept the findings as to facts of the Cape Committee.

Amongst the findings of the Cape Committee, amply supported by documentary evidence, and accepted, as we have seen, by Mr. Rhodes, it is worth while to call attention to the following :—

'In addition to finding large sums of money, which to a great extent financed the revolutionary movement in Johannesburg, it is in evidence that the British South Africa Company, by means of its agents and employes, imported and smuggled large quantities of arms and ammunition from this colony to the South African Republic. During the months of October, November, and December 1895 large quantities of arms were forwarded by the British South Africa Company over the Cape Government railways to Kimberley and Mafeking,'

whence their distribution was superintended by the company's agents; Maxim guns, ammunition and rifles, concealed in drums of oil, being thus consigned ultimately to Johannesburg. It is now fully admitted, as, indeed, after the documents brought to light it was impossible to deny, that an armed revolution had been long prepared; arms had been introduced, provisions had been stored to enable Johannesburg to stand a siege, and by the time the Raid occurred, expenses on a very large scale had been incurred, the contribution of Mr. Beit alone, one of the Chartered Company's directors, amounting to about 200,000*l.*, and that of Mr. C. J. Rhodes to about 60,000*l.* But what is common knowledge now was entirely unsuspected by the British public in the early part of 1896, when the rescue theory of the Raid prevailed. Sir Hercules Robinson, the Colonial Office, and all, or at least several, of the Chartered Company's directors were in ignorance as complete as that of the public, of the plans of Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Beit, and the Johannesburg Reformers.

It is worth while now to call to mind Mr. Chamberlain's despatch of February 4, 1896. In this he explained very clearly the grievances of the Uitlanders, observed that when the first rumour of a contemplated raid reached him it

had seemed 'almost incredible,' recapitulated the energetic measures of prevention which he had taken, and mentioned the magnanimity, the wisdom, and the moderation shown by President Kruger in handing over the raiders for trial in England. But what in the light of later knowledge makes this despatch so important is contained in paragraphs 8, 11, and 12 :—

'Up to the time of the Raid the Uitlander leaders had kept within the limits of constitutional agitation, but their success in this direction was not encouraging. . . . It seems to be proved that, whatever may have been the secret schemes of individuals, the agitation, as the great majority of the Uitlanders understood it, and to which they gave their sympathy, was one proceeding on the only lines on which an agitation against an organised Government of military strength can proceed with any hope of success—that is to say, it was an open and above-board agitation, prosecuted without violence and within the lines of the Constitution.'

Par. 13 shows the spirit in which any inquisitiveness on the part of the Imperial authorities would have been received in certain influential quarters :—

'It is needless to say that her Majesty's Government had watched the progress of these events with careful attention. Apart from their legitimate concern for the interests of so large a body of British subjects, they could not but feel a keen anxiety lest the agitation should degenerate into a contest with the constituted authorities; but there was no ground for their active intervention. The Uitlanders and their organs had always deprecated the introduction into the dispute of what is called in South Africa the "Imperial factor." To have intervened uninvited seemed impracticable, and calculated only to be injurious to the prospects of a peaceful and satisfactory settlement.'

We now know of course that the Colonial Office no less than the public was completely deceived. Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Selborne have both stated exactly what they knew and what they believed at the time the Raid took place, and it need scarcely be said that the public attaches the most implicit confidence to their words. Indeed, the slight difference between their account of the conversation in August 1895 at the Colonial Office and that given by Dr. Harris is no greater than is almost certain to arise in the recollection of a conversation nearly two years old by persons who look at its subject matter from a different point of view. The Colonial Office at home, and its representative at the Cape, after all their intercourse with Chartered Company officials, believed merely that there was brewing in Johannesburg much discontent amongst the Uitlanders,

and that this might, sooner or later—perhaps in a few weeks' time, perhaps not for a couple of years—break out into insurrection. They did not know who its leaders were. They had no idea of the 'Jameson plan' or the contemplated 'Jameson Raid,' nor had they the slightest suspicion that the Johannesburg revolution was being largely controlled and financed from Capetown.

Now in one sense all this is eminently satisfactory; yet in another sense it is surely very much the reverse! How comes it that so wide-reaching a conspiracy could have been carried to such a length, that such a large part of the programme should have been successfully carried out, without the knowledge of our high Imperial officials at home and abroad? Whilst honourable, active, and able ministers in Downing Street think that in the course of years a revolution—a perfectly *bona-fide* one—might break out in Johannesburg, the plot was already carefully drawn out, the city armed and provisioned, the troops collected, and the day fixed. The Prime Minister of Cape Colony was, of course, the mainspring of the plan. He was in daily communication with the Governor of the Cape and with other Imperial officials. He was in a second degree a minister of the Queen. He had colleagues, who had surely a right to be trusted by their chief. It is not our business here to discuss the conduct of individuals where any defence can yet be made. But Mr. Rhodes has admitted the charges brought against him. His policy was to confide only in those (whether Imperial officers or not) of whose devotion to himself or to the Chartered Company he felt sure. Of course he did not tell Mr. Chamberlain. Of course he did not tell Sir Hercules Robinson. They had duties to the Empire which most assuredly they would perform, even at the risk of loss of an opportunity to the Chartered Company. Thus persons who could not be trusted by Mr. Rhodes were duly hoodwinked, whilst in others he found tools. And so it happened that a conspiracy which should have been exposed and denounced by the Colonial and Imperial Governments owed its ultimate defeat to the rifles of the Boers.

The Raid cannot of course any longer be palliated or defended as it once was. It was, we *now* know, as regards the 'inner circle' of the plot, an essential part of the Johannesburg conspiracy, and it is not right or fair to consider the one without the other. What then is *now* alleged on the part of Mr. Rhodes and his friends to

justify or excuse his action? As time has passed, various defences have been put forward by friends who ought to have been, and who represented themselves as being well informed, as to their chief's objects. One of these, put forward with no little pretension to authority, based Dr. Jameson's sudden inroad upon Mr. Rhodes's knowledge of German intrigues at Pretoria. It was, indeed, fully admitted that it was Mr. Rhodes himself who had made the Raid, his object being to seize at Pretoria certain highly incriminating documents, to expose a dastardly plot, and so save the British Empire from the dangerous machinations of President Kruger with the German Emperor. But nothing of this sort seems any longer to be alleged, and neither Mr. Rhodes nor any other member of the Chartered Company has given any evidence at any stage of the inquiry to support this theory. In its last phase the defence takes high ground. True there was a great conspiracy. True a raid was prepared as part of it. But the circumstances at Johannesburg justified the conspiracy. It was a great pity it did not succeed, for then those whom a technical law now regards as guilty of crime would be honoured as the heroes they are, and the wide scope and large patriotism of the statesmanship of Mr. Rhodes would be acknowledged on all hands. The Raid started at an inopportune moment, and against Mr. Rhodes's wishes. The 'Jameson Raid' was a mistake. It was ill-timed. The 'Jameson Plan' was a statesmanlike conception. The Uitlander grievances made a revolution at Johannesburg the duty of patriotic inhabitants of the mining city. It might, strictly speaking, be illegitimate for British subjects to lend material force to the Revolutionists or Reformers. But think of William III., of Garibaldi, of Colonel Vassos! Their proceedings were scarcely regular, yet how do we regard their actions?

What view, then, does it behove the public to take as to the merit or demerit of these proceedings?

We have thought it right to name at the head of this article the book in which Mr. Rhodes's claim to the gratitude and admiration of his countrymen appears to be put forward with most authority. It could hardly have been written without, at least, the knowledge and sanction of Mr. Rhodes, whose words uttered in private are often brought before us by the anonymous author. Its last chapter, devoted to personal reminiscences of the great statesman, is written by his lifelong friend Dr. Jameson. In this

work Mr. Cecil Rhodes is described as one of the wisest and noblest of Englishmen. He had made money in order to further objects of pure patriotism, rather than to accomplish any end of his own. Indeed, he does not value money for its own sake, but solely as an instrument of power. It has always been his dream to extend the Empire, a dream too often thwarted by an incompetent, or selfish, or parochial-minded British statesmanship. The only hope for South Africa lies in Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company; indeed, the reader could never guess, from 'Imperialist's' account, that Imperial officers or troops had ever lent assistance to the establishment and protection and extension of South African civilisation! The praise sometimes seems extravagant, it must be admitted. On the other hand, it is quite true that, owing to Mr. Rhodes, the bounds of the Empire have been widely extended, and assuredly no one who studies the facts doubts that Mr. Rhodes really does possess in a high degree one quality of greatness—the power of gaining an almost unlimited ascendancy over smaller men. His almost unprecedented wealth, and the quite unprecedented skill with which he wields this favourite 'instrument of power,' would not have sufficed him, were they not united with personal endowments of a very exceptional nature. We have no intention here to follow Mr. Rhodes's career, some portions of which have surely been forgotten or too lightly touched upon by his biographer. But we cannot allow all inquiry into facts to be treated as unnecessary because of the unimpeachable virtues of that great statesman.

'If all the ends he aims at are his country's,
His God's and truth's,'

he will fall, no doubt, 'a blessed martyr;' if he falls at all. As yet such a martyrdom does not seem to be at hand. There is abundant evidence, as we have said, to guide us to certain conclusions as to recent events; and in such circumstances no wise judge will give overwhelming weight to 'mere witnesses to character.'

It is a little dangerous, we are fully aware, to criticise Mr. Rhodes or the Chartered Company.

'The more the work of the Chartered Company,' says 'Imperialist,' 'is looked into, the more favourably it will compare with that of any other similar company; and the day will come—it is not, I think, far distant—when the carping criticism to which the company and its founder have been so long subjected will seem as disgraceful to the

intelligence or the honesty of the carpers, as it is disloyal to the Empire to which they belong.' *

The connexion between the Company and the Empire would appear to be much closer than that between the Empire and its own officials; for at p. 137 we come upon the following very remarkable passage referring to the Raid (the italics are our own):—

'Mr. Rhodes, as Cape Premier, acted *to some extent* without the official knowledge of the High Commissioner, whose approval would have made all these precautions perfectly regular, and who was certainly perfectly aware of the impending revolution at Johannesburg, and *perhaps not altogether ignorant* of the preparations. He, of course, intended also to use Jameson's force to insure the success of the insurrection in the Transvaal.'

And 'Imperialist' goes on to refer approvingly to the unhappy annexation proceedings of Sir T. Shepstone and Sir Bartle Frere. Thus it is 'disloyal' to criticise the late managing director of the Chartered Company; whilst it is patriotic to insinuate that the representative of the Empire at the Cape was accessory before the fact to the Raid!

What, then, is the gist of the case made for Mr. Rhodes and the Chartered Company? We find the same line taken by 'Imperialist,' by Mr. Rhodes's counsel before the House of Commons Committee, and by his friends generally. It is this, that, though technically illegitimate, the conspiracy at Johannesburg and the preparations for the Raid, parts of course of one scheme, were substantially and morally righteous and patriotic steps intended to free the foreign inhabitants of the Transvaal from oppressive tyranny, and at the same time to win for England a new province.

Let us listen for a moment to the advocates of the other side of the question, of whom perhaps the most strenuous is Mr. F. R. Statham. This book is the work of an advocate, not of a judge; but, nevertheless, it assuredly deserves to be read carefully. The Boers are not always just and wise, and our author's prejudices in domestic British politics are so apparent that English readers will be warned against accepting implicitly his authority in matters with which they are less familiar. The late Mr. W. E. Forster is supposed, for instance, to have earned the undying gratitude of English Dissenters by the passing of the Education Act of 1870! Nevertheless, it will frequently be found that the advocate has on his side of the controversy a very for-

* Cecil Rhodes, p. 77.

midable array of facts. We have given 'Imperialist's' claim that the action of his hero and his Company were due to the purest patriotism and the most high-minded statesmanship. This view has been held by no small number of persons, and it is only fair that we should now give Mr. Statham's contention, which, again, is held by many besides himself. According to this view, Mr. Rhodes and those who really decided the policy of the Company had become deeply impressed with the belief that the days of gambling in 'imaginary gold reefs' were nearly over. Gold was not being profitably worked in Rhodesia, and the very existence of his Company seemed to make a new policy necessary. The plan projected, therefore, was—

'the capture of the Witwatersrand gold fields in the Transvaal, and their subjection to precisely the same autocratic authority and control as that which had been established over the Kimberley diamond mines. For the accomplishment of this end three things were requisite—(1) the gradual amalgamation of Johannesburg mining properties into two or three dominating groups; (2) the establishment of Mr. Rhodes in the eyes of the Government and people of Great Britain as a great Imperialist and patriot; and (3) the formulating of such complaints against the Government of the South African Republic as might justify the British Government in intervening on behalf of the foreign population of the Transvaal. Those who are acquainted with the history of the amalgamation of the Kimberley diamond mines, and with the manner in which they are now used for purposes of financial and political control, have been very well able to comprehend the objects that were being pursued in Johannesburg by the heroes of the Kimberley amalgamation. An amalgamation of the Johannesburg mines on the same lines as the Kimberley amalgamation could not fail, if only the needful power of political administration were also present, to make the heads of the amalgamation absolute masters of the gold industry, and of the bodies and souls of all in any way dependent on it. . . .'

The object was, in short, to win for a group of capitalists a monopoly of commercial and political power. 'That is 'the answer to be always given to any question as to Mr. Rhodes's motives in organising and heading a conspiracy 'against the Transvaal.' In support of this policy Mr. Statham declares that the Uitlander grievances were exaggerated or actually trumped up. The Chartered Company's own charge of 50 per cent. on gold profits far exceeded any duties imposed on mining by the Transvaal Government. No one cared a bit about the franchise, the grievance of exclusion having been greatly lessened by the grant of a

* South Africa as it is, p. 265.

vote at elections to the Second Chamber, the education and language difficulties were immensely exaggerated, and could easily have been settled. President Kruger had already done much to better the position of the Uitlanders, and had Mr. Rhodes not attempted the overthrow of Transvaal independence, all their legitimate grievances would long ago have been removed.

We do not know that it is necessary to go into the motives of those who were planning the Raid and insurrection, or into the general question of the virtues and vices of Boer government. There surely can be little doubt that Boer prejudices and retrograde instincts in many ways made their government, if not incompetent, at least very slow to deal with a situation that had rapidly developed. Ideas of government which might suit a population of Dutch farmers were hardly those upon which an immense mining and foreign population could be satisfactorily managed. Still, as facts have slowly come to light, it is no longer possible to deny that Uitlander grievances have been very highly coloured in order to afford justification or excuse for aggression. After all, a few thousand immigrants who have spent some seven or eight years in a foreign country for the sake of making their fortunes rapidly can hardly at once expect their language to be taught in the State schools, and they themselves to be given a preponderance of electoral power. How long was it before Dutch, the language of the immense majority of British subjects, was put on a footing of equality with English in the Cape Colony? These things can only come about slowly, and of course they are infinitely delayed by circumstances which cast suspicion upon the loyalty of those in whose favour the changes are demanded. Mr. Statham places on too high a pedestal the wisdom and rectitude of his Boer clients. On the other hand, 'Imperialist's' portrait of the young English lad of 1870, carelessly dressed, sitting on an upturned bucket at the diamond fields, supervising his Kaffirs engaged in breaking up the yellow earth, whilst his dreamy eyes in imagination already see the map of Africa painted red from the Cape to Cairo, gives, perhaps, undue prominence to the enthusiastic and patriotic ardour of the great speculator. According to general ideas, patriotism consists in the postponement or sacrifice of selfish interests to the interests of one's country. And even in the pages of 'Imperialist' we find no distinct evidence that the governing impulses of Mr. Rhodes are specially altruistic. We do not doubt that this wish to

'paint the map red' is genuine, that with Mr. Rhodes the greatness of the Empire depends solely upon its 'expansion,' even to a disregard of what benefits are to accrue from annexation, and by what methods it is brought about. Whether this passion for territorial acquisition constitutes a valid claim to 'statesmanship,' it is not our purpose here to inquire: let us return to the particular application of this principle attempted at the expense of the South African Republic.

It was established by the publication of documents and by evidence taken at Capetown that an insurrection at Johannesburg and a raid by Dr. Jameson's troops in support of it had been for some time planned by Mr. Rhodes, Dr. Jameson, Mr. Beit, Colonel Rhodes, and others, and that extensive preparations had been made by the middle of December 1895 for carrying the whole scheme into operation. On Monday, December 23, everything seems to have been arranged. The rising was fixed for the following Saturday at midnight, and orders were sent to Jameson by the secretary of the Chartered Company, acting on behalf of Mr. Rhodes and the Company, to start the same evening at eight o'clock, after having cut the telegraph wires. On the Tuesday Jameson was ordered by the aforesaid secretary, Dr. Harris, not to start till the Saturday, all parties apparently being entirely united, not only as to the general scheme, but as to the way it should be carried out—viz. by a Jameson raid in connexion with a simultaneous rising at Johannesburg. On Thursday, however, only some forty-eight hours before effect was to be given to this plan, the hitch about the flag arose in Johannesburg. Some of the Reformers wanted a republic, some the British flag, and accordingly they that day telegraphed to Jameson to postpone operations till Mr. Rhodes had given his pledge that in the new state of affairs contemplated in the Transvaal the authority of the Imperial Government would not be insisted on. The same day, and to the same effect, orders were sent from Harris to Jameson not to start 'till you hear from us again.' On the Saturday Harris again telegraphs to Jameson that little popularity attaches to the movement at Johannesburg, but that Captain Heany will report to him as to affairs there, and that he (Harris) would like to know what Heany says; and Jameson replies about 5 P.M. asking for definite instructions, and stating that unless he hears definitely to the contrary he will leave the next evening. Next morning—Sunday—Jameson again telegraphs that he will start that evening.

These two telegrams, despatched on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning, were received by Dr. Harris at about 10 A.M. on Sunday, and taken to Mr. Rhodes, who wrote out a reply ordering Dr. Jameson not to move. This message, however, was never sent, owing to interruption of communication by wire; and it does not seem that when, on the Monday, communication was restored, Mr. Rhodes availed himself of it, or took any means whatever to recall Dr. Jameson or to disavow the incursion.*

The hitch at Johannesburg proved to be the ruin of the combination on which the whole plan turned; and the postponement which the flag question rendered advisable was, as the time approached, found in Johannesburg to be eminently desirable on other grounds. Dr. Wolff, a friend of Mr. Hammond, both of them American citizens and active promoters of the movement at Johannesburg, has recently explained to the House of Commons Committee that the Boers at Pretoria were becoming suspicious. They had assembled for their Christmas Nachtmahl, entirely unsuspecting of the treachery which the English, German, and American residents amongst them were planning. Rumours, however, began to get abroad, and the Boers had not dispersed, according to the usual custom, to their houses. Clearly it would be impossible at that moment to surprise and overwhelm Pretoria. We know the rest. There was a raid, but there was no insurrection, and the Boers with great ease took prisoners Dr. Jameson and his whole force, handing them over to the Imperial authorities and their Government, and prosecuting in the Transvaal the leaders of the insurrectionary movement at Johannesburg.

Surely much trouble has been wasted in discussing the question of Mr. Rhodes's responsibility for the Raid. If he forbade its starting when it did (as to which a good deal might be said), that was not because he disapproved of the proceeding, but because the moment appeared to be inopportune and not to warrant success. Nothing can be more certain than that the policy of the Raid and insurrection was Mr. Rhodes's policy. Dr. Jameson and Sir John Willoughby were his agents in carrying it out—though,

* It is clear from Mr. Rhodes's telegrams to London after knowledge of Dr. Jameson's Raid but before the surrender, that his great object was not to recall Dr. Jameson but to get Mr. Chamberlain's support to his, Rhodes's, policy, and to win South Africa for England.

maybe, it was their blunder, not his, that caused the fiasco. In the last few hours of a plot which had been prepared for months it became, possibly, expedient, in Mr. Rhodes's mind, to change the dates and times fixed for firing the train which he and others had so carefully laid. Dr. Jameson did not wish to postpone the incursion for more than a day after the date originally named. This at most seems to be the distinction to be drawn between the case of Mr. Rhodes and the case of Dr. Jameson.

As regards the judgement of the public, then, in the matter of complicity both stand on very similar ground. If the policy pursued was an immoral and a dishonourable one, public condemnation, whatever may be the case as to legal penalties, will fall more heavily upon the leader than upon the follower. Dr. Jameson was the instrument of Mr. Rhodes and the servant of the Chartered Company. We cannot, indeed, think that a man in the high position of administrator to a company endowed by the State with such high prerogatives should have no sense of responsibility beyond that of agent to a commercial undertaking and personal loyalty to its chief. But the position of Mr. Rhodes was a very different and a much higher one. He was a Privy Councillor of the Queen, Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, owing responsibility to the Empire at large, and confidence to the Queen's representative at the Cape and to her Secretary of State in London. He was associated with colleagues who were entitled to share his responsibilities in matters affecting the welfare of Cape Colony. He had fellow directors on the Board of the Chartered Company. Now all these persons were grossly deceived. The plot was hatched behind their backs. His confidants were chosen amongst those alone whose interests seemed to make it certain that personal loyalty to him and to the Company would outweigh every other consideration. To Dr. Rutherford Harris, to Mr. Beit, to Colonel Willoughby, to the American and English Reformers at Johannesburg, were revealed the schemes carefully concealed from Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Schreiner, from Mr. Chamberlain and the Colonial Office, from the Duke of Fife and the Duke of Abercorn. To these and others Mr. Rhodes paid the compliment of distrust. As distrusted they were kept very effectually in the dark.

Mr. Rhodes, it will be remembered, arrived in England a few weeks after the failure of his plans; and in February 1896 had a lengthy conversation with Mr. Chamberlain, who

almost immediately afterwards—viz. on February 13—stated in the House of Commons that ‘to the best of his knowledge and belief everybody—Mr. Rhodes, the Chartered Company, the Reform Committee of Johannesburg, and the High Commissioner—were all equally ignorant of the intention or action of Dr. Jameson; and that belief he expressed to the House after having carefully examined all the statements of all the parties concerned.’ Comment is unnecessary. The subsequent discovery of telegrams has enabled Mr. Chamberlain and the public to appraise at their true value the statements of some at least ‘of the parties concerned.’

The consequences resulting from the disclosure of Mr. Rhodes’s responsibility for this aggression upon the South African Republic were inevitable. The Boers felt that they had escaped an imminent danger at the hands of the late Prime Minister of the Cape; and the ignorant and thoughtless favour extended in some quarters to his action and to that of his associates in the plot had the worst possible effect in heightening Boer suspicions and distrust. It was surely, then, the part of our statesmen, in and out of office, and of the responsible portion of our press, to do their best to restore the shaken confidence in our national good faith. To treat the events of December and January 1895–96 as the unfortunate collapse of the patriotic policy of a great statesman, was to do violence to every sentiment of morality in politics, and to postpone the restoration of honourable confidence between the South African Republic and the Empire.

Mr. Chamberlain very wisely recognised from the first that it was far more important in the interests of South Africa to reconcile to each other British and Dutch, violently estranged by these proceedings, than to bring home punishment even to those who deserved it. Mr. Rhodes’s ministry fell, of course, at once, and the resignation of his directorship of the Chartered Company was accepted by his fellow-directors five months later; but whether he really thereupon lost his influence in Rhodesia as completely as Mr. Chamberlain at the time believed may be doubted. Probably President Kruger imagined that Mr. Rhodes’s return to Rhodesia uncensured by the Government at home and loudly applauded by his friends might appear to those on the spot to resemble an informal return to the old state of things. And though Lord Grey had taken Dr. Jameson’s place, and the command of the Chartered Company’s forces had been entrusted to Imperial authorities, it can hardly be sup-

posed that Mr. Rhodes's presence and close association with the conduct of affairs can have had a quieting effect on the aroused suspicions and fears of the Transvaal Government.

The inevitable consequences of mutual distrust and suspicion followed the exposure of the long-hatched schemes of the Chartered Company against the Transvaal. It could not but be that Boer opinion, however mistakenly, largely attributed the danger which their State had escaped to the silent approval, if not to the actual machination, of the British Government. Mr. Chamberlain's endeavour was to reconcile not merely the Transvaal with the Imperial Government, but English and Dutch sentiment throughout the whole of South Africa, and by his success in this direction his administration of South African affairs will ultimately be judged. The difficulties were great. Both on the ultra-Boer and ultra-British side were hot-headed and unreasonable men. Very foolish speeches were made on one side, and complained of on the other. At first almost every movement of British troops near the Transvaal frontier excited Boer suspicion; and, on the other hand, Englishmen have been foolish enough to complain bitterly against the Transvaal Government for fortifying their own capital, so lately threatened by a treacherous surprise. It is an unfortunate necessity of modern diplomacy that foolish, ill-conditioned language, which had much better be ignored altogether, often becomes the subject of official correspondence, and is duly recorded and published in our Blue Books. The chief task, therefore, of Mr. Chamberlain and of President Kruger was to check the intemperate folly of their own countrymen. There is no doubt whatever that President Kruger and the Transvaal Government earnestly desire the maintenance of amicable relations with Great Britain. But, on the other hand, it is probable enough that many of the Boers, with an exaggerated and ridiculous belief in their military power, imagine that they are capable of inflicting defeat on British arms and of rejecting the suzerainty of the Crown. Chauvinism of this kind is of course considered true patriotism amongst the noisy and irresponsible portion of a community naturally rendered indignant by the aggression of which it had so nearly been the victim. Our own Government is equally desirous of peace, but with us also are hot-headed men who would rejoice in a rupture with the Transvaal which would afford an opportunity of bringing back credit (as they are pleased to call it) to British arms. Nothing could be worse for

the interests of both States, and for the whole of South Africa, than war. How far, under certain circumstances, it might suit the interests of individuals is another matter. Men's passions seemed at one time to make war possible, and it is difficult to resist the belief that, as regards the Chartered Company and its allies, there were, not many months ago, powerful influences at work which did not make for peace.

Mr. Chamberlain and President Kruger had, therefore, to stand firm against the noisy clamour of British and Boer 'Jingoism.' What was required between the two Governments was a conciliatory spirit and a conciliatory tone. Assuredly Mr. Chamberlain has never shown the slightest slackness in insisting to the very full upon British rights against the Transvaal, yet he has been fiercely criticised for the humble attitude he is said to have assumed towards the Boer President! According to these critics, Mr. Chamberlain should have discharged ultimatum after ultimatum against the Transvaal Government. Perhaps, having regard to this unfortunate state of feeling in the two countries, it is not strange that there should creep into the despatches an occasional acerbity on the one side and the other which it is certain that the subject matter of the correspondence does not warrant. So the utterly preposterous claim of damages made by the Transvaal Government for the Raid can only be regarded as a sort of 'playing to the gallery'—as a sop thrown to quiet insensate clamour.

The despatches prove that on both sides the two Governments are sincerely anxious at the present time to maintain unchanged the political relations between the Empire and the Transvaal established by the Conventions of 1881 and 1884. In express terms each calls upon the other for the strictest observance of all the provisions of those treaties. Sometimes, indeed, a different interpretation of these provisions is upheld on the one side and the other; but no greater differences have arisen than frequently occur in the diplomatic correspondence of powers which are upon the most amicable terms. We have guaranteed to the Transvaal State (in the later convention called the South African Republic) 'complete self-government subject to the 'suzerainty of her Majesty' upon certain conditions. By the Convention of 1884 new conditions or provisions far more favourable to the Republic were substituted for those of 1881. By that of 1881, for instance, the Imperial Government reserved complete control of the external

relations of the Transvaal, whose diplomatic intercourse with foreign powers was to be carried on through her Majesty's diplomatic officers. By that of 1884, the only restriction upon its foreign relations was contained in Art. IV., which runs as follows :

'The South African Republic will conclude no treaty or engagement with any state or nation other than the Orange Free State . . . until the same has been approved by her Majesty the Queen. Such approval shall be considered to have been granted if her Majesty's Government shall not within six months after receiving a copy of such treaty (which shall be delivered to them immediately on its completion) have notified that the conclusion of such treaty is in conflict with the interests of Great Britain or of any of her Majesty's possessions in South Africa.'

Art. XIII. prevents the Transvaal from imposing differential duties on goods coming from Great Britain or her colonies. Art. XIV. provides that all persons, other than natives, conforming

'themselves to the laws of the South African Republic shall have full liberty, with their families, to enter, travel, or reside in any part of the South African Republic; they shall be entitled to hire or possess houses, manufactories, &c.; to carry on their commerce either in person or by any agents . . . ; and they are not to be subject in respect of their persons or property, or in respect of their commerce or industry, to any taxes, whether general or local, other than those which might be imposed upon citizens of the Republic.'

Thus, whilst Imperial rights are reserved by the retention of the suzerainty and by Art. IV., Art. XIV. is the great charter of the Uitlanders, British and foreign. On the other hand, subject to these conditions, 'complete self-government' is the guaranteed right of the Republic.

When last December the new British agent arrived at Pretoria he was at once met with a difficulty. A section of British residents, 'holding extreme views as to the rights 'and positions of British subjects in the Republic,' refused to take part in the presentation of a general address of welcome because they wished to present one of their own which prominently asserted 'the supremacy of the Empire 'in that part of the world.' This might well seem to the Boers to justify their suspicion that their guaranteed self-government would receive but little respect from supreme Imperial authority, and the British agent therefore most properly declined to receive the address. Mr. Chamberlain, in approving Mr. Greene's conduct, observed that what was probably meant was the 'maintenance of the paramount

‘interests of the Empire in that part of the world,’ a form of expression which, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, expressed the facts of the case.

Important British interests will of course be maintained by the Imperial Government in South Africa as elsewhere. But the frequently repeated assertion that ‘Great Britain is ‘the paramount power of South Africa’ does not at all accurately represent the facts of the case. In India, for example, British sovereignty is ‘paramount.’ In South Africa, Great Britain is one of several powers, German, Portuguese, and Orange Free State, internationally on an equal footing with Great Britain; whilst with the South African Republic her rights are regulated by treaty. There is not the slightest necessity, in order to protect British interests, to appear to arrogate to ourselves rights over other powers which assuredly they are entitled to dispute, and which apparently convey to the Boers a doubt as to our intention to observe in its full purport their own right to self-government.

In several respects the Transvaal Government has exceeded its rights under the conventions. It has endeavoured, independently of Imperial authority, to make treaties for the mutual extradition of criminals with Holland and with Portugal, and it has entered into the Geneva Convention for the due observances of humanity in war. Again, it was not unnatural that the Boer Government, after the dangers that this State had experienced from foreigners, should have recourse to what Irishmen would denounce as coercion laws—Acts to control the press, to expel dangerous aliens, to protect themselves by means of passports and police regulations against an unchecked influx of undesirable immigrants. Mr. Chamberlain has rightly protested with vigour, and ultimately with success, against these infractions of Imperial rights and of the Uitlander charter. The treaties were doubtless very meritorious ones in themselves, but none the less they would have constituted inconvenient precedents had they escaped without protest. The Uitlanders are by Section XIV. to be free as to their movements from all legal restrictions not imposed upon the Boers themselves. In his despatches of March 6, 1897, Mr. Chamberlain brings discussion on these matters to an end by representing to President Kruger that ‘the Republic ‘had failed to give effect in practice to the intention so ‘frequently expressed in public and official utterances of ‘upholding the Convention on the part of the Republic and

‘ of maintaining that good understanding with her Majesty’s Government which is so necessary in the interests of South Africa.’ Mr. Chamberlain carries the whole of his countrymen with him in insisting upon the due observance by the Transvaal of the provisions of the Convention. The Boer infractions were not, indeed, to be weighed in the balance with the injuries committed against Boer rights under the same Convention a year and a half ago. But Mr. Chamberlain had denounced those wrongs, and some of the perpetrators of them had been brought to justice, and he is now fully entitled to claim from the Boers the full performance of their side of the bargain. It is pleasant to be able also to congratulate President Kruger upon his success in prevailing upon his countrymen to yield when they were in the wrong, not by any means always an easy task to men of either British or Dutch blood, as we think both British and Dutch negotiators might more often bear in mind.

When we cast our eyes back over the events of the last two years, and consider the official correspondence between the two Governments, it seems utterly impossible that any rupture of the peaceful relations between them should arise, unless, indeed, either of them is secretly anxious for war. The discussions disclosed by the Blue Books might perhaps be tortured into a pretext, but can by no possibility afford real cause for war. The Imperial Government may be quite right—we think it is—to strengthen the British force in Cape Colony, since the South African Republic thinks it advisable largely to increase its own military power. President Kruger and his friends may naturally think that greater readiness on their part, and a stronger military position at Pretoria a year and a half ago, would have insured them against the aggression of their neighbours. This action is due to distrust, and every effort should be made on our side when military measures are taken to soothe the not unnatural suspicions they may create. If war should break out, whatever may be its real ground or nominal pretext, the two powers will be in fact contending for and against the independence of the South African Republic. They will not really be fighting because some Uitlander has been refused a passport, or because an escaped criminal has been sent back to Portugal for trial. Our Government cannot reiterate too often its fixed determination to respect, and to make its servants respect, the Conventions of 1881 and 1884, and it cannot too clearly disown all sympathy with those

who would by the sheer exercise of British power, right or wrong, overwhelm the Republic, and whatever else may stand in its way, till the map is painted red from Capetown to Cairo. That is the great end, we are told, of Mr. Rhodes's policy. Its patriotism or its wisdom we do not here discuss; we only know that it will be an eternal disgrace to this country if it is accomplished by means of fraud, or by a violent trampling on the rights of others and on our own most solemn pledges.

The excellent appointment of Sir Alfred Milner as Lord Rosmead's successor is evidence of the determination of the Government to combine conciliatory methods and respect for the rights of others with the maintenance of Imperial authority. We shall be greatly surprised if, as time goes on, the influence of the new Governor, and the universal confidence in his ability and singleness of aim, do not produce the happiest results. Already, during the last few weeks, the general tone both at home and in South Africa has improved. It is not merely that the Republic has yielded to the steady pressure of Mr. Chamberlain. President Kruger has certainly, in several matters, shown an admirable spirit of courtesy and conciliation, and we hope that in the speeches of our own politicians due recognition of this behaviour will be made. To release Messrs. Sampson and Davies, and to appoint a holiday and a general observance of the Queen's Jubilee, were very graceful acts on his part. General Joubert attended at the great banquet given at Johannesburg in honour of her Majesty, and the cordial and friendly tone of the speech made on behalf of the President, and of those made by eminent citizens of the Republic, left nothing to be desired. There is no substantial cause of quarrel between the two States, and leading men in both countries may do much, and ought to do their best, to diminish the suspicious and antagonistic spirit in which the danger of a rupture lies.

The House of Commons has imposed upon its Committee the duty of inquiring into the administration of the Chartered Company, but that branch of the investigation has not yet been entered upon, and can hardly now be seriously undertaken before February next. Having regard to the dilatory and unsatisfactory character of the proceedings of this Committee so far, the Government and the House of Commons may well doubt the expediency of prolonging its operations to another session. Yet investigation is urgently required. Rumours and positive statements made by individuals as to

the habitual gross ill treatment of natives have obtained a hearing and require to be thoroughly sifted. What is the truth as to the employment of forced labour in the mining operations of the Chartered and other companies? On the threshold of an official inquiry into these matters, it would hardly be right to discuss them here; for it may be assumed that even if further investigation by the Committee is abandoned, the Government will insist either by sending out a strong commission to take evidence on the spot or in some other way on probing to the bottom allegations of continuing misconduct, odious in itself and deeply discrediting to the British name.

Mr. Chamberlain's telegram to Sir Hercules Robinson of December 31, 1895, has been already quoted. It *has* been proved that the whole authority of the Chartered Company in South Africa was wielded by Mr. Rhodes, and that Mr. Rhodes was not only privy to, but was the mainspring of, the great plot against the South African Republic. How then about the 'demand that the Charter should be 'revoked and the Corporation dissolved'? Here it is evident that a very great deal has to be taken into consideration beyond the misbehaviour of the Chartered Company and its officials. Throughout the whole inquiry no more valuable evidence was given than that of Mr. Schreiner, and Mr. Schreiner declared himself very decidedly against any revocation of the Charter. There should be left to it its private and proprietary rights, its rights over its officials, to make appointments, &c.; 'but there should be on the spot a high 'Imperial officer, paid by the Empire, and not paid at all by 'the Company, who should be in the position of practically 'controlling the whole situation. . . . For the future, if a 'strong, a thoroughly strong man were appointed by the 'Imperial Government, it would give enormous satisfaction 'in South Africa.' Either in this way or in some other, means must be found to prevent the complete subjection of a corporation enjoying wide political powers to those who are concerned only in its commercial and financial interests.

We suppose it is inevitable that public opinion should be for the moment chiefly interested in the many personal questions which the investigations of the House of Commons Committee have raised. For our part we entirely accept, and we believe the vast majority of the public entirely accepts, the explicit statements made by Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Selborne as to their knowledge and their absence of knowledge of what was passing in South Africa. There

is nothing in any evidence that has been produced to weaken in any degree the credit attaching to their testimony. It would have been well indeed if they, and indeed others also, had resented with greater warmth the deceptions which had been practised upon them, surely sufficiently apparent after the publication of the Cape Blue Book. Doubtless they considered that as an investigation was to be held in London, it was not for them to prejudge the trial they had asked for. Amongst his colleagues of the Board no one seems to have been seriously angry with the managing director, though a moment's passing annoyance was displayed by the Duke of Fife's reference to 'this miserable business.'

Amongst the mere instruments of Mr. Rhodes, no wise man would think of looking for any display of resentment. 'Imperialist' has shown us the light in which they regard him. How far or how little he trusted with his complete confidence the minor actors in the plot is uncertain and is of little public importance. What is important is that public opinion should vigorously condemn the whole project in its conception, conduct, and attempted execution. To this project, dishonourable as it was, it was intended to make the nation a party. Happily that intention has been frustrated. It now behoves our Government to take measures to prevent in future the danger which reckless ambition may cause to the following of a wise and just policy, and to the maintenance of the good faith and the good name of the nation.

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ART. I.—*Alfred Lord Tennyson: a Memoir.* By his Son.
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THE biography of a great poet has seldom been so written as to enhance his reputation with the world at large. It is almost always the highest artist whose individuality, so to speak, is least discernible in his work, and who, like some divinity, is at his best when his mind and moods, his lofty purpose and his attitude toward the problems of life, are revealed only through the medium which he has chosen for revealing them to mankind. To lay bare the human side of a poet, to retail his domestic history, and to dwell upon his private relations with friends or family, will always interest the public enormously; but for himself it is often a perilous ordeal. The man of restless erratic genius, cut off in his prime like Byron or Shelley, leaves behind him a confession of faults and follies, while one who has lived long takes the risk of intellectual decline; or else, like Coleridge, Landor, and even Scott, he may in other ways suffer loss of dignity by the posthumous record of failings or mistakes. It is a rare coincidence that in this nineteenth century two poets of the first rank—Wordsworth and Tennyson—should each have passed the natural limit of fourscore years, steadily extending their reputation without material loss of their power, and completely fulfilling the ideal of a life devoted to their beautiful art, free alike from adventures and eccentricities, tranquil, blameless, and nobly dignified.

Such is the life which has been described to us in the Memoir of Alfred Lord Tennyson, by his son. In preparing it he had the singular advantage of very close and uninter-

rupted association for many years with his father, and of thorough acquaintance with his wishes and feelings in regard to the inevitable biography. In a brief preface, finely written, he touches, not without emotion, upon the aims and limitations of the task which it had become his duty to undertake.

‘For my part,’ he says, ‘I feel strongly that no biographer could so truly give him as he gives himself in his own works; but this may be because, having lived my life with him, I see him in every word which he has written; and it is difficult for me so far to detach myself from the home circle as to pourtray him for others. He himself disliked the notion of a long formal biography; . . . however, he wished that, if I deemed it better, the incidents of his life should be given as shortly as might be without comment; but that my notes should be final and full enough to preclude the chance of further and unauthentic biographies.’

We can record no higher praise of the writer than by saying that what he planned has been excellently performed, and that the biography is altogether worthy of its subject. Lord Tennyson has given us a remarkable chronicle of his father’s life from youth to age, illustrated by correspondence that is always interesting and occasionally of supreme value, by anecdotes and reminiscences, by characteristic thoughts and pithy observations—the outcome of the poet’s reflection, consummate literary judgement, and constant intercourse with the best contemporary intellects. He has, moreover, so arranged the narrative as to show the rapid expansion of Tennyson’s strong inborn poetic instinct, with the impressions and influences which moulded its development, maturing and perfecting his marvellous powers of artistic execution.

Alfred Tennyson was born in the pastoral village of Somersby, amid the Lincolnshire wolds; and he spent many holidays on the coast at Mablethorpe, where he acquired that passion for the sea which has possessed so many poets. The atmosphere of a public school favours active emulation and discipline for the outer world; but to a boy of sensitive and imaginative temperament it is apt to be uncongenial, so we need not be sorry that Tennyson was spared the experience. At first, like most men of his temperament who go straight from private tuition to a University, he felt solitary and depressed—‘the country is so disgustingly level, the revelry of the place so monotonous, the studies of the University so uninteresting, so matter-of-fact.’ But there was about him a distinction in mind and body that soon marked him out

among his fellows ('a kind of Hyperion,' writes Fitzgerald), uniting strength with refinement, showing much insight into character, with the faculty of brief and pointed sallies: 'We were looking one day at the portrait of an elderly politician in his bland family aspect. A. T. (with his eye-glass): It looks rather like a retired panther. So true.'*

He was an early member of the Society yeleft the Apostles, which included many eager and brilliant spirits, whose debates were upon political reform, the bettering of the people's condition, upon morals, religion, and those wider and more liberal views of social needs that were foremost at a period when the new forces were just mustering for attack upon the old entrenchment of Church and State. Edward Fitzgerald's notes and Tennyson's own later recollections are drawn upon in this book for lively illustrations of the sayings and doings of this notable group of friends, and for glimpses of their manner of life at Cambridge. Here he lived in the choice society of that day, and formed, among other friendships, an affectionate attachment to Arthur Hallam, who afterwards became engaged to his sister, and in whose memory the famous poem was written. Hallam seems to have been one of those men whose extraordinary promise and early death invest their brief and brilliant career with a kind of romance, explaining and almost justifying the pagan notions of Fate and divine envy.

In June 1829 Tennyson scored his first triumph by the prize poem on Timbuctoo, which, as he said many years afterwards, won the medal to his utter astonishment, for it was an old poem on Armageddon, adapted to Central Africa 'by a little alteration of the beginning and the end.' Arthur Hallam wrote of it on September 2, 1829: 'The splendid imaginative power which pervades it will be seen through all hindrances. I consider Tennyson as promising fair to be the greatest poet of our generation, perhaps of our century'—a remarkably far-reaching prophecy to have been built upon so slender a foundation. Out of his 'horror of publicity,' as he said, he committed it to Merivale for declamation in the Senate House. In 1830 appeared Tennyson's first volume of poems, upon which Arthur Hallam again wrote, in a review, that 'the features of original genius are strongly and clearly marked;' while on

* E. Fitzgerald.

the other hand Coleridge passed upon it the well-known criticism that 'he has begun to write verses without very 'well knowing what metre is;' and Christopher North handled it with a touch of good-natured ridicule. Then followed, in 1832, a fresh issue, including that magnificent allegory, the 'Palace of Art;' with other poems whose very blemishes signified exuberant strength. James Montgomery's observation of him at this stage is in the main true as a standing test of latent potency in beginners. 'He has very wealthy and luxurious thought and great 'beauty of expression, and is *a poet*. But there is plenty 'of room for improvement, and I would have it so. Your 'trim correct *young* writers rarely turn out well; a young 'poet should have a great deal which he can afford to throw 'away as he gets older.' The judgement was sound, for after a silent interval of ten years, during which the poet was sedulously husbanding and cultivating his powers, the full-orbed splendour of his genius shone out in the two volumes of 1842.

'This decade,' writes his biographer, 'wrought a marvellous abatement of my father's real fault,' which was undoubtedly 'the tendency, arising from the fulness of mind 'which had not yet learned to master its resources freely, 'to overcrowd his composition with imagery, to which may 'be added over-indulgence in the luxuries of the senses.' By this and by other extracts from contemporary criticism given in the Memoir, its readers may survey and measure the poet's rapid developement of mind and methods, the expansion of his range of thoughts, his increasing command over the musical instrument, and the admirable vigour and beauty which his composition was now disclosing. He had the singular advantage, rarely enjoyed so early in a poetic career, of being surrounded by enthusiastic friends who were also very competent art-critics, and whose unanimous verdict must have given him heart and confidence; so that the few spurts of cold water from professional reviewers troubled him very little. The darts thrown by such enemies might hardly reach or wound him—*πρὶν γὰρ περιβῆσαν ἄριστοι*—the two Hallams, James Spedding, Edward Fitzgerald, the two Lushingtons, Blakesley, and Julius Hare rallied round him enthusiastically. Hartley Coleridge met Tennyson in 1835, and, 'after the fourth bottom of gin,' deliberately thanked Heaven for having brought them acquainted. Wordsworth, who had at first been slow to appreciate, having afterwards listened to two poems recited

by Aubrey de Vere, did 'acknowledge that they were very 'noble in thought, with a diction singularly stately.' Even Carlyle, who had implored the poet to stick to prose, was vanquished, and wrote (1842) a letter so vividly characteristic as to justify a long quotation:—

'Dear Tennyson,—Wherever this find you, may it find you well, may it come as a friendly greeting to you. I have just been reading your Poems; I have read certain of them over again, and mean to read them over and over till they become my poems; this fact, with the inferences that lie in it, is of such emphasis in me, I cannot keep it to myself, but must needs acquaint you too with it. If you knew what my relation has been to the thing call'd English "Poetry" for many years back, you would think such a fact almost surprising! Truly it is long since in any English Book, Poetry or Prose, I have felt the pulse of a real man's heart as I do in this same.

'I know you cannot read German: the more interesting is it to trace in your "Summer Oak" a beautiful kindred to something that is best in Goethe; I mean his "Müllerinn" (Miller's daughter) chiefly, with whom the very Mill-dam gets in love; though she proves a flirt after all, and the thing ends in satirical lines! Very strangely, too, in the "Vision of Sin" I am reminded of my friend Jean Paul. This is not babble, this is speech; true deposition of a volunteer witness. And so I say let us all rejoice somewhat. And so let us all smite rhythmically, all in concert, "the sounding furrows," and sail forward with new cheer "beyond the sunset" whither we are bound.'

The Memoir contains some valuable reminiscences of this period, contributed after Tennyson's death by his personal friends, which incidentally throw backward a light upon the literary society of that day. Mr. Aubrey de Vere describes a meeting between Tennyson and Wordsworth; and relates also, subsequently and separately, a conversation with Tennyson, who was enthusiastic over the songs of Burns: 'You forget, for their sake, those stupid things, his 'serious pieces.' The same day Mr. de Vere met Wordsworth, who 'praised Burns even more vehemently than Tennyson had done . . .' but ended, 'of course I refer 'to his serious efforts, those foolish little amatory songs of 'his one has to forget.'

But in addition to contemporary criticism, written or spoken, and to the reminiscences, the biography gives us also several unpublished poems and fragmentary verses belonging to this period, with the original readings of other pieces that were altered before publication. It is in these materials, beyond others, that we can observe the forming and maturing of his style, the fastidious taste which dictated

his rejection of work that either did not satisfy the highest standard as a whole, or else marred a poem's symmetrical proportion by superfluity, overweight, or the undue predominance of some note in the general harmony. One may regret that some fine stanzas or exquisite lines should have been thus expunged, as, for example, those beginning (page 60)—

‘Thou may'st remember what I said.’

Yet we believe the impartial critic will confirm in every instance the decision. ‘Anacaona,’ written at Cambridge, was never published, because ‘the natural history and the ‘rhymes did not satisfy’ Tennyson; it is full of tropical warmth and ardour, with a fine rhythmic beat, but it is certainly below high-water mark. And the same must be said of the ‘Song of the Three Sisters,’ published and afterwards suppressed, though the blank verse of its prelude has undoubted quality. He acted, as we can see, inexorably upon his own rule that ‘the artist is known ‘by his self-limitation;’ feeling certain, as he once said, that ‘if I meant to make any mark in the world it must be ‘by shortness, for the men before me had been so diffuse.’ Only the concise and perfect work, he thought, would last; and ‘hundreds of lines were blown up the chimney with his ‘pipe smoke, or were written down and thrown into the ‘fire as not being perfect enough.’ Yet all his austere resolution must have been needed for condemning some of the fine verses that were struck out of the ‘Palace of Art,’ merely to give the poem even balance, and trim it like a boat. And very few poems could have spared or borne the excisions from the ‘Dream of Fair Women;’ though here and there the didactic or scientific note is slightly prominent, as in the following stanza:

‘All nature widens upward. Evermore
The simpler essence lower lies,
More complex is more perfect, owning more
Discourse, more widely wise.’

At any rate the preservation of these unpublished verses adds much to the value of the biography; and we may rank Tennyson among the very few poets whose reputation has rather gained than suffered by the posthumous appearance of pieces that the writer had deliberately withdrawn or withheld.

Of Tennyson's own literary opinions one or two specimens, belonging to this time, may be given.

‘Byron and Shelley, however mistaken they were, did yet ‘give the world another heart and new pulses; and so we are ‘kept going’—a just tribute to their fiery lyrical energy, which did much to clear insular prejudice from the souls of a masculine generation. ‘Lycidas’ he held to be the test of any reader’s poetic instinct; and ‘Keats, with his high ‘spiritual vision, would have been, if he had lived, the ‘greatest of us all, though his blank verse lacked originality ‘of movement.’ It is true that Keats, whose full metrical skill was never developed, may have imitated the Miltonic construction; yet after Milton he was the finest composer up to Tennyson’s day. And the first hundred lines of ‘Hyperion’ have no slight affinity, in colouring and cadence, to the Tennysonian blank verse. For indeed it was Keats who, as Tennyson’s forerunner, passed on to him the gift of intense romantic susceptibility to the influences of Nature, the ‘dim mystic sympathies with tree and hill reaching back ‘into childhood.’ But Tennyson’s art inclined more toward the picturesque, toward using words, as a painter uses his brush, for producing the impression of a scene’s true outline and colour; his work shows the realistic feeling of a later day, which delights in precision of details. In one of his letters he mentions that there was a time when he was in the habit of chronicling, in four or five words or more, whatever might strike him as a picture, just as an artist would take rough sketches. The subjoined fragment, written on revisiting Mablethorpe on the Lincolnshire coast, contains the quintessence of his descriptive style; the last three lines are sheer landscape painting.

MABLETHORPE.

‘Here often when a child I lay reclined,
 I took delight in this fair land and free;
 Here stood the infant Ilion of the mind,
 And here the Grecian ships all seemed to be.
 And here again I come, and only find
*The drain-cut level of the marshy lea,
 Gray sand-banks, and pale sunsets, dreary winds,
 Dim shores, dense rains, and heavy-clouded sea.*

More frequently, however, he employed his wonderful image-making power to illustrate symbolically some mental state or emotion, availing himself of the mysterious relation between man and his environment, whereby the outer inanimate world is felt to be the resemblance and reflection

of human moods. So in the 'Palace of Art' the desolate soul is likened to

'A still salt pool, lock'd in with bars of sand,
Left on the shore; that hears all night
The plunging seas draw backward from the land
Their moon-led waters white.'

And there are passages in the extracts given from his letters written to Miss Emily Sellwood, during the long engagement that preceded their marriage, which indicate the bent of his mind toward philosophic quietism, with frequent signs of that half-veiled fellow-feeling with natural things, that sense of life in all sound and motion, whereby poetry is drawn upward, by degrees and almost unconsciously, into the region of the 'Higher Pantheism.' Nor has any English poet availed himself more skilfully of a language that is peculiarly rich in metaphors, consisting of words which still so far retain their original meaning as to suggest a picture while they convey a thought.

It is partly due to these qualities of mind and style that no chapter in this book, which mingles grave with gay very attractively, contains matter of higher biographical interest than that which is headed 'In Memoriam.' For it is in this noble poem, on the whole Tennyson's masterpiece, that he is stirred by his own passionate grief to dwell on the contrast between irremediable human suffering and the calm aspect of Nature, between the short and sorrowful days of man and the long procession of ages. From the doubts and perplexities, the tendency to lose heart, engendered by a sense of forces that are unceasing and relentless, he finds his ultimate escape in the spirit of trust in the Powers invisible, and in the persuasion that God and Nature cannot be at strife. In a letter contributed to this Memoir Professor Henry Sidgwick has described the impression produced on him and others of his time by this poem, showing how it struck in, so to speak, upon their religious debates at a moment of conflicting tendencies and great uncertainty of direction, giving intensity of expression to the dominant feeling, and wider range to the prevailing thought:—

'The most important influence of "In Memoriam" on my thought, apart from its poetic charm as an expression of personal emotion, opened in a region, if I may so say, deeper down than the difference between Theism and Christianity: it lay in the unparalleled combination of intensity of feeling with comprehensiveness of view and balance of judgement, shown in presenting the deepest needs and perplexities of humanity. And this influence, I find, has increased

rather than diminished as years have gone on, and as the great issues between Agnostic Science and Faith have become continually more prominent. In the sixties I should say that these deeper issues were somewhat obscured by the discussions on Christian dogma and Inspiration of Scripture, &c. . . . During these years we were absorbed in struggling for freedom of thought in the trammels of a historical religion; and perhaps what we sympathised with most in "In Memoriam" at this time, apart from the personal feeling, was the defence of "honest doubt," the reconciliation of knowledge and faith in the introductory poem, and the hopeful trumpet-ring of the lines on the New Year. . . . Well, the years pass, the struggle with what Carlyle used to call "Hebrew old clothes" is over, Freedom is won, and what does Freedom bring us to? It brings us face to face with atheistic science; the faith in God and Immortality, which we had been struggling to clear from superstition, suddenly seems to be in the air; and in seeking for a firm basis for this faith we find ourselves in the midst of the "fight with death" which "In Memoriam" so powerfully presents.'

To many readers the whole letter will seem to render fitly their feeling of the pathetic intensity with which the everlasting problems of love and death, of human doubts and destinies, are set forth in 'In Memoriam.' It will also remind them of the limitations, the inevitable inconclusiveness, of a poem which deals emotionally with questions that foil the deepest philosophers. The profound impression that was immediately produced by these exquisitely musical meditations may be ascribed, we think, to their sympathetic association with the peculiar spiritual needs and intellectual dilemmas of the time. It may be affirmed, as a general proposition, that up to about 1840, and for some years later, the majority among Englishmen of thought and culture were content to take morality as the chief test of religious truth, were disposed to hold that the essential principles of religion were best stated in the language of ethics. With this rational theology the pretensions of Science, which undertook to preserve and even to strengthen the moral basis, were not incompatible. But about this time came a spiritual awakening; and just then Tennyson came forward to insist, with poetic force and fervour, that the triumphant advance of Science was placing in jeopardy not merely the formal outworks but the central dogma of Christianity, which is the belief in a future life, in the soul's conscious immortality.* Is man subject to the general

* He said to Bishop Lightfoot, 'The cardinal point of Christianity is the Life after Death.'

law of unending mutability? and is he after all but the highest and latest type, to be made and broken like a thousand others, mere clay under the moulding hands that are darkly visible in the processes of Nature? The poet transfigured these obstinate questionings into the vision of an ever-breaking shore

‘That tumbled in a godless sea.’

He turned our ears to hear the sound of streams that, swift or slow,

‘Draw down Eonian hills, and sow
The dust of continents to be’—

and he was haunted by the misgiving that man also might be a mere atom in an everchanging universe. Yet after long striving with doubts and fears, after having ‘fought ‘with death,’ he resolves that we cannot be ‘wholly brain, ‘magnetic mockeries,’ not only cunning casts in clay:—

‘Let Science prove we are, and then
What matters Science unto men,
At least to me? I would not stay.’

We think that such passages as these gave emphasis to the gathering alarm, and that many a startled inquirer, daunted by dim uncertainties, recoiled from the abyss that seemed to open at his feet, and made his peace, on such terms as consoled him, with Theology. Not that Tennyson himself retreated, or took refuge behind dogmatic entrenchments. On the contrary, he stood his ground and trod under foot the terrors of Acheron; relying on ‘the ‘God who ever lives and loves.’ But since not every one can be satisfied with subjective faith or lofty intuitions, we believe that the note of distress and warning sounded by ‘In ‘Memoriam’ startled more minds than were soothed by its comforting conclusions. If this be so, this utterance of the poet, standing prophet-like at the parting of the ways, moved men diversely. It strengthened the impulse to go onward trustfully; but it may also be counted among the indirect influences which combined to promote that notable reaction toward the sacramental and mysterious side of religion, toward positive faith as the safeguard of morals, which has been the outcome of the great Anglican revival set on foot by the Oxford Movement sixty years ago.

In June 1850, the month which saw ‘In Memoriam’ published, Tennyson married Miss Sellwood. ‘The wedding ‘was of the quietest, even the cake and the dresses arriving

‘too late.’ From this union came unbroken happiness during forty-two years; for his wife brought into the partnership a rich and rare treasure of aid, sympathy, and intellectual appreciation. Her son pays his tribute to her memory in an admirable passage, of which the greater part is here extracted:—

‘And let me say here—although, as a son, I cannot allow myself full utterance about her whom I loved as perfect mother and “very woman of very woman,” “such a wife” and true helpmate she proved herself. It was she who became my father’s adviser in literary matters; “I am proud of her intellect,” he wrote. With her he always discussed what he was working at; she transcribed his poems: to her, and to no one else, he referred for a final criticism before publishing. She, with her “tender spiritual nature” and instinctive nobility of thought, was always by his side, a ready, cheerful, courageous, wise, and sympathetic counsellor. . . . By her quiet sense of humour, by her selfless devotion, by “her faith as clear as the heights of the June-blue heaven,” she helped him also to the utmost in the hours of his depression and of his sorrow; and to her he wrote two of the most beautiful of his shorter lyrics—“Dear, near and true,” and the dedicatory lines which prefaced his last volume, “The Death of Enone.”’

In November 1850, after Wordsworth’s death, the Laureateship was offered to Tennyson. We have good authority for stating, though not from this Memoir, that Lord John Russell submitted to the Queen the four names of Professor Wilson, Henry Taylor, Sheridan Knowles, and, last on the list, Tennyson. The Prince Consort’s admiration of ‘In Memoriam’ determined her Majesty’s choice, which might seem easy enough to those who measure the four candidates by the standard of to-day. His accession to office brought down upon Tennyson, among other honoraria, ‘such shoals of poems that I am almost crazed with them; ‘the two hundred million poets of Great Britain deluge me ‘daily. Truly the Laureateship is no sinecure.’ For the inevitable levée he accepted, not without disquietude over the nether garment, the loan of a Court suit from his ancient brother in song, Rogers, who had declined the laurels on the plea of age. Soon afterward he departed with his wife for Italy. Under the title of ‘The Daisy’ he has commemorated this journey in stanzas of consummate metrical form, with their beautiful anapæstic ripple in each fourth line, to be studied by all who would understand the quantitative value (not merely accentual) and rhythmic effects of English syllables. On returning they met the Brownings at Paris. Then, in 1852, he bought

Farringford in the Isle of Wight, the poet's favourite habitation ever afterward, within sight of the sea and within sound of its rough weather, with its lawns, spreading trees, and meadows under the lea of the chalk downs, that have been frequently sketched into his verse, and will long be identified with his presence. There he worked at 'Maud,' morning and evening, sitting in his hard high-backed wooden chair in his little room at the top of the house, smoking the 'sacred pipes' during certain half-hours of strict seclusion, when his best thoughts came to him.

From the final edition in 1851 of 'In Memoriam' to 'Maud' in 1853, which Lowell rather affectedly called the antiphonal voice of the earlier poem, the change of theme, tone, and manner was certainly great; and the public seems to have been taken by surprise. The transition was from lamentation to lovemaking; from stanzas swaying slow, like a dirge, within their uniform compass, to an abundant variety of metrical movement, quickened by frequent use of the anapæstic measure. The general reader was puzzled and inclined to ridicule what he failed at once to understand; the ordinary reviewer was either loftily contemptuous or indulged in puns and parodies; the higher criticism was divided; but Henry Taylor, Ruskin, Jowett, and the Brownings spoke without hesitation of the work's great merits. Mr. Gladstone, whose judgement had been at first adverse, recanted twenty years later in a letter that was published in his 'Gleanings,' and that now reappears in this Memoir:—

'Whether it is to be desired,' he wrote, 'that a poem should require from common men a good deal of effort in order to comprehend it; whether all that is put in the mouth of the Soliloquist in "Maud" is within the lines of poetical verisimilitude; whether this poem has the full moral equilibrium which is so marked a characteristic of the sister works, are questions open, perhaps, to discussion. But I have neither done justice in the text to its rich and copious beauties of detail, nor to its great lyrical and metrical power. And, what is worse, I have failed to comprehend rightly the relation between particular passages in the poem and its general scope.'

Jowett wrote:—

'No poem since Shakespeare seems to show equal power of the same kind, or equal knowledge of human nature. No modern poem contains more lines that ring in the ears of men. I do not know any verse of Shakespeare in which the ecstasy of love soars to such a height.'

On the other hand, an anonymous letter, which Tennyson enjoyed repeating, ran thus:—

‘Sir,—I used to worship you, but now I hate you. I loathe and detest you. You beast! So you’ve taken to imitating Longfellow.

‘Yours in aversion,
‘———.’

‘I shall never forget,’ his son writes,

Tennyson’s ‘last reading of “Maud,” on August 24, 1892. He was sitting in his high-backed chair, fronting a southern window which looks over the groves and yellow cornfields of Sussex toward the long line of South Downs that stretches from Arundel to Hastings (his high-domed Rembrandt-like head outlined against the sunset-clouds seen through the western window). His voice, low and calm in everyday life, capable of delicate and manifold inflection, but with “organ tones” of great power and range, thoroughly brought out the drama of the poem.’

‘The peculiarity of this poem,’ Tennyson said, ‘is that ‘different phases of passion in one person take the place of ‘different characters;’ and the effect of his own recitation was to set this conception in clear relief by showing the connexion and significance of the linked monodies, combined with a vivid musical rendering of a pathetic love story. The emotional intensity rises by degrees to the rapture of meeting with Maud in the garden, falls suddenly to the depth of blank despair, and revives in an atmosphere of energetic, warlike activity—the precursor of world-wide peace.

The poem, in fact, strikes all the highest lyrical chords, and we are disposed to think that all of them are by no means touched with equal skill. Possibly the sustained and perfect execution of such a varied composition would be too arduous a task for any artist. It is difficult for the reader to adjust his mind to the changes of mood and motive which succeed each other rapidly, and often abruptly, within the compass of so short a piece; ranging from the almost melodramatic horror of the opening stanzas to the passionate and joyous melodies of the middle part; sinking into a wild wailing, and closing with the trumpet sounds of war. Yet everyone will now acknowledge that some passages in ‘Maud’ are immortal, and that the English language contains none more beautiful than the very best of them.

The letters that have been selected (from upwards of forty thousand) for insertion in this Memoir are throughout excellently chosen and arranged, and at this period we have many of singular interest. One from Mrs. Vyner, a stranger, touched the poet deeply. Ruskin writes with reserve, as

well he might, about the edition of the poems illustrated by Rossetti, Millais, and others :—

‘ I believe, in fact, that good pictures never can be ; they are always another poem, subordinate, but wholly different from the poet’s conception, and serve chiefly to show the reader how variously the same verses may affect various minds. But these woodcuts will be of much use in making people think and puzzle a little ; art was getting quite a matter of form in book illustrations, and it does not so much matter whether any given vignette is right or not, as whether it contains thought or not, still more whether it contains any kind of plain facts. If people have no sympathy with St. Agnes, or if people as soon as they get a distinct idea of a living girl who probably got scolded for dropping her candle-wax about the convent-stairs, and caught cold by looking too long out of the window in her bedgown, feel no true sympathy with her, they can have no sympathy in them.’

Elizabeth Barrett Browning sends a warm-hearted letter ; and Jowett, who enjoyed giving advice, evidently sat him down readily to reply when Mrs. Tennyson asked whether he could suggest any subjects for poetry :—

‘ I often fancy that the critical form of modern literature is like the rhetorical one which overlaid ancient literature, and will be regarded as that is, at its true worth in after times. One drop of natural feeling in poetry, or the true statement of a single new fact, is already felt to be of more value than all the critics put together.’

Four ‘ Idylls ’ came out in 1859, to be rapidly and largely taken up by the English public, with many congratulations from personal friends. Thackeray sends, after reading them, a letter full of his characteristic humour and cordiality :—

‘ The landlord ’—at Folkestone—‘ gave two bottles of his claret, and I think I drank the most, and here I have been lying back in the chair and thinking of those delightful “ Idylls ; ” my thoughts being turned to you ; and what could I do but be grateful to that surprising genius which has made me so happy ? ’

The Duke of Argyll wrote that Macaulay had been *delighted with it*, whereupon the poet responds to his Grace somewhat caustically :—

‘ My dear Duke,—Doubtless Macaulay’s good opinion is worth having, and I am grateful to you for letting me know it, but this time I intend to be thick-skinned ; nay, I scarcely believe that I should ever feel very deeply the pen-punctures of those parasitic animalcules of the press, if they kept themselves to what I write, and did not glance spitefully and personally at myself. I hate spite.’

Ruskin, on the other hand, is but half pleased ; could not quite make up his mind about that ‘ increased quietness of ‘ style ; ’ feels ‘ the art and finish in these poems a little

‘more than I like;’ wishes that the book’s nobleness and tenderness had been independent of a romantic condition of externals; and suggests that ‘so great power ought not to be spent on visions of things past, but on the living present.’

These latter sentences touch upon, or at least indicate, a line of criticism upon the general conception of the ‘Idylls,’ as seen in their treatment of the Arthurian legend, with which, although it may appear to some inadequate, we are not indisposed to agree. Romanticism has been defined, half seriously, as the art of presenting to a people the literary works which can give the greatest imaginative pleasure in the actual state of their habits and beliefs. The ‘Idylls’ adapted the mythical tales of the Round Table to the very highest standard of æsthetic taste, intellectual refinement, and moral delicacy prevailing in cultivated English society. And by that society they were very cordially appreciated. Undoubtedly the figure of Arthur—representing a stainless mirror of chivalry, a warrior king endowed with the qualities of patriotic self-devotion, clemency, generosity, and noble trustfulness, yet betrayed by his wife and his familiar friend, and dying in a lost fight against treacherous rebels—did present a lofty ideal that might well affect a gravely emotional people. Moreover, the poem is a splendidly illuminated Morality, unfolding scenes and figures that illustrate heroic virtues and human frailties, gallantry, chivalric enterprise, domestic perfidy, chaste virginal loves, and subtle amorous enchantments. It abounds also in descriptive passages which attest the close attention of the poet’s eye and ear to natural sights and sounds, and his supreme art of fashioning his verse to their colours and echoes. In short, to quote from the biography,

‘he has made the old legends his own, restored the idealism, and infused into them a spirit of modern thought and of ethical significance; setting his characters in a rich and varied landscape; as indeed otherwise these archaic stories would not have appealed to the world at large.’

This indeed he has done well. And yet it is not possible to put away altogether the modern prejudice against unreality, the sense of having here a vision not merely of things that are past, but of things that could never have been, of a world that is neither ancient nor modern, but a fairy land peopled with knights and dames whose habits and conversation are adjusted to the decorous taste of our nineteenth century. The time has long passed when men could look

back on distant ages much as they looked forward to futurity, through a haze of unbounded credulity. Not every one has been able to overcome the effect of incongruity produced by a poem which invests the legendary personages of mediæval romance with morals and manners of a fastidious delicacy, and promotes them to be the embodiment of our own ethical ideals. If, indeed, we regard the 'Idylls' as beautiful allegories, we may be content, as their author was, with the suggestion that King Arthur represents Conscience, and that the poem is 'a picture of the different ways in which men looked on conscience, 'some reverencing it as a heaven-born king, others 'ascribing to it an earthly origin.' We may then be satisfied with learning, from the poet himself, that 'Camelot, 'for instance, a city of shadowy palaces, is everywhere 'symbolic of the gradual growth of human beliefs and institutions, and of the spiritual developement of man.' In the light of these interpretations the poem is a beautifully woven tissue of poetic mysticism, clothing the old legend of chivalry with esoteric meaning. We can accept and admire it freely, remarking only that the deeper thoughts of the present generation do not run in an allegorical vein, and that such a vesture, though of the finest texture and embroidery, waxes old speedily. 'The "Holy "Grail,"' said Tennyson, 'is one of the most imaginative of my poems. I have expressed there my strong 'feeling as to the reality of the Unseen;' and truly it is a marvellous excursion into the field of mystical romance. But Tennyson also said that 'there is no single fact or 'incident in the "Idylls," however seemingly mystical, 'which cannot be explained as without any mystery or allegory 'whatever;' and herein lies our difficulty. For, unless they can be read as wholly allegorical, there is an air of unreality about those enchanting pictures, as of scenes and persons that could never have existed anywhere. That Tennyson is a master of the art of veiling the lessons of real life under a fairy story, we know from the subtle symbolism with which he tells, in the 'Lady of Shalott,' the tale of sudden absorbing love, hopeless and unregarded, sinking into despair—a true parable, understood of all men and women in all times. But those who have no great skill at deciphering the Hyponoia, the underlying significance, of the 'Idylls' may be pardoned for confessing to an occasional feeling of something abstract, shadowy, and spectacular in the company of these knights and dames.

Fitzgerald, after reading the 'Holy Grail,' writes (1870) to Tennyson :

'The whole myth of Arthur's Round Table Dynasty in Britain presents itself before me with a sort of cloudy Stonehenge grandeur. I am not sure if the old knights' adventures do not tell upon me better touched in some lyrical way (like your "Lady of Shalott") than when elaborated into epic form. I never could care for Spenser, Tasso, or even Ariosto, whose epic has a ballad ring about it. . . . Anyhow, Alfred, while I feel how pure, noble, and holy your work is—and whole phrases, lines, and sentences of it will abide with me, and, I am sure, with men after me—I read on till the "Lincolnshire Farmer" drew tears from my eyes. I was got back to the substantial rough-spun Nature I knew ; and the old brute, invested by you with the solemn humour of Humanity, like Shakespeare's Shallow, became a more pathetic phenomenon than the knights who revisit the world in your other verse. There ! I cannot help it, and have made a clean breast.'

If the extreme realism of some modern writers has been rightly condemned as truth divorced from beauty, we may say that it has been by his skill in maintaining their indissoluble union that Tennyson's best work shows its peculiar strength and has earned its enduring vitality. He excels in the verisimilitude of his portraiture, in the authentic delineation of character, preserving the type and developing the main lines of thought and action by imaginative insight, with high artistic fidelity in details. We venture to anticipate that his short monodramatic pieces in blank verse—his studies from the antique, like 'Ulysses' and 'Tithonus,' and his poems of English life, breathing the true idyllic spirit, like the 'Gardener's Daughter' and 'Aylmer's Field'—will sustain their popularity longer than the Arthurian Idylls. Nor can we honestly agree with the unqualified praise bestowed by high authority (as the Memoir testifies) on 'Guinevere,' where the scene between the king and the queen at Almesbury, with all its elevation of tone and purity of sentiment, is not very far from a splendid anachronism. But the epilogue 'To the Queen,' which closes the Arthurian epic, brings us back to modern thought and circumstance by its ringing protest against faintheartedness in English politics.

The 'Northern Farmer,' written in 1861, was at that time a novelty in form and subject. It gave a strong lead, at any rate, to that school of rough humorous versification, largely relying on quaint turns of ideas and phrases, on racy provincial dialect and local colouring generally, which

has since had an immense success in the hands of minor artists. We may take it to have begun, for this century, with the 'Biglow Papers.' This form of metrical composition has latterly spread, as a species of modern ballad, to the Indian frontier and the Australian bush, but has little or no place in any language except the English. Such character sketches, taken direct from studies of rude life, have been always common in popular comic song, yet we believe that no first-class poet, after Burns and before Tennyson, had turned his hand to this kind of work; nor has anything been since produced upon the artistic level of the first 'Northern Farmer.' 'Roden Noel,' writes Tennyson, 'calls the two "Northern Farmers" photographs; but I call them imaginative'—as of course they are, being far above mere exact copies of some individual person.

There are some very readable *impressions de voyage* gathered out of journals of tours made about this time (1860) in France and England, and the letters maintain their high level of interest. Upon the death of Macaulay, Tennyson writes to the Duke of Argyll:—

'I hardly knew him: met him once, I remember, when Hallam and Guizot were in his company. Hallam was showing Guizot the Houses of Parliament, then building, and Macaulay went on like a cataract for an hour or so to those two great men, and, when they had gone, turned to me and said, "Good morning; I am happy to have had the pleasure of making your acquaintance," and strode away. Had I been a piquable man I should have been piqued; but I don't think I was, for the movement after all was amicable.'

Then follows an account, by Mrs. Bradley, of a visit to Farringford, with 'its careless ordered garden close to the 'ridge of a noble down;' and the first volume ends with an appendix containing, among other things, Arthur Hallam's striking critical appreciation of 'Mariana in the South,' a poem which must be ranked as a masterpiece by all exiled Englishmen who have dreamt of their native breezes and verdure, under the blinding glare and intolerable heat of a tropical summer. Mr. Aubrey de Vere has contributed a reminiscence describing the effect produced upon himself and others by the poems of 1832-45, with a dissertation upon their style and philosophic significance. And in this manner the course and circumstances of the poet's life are set out, with much taste and regard for proportionate value of the materials, for those singularly untroubled years through which he rose steadily from straitened means in youth to comparative affluence in middle age, and from dis-

tion among a group of choice spirits to enduring fame as the greatest of poets born in the nineteenth century.

When, in 1864, Tennyson returned with 'Enoch Arden' to the romance of real life among his own people, the poem was heartily welcomed, and sixty thousand copies were speedily sold. Spedding declared it to be the finest story he had ever heard, and added (in our opinion quite rightly) that it was 'more especially adapted for Alfred than for any other poet.' Yet the plot, so to speak, of this pathetic narrative is as ancient as the Odyssey, for it rests upon a situation that must have been common in all times of long and distant voyaging, when men disappeared across the seas, were not heard of for years, and their wives were counted as widows. A well-known sailor's ditty tells in rude popular rhymes the same story of the wandering mariner's return home, to find himself forsaken and forgotten; and it frequently occurs in the folklore of the crusades. The first title in the proof sheets of the 'Enoch Arden' volume was 'Idylls of the Hearth,' and here, says his biographer,

'he writes with as intimate a knowledge, but with greater power (than in 1842), on subjects from English life, the sailor, the farmer, the parson, the city lawyer, the squire, the country maiden, and the old woman who dreams of her past life in a restful old age.'

No great poet, in fact, has travelled for his subjects so little beyond his native land; and so his best descriptive work shows the painter's eye on the object, with the impressions drawn fresh and at first hand from nature, as in the poetry of primitive bards who saw things for themselves. His letters and notes teem with observations of wild flowers and wild creatures, of wide prospects over sea and land; and even when he followed Enoch Arden into the world that was to himself untravelled, he could surprise those who knew it by his rendering of tropical scenery.

A very good account, by the late Mr. Locker Lampson, of his tour through France and Switzerland with Tennyson in 1869, has preserved for us the flavour of his table and travelling talk upon literature, and occasionally upon religious problems. Into the philosophical or metaphysical abyss he did not let down his plummet very far; he recognised the limits of human knowledge, and for the dim regions beyond he accepted Faith as his guide and comforter. In regard to the poets—'As a boy,' he said, 'I was a great admirer of Byron, so much so that I got a surfeit of him,

'and now I cannot read him as I should like to do.' Probably this habit of premature and excessive indulgence in Byron has blunted many an eager admirer's appetite, and has had something to do with the prevailing distaste for him, wherein we think that he has fallen into unmerited neglect. Of Shelley Tennyson said that there was 'a great wind of words in a good deal of him, but that as a writer of blank verse he was perhaps the most skilful of the moderns. Nobody admires Shelley more than I once did, and I still admire him.' For Wordsworth's 'Tintern Abbey' he had a profound admiration; yet even in that poem he thought 'the old poet had shown a want of literary instinct,' and he touched upon some defects of composition; but he ended by saying emphatically that 'Wordsworth's very best is the best in its way that has been sent out by moderns.' He told an anecdote of Samuel Rogers. 'One day we were walking arm and arm, and I spoke of what is called Immortality, and remarked how few writers could be sure of it. Upon this Rogers squeezed my arm and said, "I am sure of it."'

His wife's journal of this time is full of interest, recording various sayings and doings, conversations, correspondence, anecdotes, and glimpses of notable visits and visitors, Tourguéneff, Longfellow, Jenny Lind, Huxley, and Gladstone, to the last of whom Tennyson read aloud his 'Holy Grail.' At the house of G. H. Lewes he read 'Guinevere,' 'which made George Eliot weep.' The diary is a faithful and valuable memorial of English country life at its best in the middle of this century. Living quietly with his family, he was in constant intercourse with the most distinguished men of his day, and was himself honoured of them all.

In 1873 Tennyson had declined, for himself, Mr. Gladstone's offer of a baronetcy. In 1874 this offer was repeated by Mr. Disraeli, who does not seem to have known that it had been once before made, in a high-flying sententious letter, evidently attuned to the deeper harmonies of the mysterious relation between genius and government.

'A government should recognise intellect. It elevates and sustains the spirit. It elevates and sustains the spirit of a nation. But it is an office not easy to fulfil, for if it falls into favouritism and the patronage of mediocrity, instead of raising the national sentiment, it might degrade and debase it. Her Majesty, by the advice of her Ministers, has testified in the Arctic expedition, and will in other forms, her sympathy with science. But it is desirable that the claims of high letters should be equally acknowledged. That is not so easy

a matter, because it is in the nature of things that the test of merit cannot be so precise in literature as in science. Nevertheless,' &c. &c.

The honour, even thus offered, was again respectfully declined, with a suggestion that it might be renewed for his son after his own death; but this was pronounced impracticable.

The Metaphysical Society was founded by Tennyson and two others in 1869, and a list of the members is given in the Memoir, which touches on the style and topics of the debates, and on the umbrage taken by agnostic friends at the profound deference shown by Tennyson to Cardinal Manning. A letter from Dr. James Martineau describes the poet's general attitude toward the Society's discussions; he sent his poem on the 'Higher Pantheism' to be read at the first meeting; and he was 'usually a silent listener, interposing 'some short question or frequent hint.' The letter discourses, in expansive and perhaps faintly nebulous language, upon the influence of his poetry on the religious tendencies of the day.

'That in a certain sense our great Laureate's poetry has nevertheless had a dissolving influence upon the over-definite dogmatic creeds within hearing, or upon the modes of religious thought amid which it was born, can hardly be doubted. In laying bare, as it does, the history of his own spirit, its conflicts and aspirations, its alternate eclipse of doubt and glow of faith, it has reported more than a personal experience; he has told the story of an age which he has thus brought into Self-knowledge. . . . Among thousands of readers previously irresponsive to anything Divine he has created, or immeasurably intensified, the susceptibility of religious reverence.'

After taking into due account the circumstances in which Dr. Martineau's letter was written, we think that to many readers this high-flying panegyric will seem to have in some degree overshot its mark.

It has been our duty, in reviewing this Memoir, to pass under some kind of critical survey the more important writings of Lord Tennyson, in particular relation to the narrative of his life, and to the formation of his views and opinions. We are, however, placed in some embarrassment by the fact that this work is for the most part done already in the volumes themselves. They contain ample quotations from letters and articles by very eminent hands, written with all the vigour of immediate impressions when the poems first appeared. And some of the reminiscences that have since been contributed to the biography by personal friends deal so thoroughly with its literary side

as to fall little short of elaborate essays ; so that on the whole not much is left to be said by the retrospective reviewer. We are met with this difficulty in taking up the chapters on the Historical Plays, which set before us, with an excellent analysis of the plays by the biographer himself, a catena of judgements upon them, unanimously favourable, by the highest authorities. Robert Browning writes with generous enthusiasm of 'Queen Mary.' Froude, the most dramatic of historians, expresses unbounded admiration : 'You have reclaimed one more section of English history from the wilderness, and given it a form in which it will be fixed for ever. No one since Shakespeare has done that.' Gladstone, Mr. Aubrey de Vere, Longfellow, G. H. Lewes and his wife, the statesmen, the poets, and the men of letters, each from his own standpoint attests the merits of one or another play, in letters of indisputable strength and sincerity. Nor can it be doubted that these pieces contain splendid passages, and fine engravings, so to speak, of historical personages, with a noble appreciation of the spacious Elizabethan period, and of the earlier romantic episodes. The dramatic art provides such a powerful instrument for striking deep into the national mind, and success in this form of high poetic execution is so lasting—while it is so rare—that almost every great English poet has written plays. On the other hand, few of them have ventured, like Tennyson, to face the capricious ordeal of the public theatre, where the *vox populi* is at least so far divine that it pronounces absolutely and often incomprehensibly.

'For Tennyson to begin publishing plays after he was sixty-five years of age was thought to be a hazardous experiment ;' though we may remark that he started with the advantage of a first-class poetic reputation, which stimulated public curiosity. But he knew well the immense influence, for good or for ill, that the stage can bring to bear on the people ; and for the stage all his plays were directly intended, not for literature, in the expectation that the necessary technical adaptations might be supplied by the actors or the professional playwright. Their historical truth, their vigorous conceptions of motive and circumstance, and their poetic force received ample acknowledgement. W. J. Ward, who was 'grotesquely truthful,' though ultramontane, broke out into unqualified praise after listening to the reading of 'Becket.' On the stage, where first impressions are all-important, the pieces had their share of success. Browning

writes of the 'tumult of acclaim' which greeted the appearance of 'Queen Mary;' and of 'Becket,' which passed fifty performances, Irving has told us that 'it is one of 'the three most successful plays produced by him at the 'Lyceum.'

It is a question, often debated, whether in these latter days the theatre can be made a vehicle for the artistic representation of history. Literature, a jealous rival of all her sister arts, has so vastly extended her dominion over the people, she speaks so directly to the mind, without need of plastic or vocal interpretation, she is so independent of accessories and intermediaries, that her competitive influence weighs down all other departments of imaginative and pictorial idealisation, religious or romantic. Against this stream of tendency even Tennyson's genius could hardly make sufficient headway to conquer for his plays a lasting hold upon English audiences; and moreover his primal vigour had been spent upon other victories. Yet to have held the stage at all, for a brief space, is to have done more than has been achieved by any other poet of this century. In 1880 his drama, 'The Cup,' was produced with signal success at the Lyceum; and Tennyson summed up his theatrical experience by observing that 'the success of a piece does 'not depend on its literary merit or even on its stage 'effect, but on its *hitting* somehow,' wherein Miss Ellen Terry agreed with him.

The annals of his daily life, throughout all this later part of it, consist of extracts from letters, journals, and memorials of intercourse, which abound with appropriate, amusing, and valuable matter, skilfully assorted and connected by the biographer's personal recollections. We have thus a many-coloured mosaic, in which many figures and characters are reproduced by a kind of literary tessellation; while, as to the poet himself, his habits, wise or whimsical, his thoughts from year to year on the subjects of the day, his manner of working, are all preserved. The correspondence of his friends maintains its high level of quality. Mr. W. H. Lecky gives us, in one of the best among all the reminiscences, a fine sample of his own faculty for delineation of character, bringing out the poet's simplicity of soul, his love of seclusion, the scope of his religious meditations, the keen sensibility (acquired by long culture) of his rhythmic ear, and also his susceptibility to the hum and pricking of critics.

'Many persons spoke of your father as too much occupied with his poetry. It did, no doubt, fill a very large place in his thoughts, and

it is also true that he was accustomed to express his opinions about it with a curiously childlike simplicity and frankness. But at bottom his nature seemed to be singularly modest. No poet ever corrected so many lines in deference to adverse criticism. His sensitiveness seemed to me curiously out of harmony with his large powerful frame, with his manly dark colouring, with his great massive hands and strong square-tipped fingers.'

His son records how in lonely walks together Tennyson would chant a poem that he was composing, would search for strange birds or flowers, and would himself take flight on discovering that he was being stalked by a tourist. Among the letters is one from Victor Hugo, in the grand cosmopolitan style, beginning 'Mon Eminent et Cher Confrère,' professing love for all mankind and admiration for noble verse everywhere; another from Cardinal Newman, smooth and adroit; there is also a note by Dr. Dabbs of his colloquy with Tennyson, showing how he began with the somewhat musty question about the incompatibility of Science with Religion, and found the poet, as we infer, tolerably dexterous with the foils. Renan called, and put the essence of his philosophy into one phrase, 'La vérité est une nuance;' there are jottings of talks with Carlyle, and a long extract from the journal of a yachting voyage with Mr. Gladstone, who said, 'No man since Æschylus could have written the "Bride of Lammermoor."'" It would be doing less than justice to the biography if we did not choose a few samples from an ample storehouse, and it would be unfair to make too many quotations even from a book which surpasses all recent memoirs as a repertory of characteristic observations and short views of life and literature, interchanged by speech or writing, with many notable friends and visitors.

In 1883 the Queen, on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone, offered Tennyson a peerage, which, after some rumination, he accepted, saying, 'By Gladstone's advice I have consented, but for my own part I shall regret my own simple name all my life.' We are to suppose that the Prime Minister's only misgiving 'lest my father might insist 'on wearing his wideawake in the House of Lords' had been duly overcome; and so next year the poet, having taken his seat, voted, not without some questioning and doubts of the time's ripeness, for extension of franchise. No more worthy representative of literature has ever added lustre to that august assembly than he who now took his seat on the cross benches, holding no form of party creed, but contemplating all. From a man of his traditions and

tastes, his dislike of extravagance, his feeling for the stateliness of well-ordered movement, at his age, moderation in politics was to be expected; and indeed we observe that he commended to his friends Maine's work on 'Popular Government,' which carries political caution to the verge of timidity. But Tennyson, like Burke, had great confidence in the common sense and inbred good nature of the English people. 'Stagnation,' he once said, 'is more dangerous than revolution.' As he was throughout consistently the poet of the *via media* in politics, the dignified constitutional Laureate, so he was spared the changes that passed over the opinions of Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge, who were Radicals in youth, and declined into elderly Tories. Undoubtedly the temper of his time affected his politics as well as his poetry, for his manhood began in the calm period which followed the long stormy years when all Europe was one great war-field, and when the ardent spirits of Byron and Shelley had been fired by the fierce uprising of the nations.

In 1885, being then in his seventy-sixth year, Lord Tennyson published 'Tiresias,' precluding with the verses to E. Fitzgerald, so vigorous in tone and so finely wrought, with their rhymes ringing true to the expectant ear like the chime of a clear bell. Some years before, he had paid a passing visit at Woodbridge to 'the lonely philosopher, a man of humorous melancholy mark, with his grey floating locks, sitting among his doves. . . . We fell at once into the old humour, as if we had been parted twenty days instead of so many years.' It is a rarity in modern life that two such men as Tennyson and Fitzgerald, whose mutual friendship was never shaken, should have met but once in some twenty-five years, although divided by no more space than could be traversed by a three hours' railway journey. 'Tiresias' was soon followed by 'Locksley Hall: Sixty Years After;' then, in 1889, came 'Demeter' and other poems; until, in 1892, the volume containing the 'Death of Ænone' and 'Akbar's Dream' closed the long series of poems which had held two generations under their charm. One line in the second 'Locksley Hall' its author held to be the best of the kind he had ever written:—

'Universal ocean softly washing all her warless isles;'

though in our poor judgement the harmony seems marred by the frequent sibilants, which vex all English composers; and the suggestion that the sea would become stormless when the land should be at peace may be thought overbold.

It was but seasonable that his later poetry should have been tinged with autumnal colouring. The philosophic bent of his mind had necessarily grown with increasing years; its range had been widened by constant assimilation with the scientific ideas of the day, with social and political changes; but as far horizons breed sadness and wistful uncertainty, so his later verse leans more toward the moral lessons of experience, toward reflective and retrospective views of life and character. In poetry, as in prose, the sequel to a fine original piece has very rarely, if ever, been successful; though the second part, when it follows the first after a long interval, often exhibits the special value that comes from alteration of style and the natural changes of mood. Tennyson himself thought that 'the two "Locksley" "Halls" were likely to be in the future two of the most 'historically interesting of his poems, as descriptive of the 'tone of the age at two distant periods of his life.' In our opinion, the interest is less historical than biographical, in the sense that the second poem takes its deeper shade from the darkening that seems to have overspread his later meditations. For the interval of sixty years had, in fact, brought increased activity and enterprising eagerness to the English people; and the gray thoughts of the sequel, the heavier feeling of errors and perils encompassing the onward path toward the remote ideal, are the poet's own. He employed them, it is true, for the dramatic presentation of old age, and disclaimed any identity with the imaginary personage. Nevertheless, we think that Tennyson was often unconsciously prone to insist too positively on his entire detachment, as an author, from his poetic impersonations of thought and character.

However this may be, the poems that appeared toward the close of his long literary career show a change of manner. We miss, to some degree, the delicate handling, the self-restraint, the serene air of his best compositions; there is a certain gloominess of atmosphere, breaking out occasionally into vehement expression, in the rolling dithyrambic stanzas of 'Vastness,' 'The Dawn,' or 'The Dreamer.' In the 'Death of Enone,' the beautiful antique nymph of Tennyson's youth, deserted and passionately lamenting on many-fountained Ida, has become soured and vindictive. She is now a jealous wife, to whose feet Paris, dying from the poisoned arrow, crawls 'lame, crooked, reeling,' to be spurned as an adulterer, who may 'go back to his adulteress 'and die.' Here the poet abandons the style and feeling of

Hellenic tradition; the echo of the old-world story has died away; it is rather the voice of some tragedy queen posing as the injured wife of modern society; and one remembers that the Homeric adulteress, Helen of Troy, went back to live happily and respected with her husband in Sparta. It was not to be expected that Tennyson's later inspirations should reach the supreme level of the poems which he wrote in his prime, or that there should be no ebb from the high-water mark that he touched, in our opinion, fifty years earlier in 1842. Yet hardly any poet has so long retained consummate mastery of his instrument, or has published so little that might have been omitted with advantage or without detriment to his permanent reputation. And it will never be forgotten that he wrote 'Crossing the Bar' in his eighty-first year.

It is clear from the Memoir, at any rate, that the burden of nigh fourscore years weakened none of his interest in literature and art, in political and philosophical speculation, or diminished his resources of humorous observation and anecdote. Among many recollections he told of Hallam (the historian) saying to him, 'I have lived to read Carlyle's "French Revolution," but I cannot get on, the style is so 'abominable;' and of Carlyle groaning about Hallam's 'Constitutional History: 'Eh, it's a miserable skeleton of 'a book'—bringing out into short and sharp contrast two opposite schools, the picturesque and the precise, of history-writing. Robert Browning's death in December 1889 distressed him greatly; it was, moreover, a forewarning to the elder of two brothers, if not equals, in renown. In 1890 Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was Tennyson's junior by only twenty-three days, wrote to him:—

'I am proud of my birth-year, and humbled when I think of who were and who are my coevals. Darwin, the destroyer and creator; Lord Houghton, the pleasant and kind-hearted lover of men of letters; Gladstone, whom I leave it to you to characterise, but whose vast range of intellectual powers few will question; Mendelssohn, whose music still rings in our ears; and the Laureate, whose "jewels five words long"—many of them a good deal longer—sparkle in our memories.'

He wrote kindly to William Watson and Rudyard Kipling, whose patriotic verse pleased him; and twelve months later Watson paid a grateful tribute to his memory in one of the best among many threnodies. He spoke of Carlyle's having come to smoke a pipe with him one evening in London, 'when the talk turned upon the immortality of the soul, 'upon which Carlyle said, "Eh, old Jewish rags, you must

“clear your mind of all that. Why should we expect a “hereafter?”” and likened man’s sojourn on earth to a traveller’s rest at an inn, whereupon Tennyson turned the simile against him. His son describes how the old man’s ‘dignity and repose of manner, his low musical voice, and ‘the power of his magnetic eye kept the attention riveted.’ In August 1892 Lord Selborne and the Master of Balliol visited him; but

‘he did not feel strong enough for religious discussions with Jowett, and begged Jowett not to consult with him or argue with him, as was his wont, on points of philosophy and religious doubt. The Master answered him with a remarkable utterance: “Your poetry has an element of philosophy more to be considered *than any regular philosophy in England*;”’

which is certainly an ambiguous and possibly not an extravagant eulogy.

The final chapter of the Memoir gives briefly some sentences from his last talks, and describes a peaceful and noble ending. He found his Christianity undisturbed by jarring of sects and creeds; but he said, ‘I dread the losing hold ‘of forms. I have expressed this in my “Akbar.”’ The welfare of the British Empire, its expansion and its destiny, had been from the beginning and were to the end of his poetic career matters of intense pride and concern to him. When, in September 1892, he fell seriously ill, and Sir Andrew Clark arrived, the physician and the patient fell to discussing Gray’s ‘Elegy;’ and a few days later, being much worse, he sent for his Shakespeare, tried to read, but had to let his son read for him. Next day he said:— “I want the blinds up, I want to see the sky and the “light.” He repeated “The sky and the light.” It was a ‘glorious morning, and the warm sunshine was flooding the ‘weald of Sussex and the line of South Downs, which were ‘seen from his window.’ On the second day after this he passed away very quietly. The funeral service in Westminster Abbey, with its two anthems—‘Crossing the Bar’ and ‘The Silent Voices’—filling the long-drawn aisle and rising to the fretted vault above the heads of a great congregation, will long be remembered by those who were present. ‘The tributes of sympathy,’ his son writes, ‘which ‘we received from many countries and from all classes and ‘creeds, were not only remarkable for their universality, but ‘for their depth of feeling.’

To those who had so long lived with him, the loss of one whom they had tended for many years with devoted affection

and reverence was indeed irreparable. Yet they had the consolation of knowing that his life had been happy and fortunate, marked by singularly few griefs or troubles; that he had proved himself a master of the high calling which he set before himself, and departed, full of honours, at the coming of the time when no man can work.

A collection of letters that passed between the Queen and Tennyson, including two from her Majesty to his son on receiving the news of Tennyson's death, is added to the Memoir; and the volume closes with 'Recollections of the 'Poet,' written at some length, by Lord Selborne, Jowett, John Tyndall, F. Myers, F. T. Palgrave, and the Duke of Argyll. These papers will be read, as they deserve to be, with attentive interest for their descriptions of the personal characteristics, recorded by those who knew him best, of a very remarkable man; they show also how his poems were conceived and elaborated, they trace his thoughts on high subjects, and they contain very ample dissertations on his poetry. They inevitably anticipate the work of the public reviewer, who cannot pretend to write with equal authority, while it is not his business to criticise the carefully composed opinions of others.

Our concluding observations will therefore be short. One can see, looking backward, that Tennyson's genius flowered in due season; there had been a plentiful harvest of verse in the preceding generation, but it had been garnered, and the field was clear. The hour had come for a new writer to take up the succession to that brilliant and illustrious group who, in the first quarter of this century, raised English poetry to a height far above the classic level of the age before them. Three leaders of that band—Byron, Keats, and Shelley—died young; the sum total of their years added together exceeds by no more than a decade the space of Tennyson's single life. And if the creative period of a poet's life may be reckoned as beginning at twenty-one (which is full early), it sums up to no more than thirty-one years for all the three poets whom we have named, and to sixty years for Tennyson alone. When his first volume appeared (1832) Byron, Shelley, and Keats were dead; Scott and Coleridge had long ceased to write poetry, and were dying; Wordsworth, who had done all his best work long before, alone survived, for Southey cannot be counted in the same rank. Moreover, England may be said to have been just then passing through one of those periods of artistic depression that precede a revival; the popular taste was artificial and

decadent, it was running down to the pseudo-romantic and false Gothic, to the conventional Keepsake note in sentiment, to extravagant admiration of such poems as Moore's 'Lalla Rookh.' The purchase by the State of the Elgin Marbles, and the opening of the National Gallery, had prepared the way for better things in art; but we may affirm, speaking broadly, that it was a flat interval, when the new generation was just looking for someone to give form to an upward movement of ideas.

It was upon the rising wave after this calm that Tennyson was lifted forward by the quick recognition of his talent among his ardent and open-minded contemporaries; although his general popularity came gradually, since even in 1850, as may be seen from the list already given of his competitors for the Laureateship, his pre-eminence had not been indisputably established in high political society. Yet all genuine judges might perceive at once that here was the man to raise again from the lower plane the imaginative power of verse, who knew the magical charm that endows with beauty and dramatic force the incidents and impressions which the ordinary artist can only reproduce in a commonplace or unreal way, while the masterhand suddenly illumines the whole scene, foreground and background. He struck a note that touched the feelings and satisfied the spiritual needs of his contemporaries, and herein lay the promise of his poetry; for to the departing generation the coming man can say little or nothing. We have to bear in mind, also, that during Tennyson's youth the whole complexion and 'moving circumstance' of the age had undergone a great alteration. It was the uproar and martial clang, the drums and trampling of long and fierce wars, the mortal strife between revolutionary and reactionary forces, that kindled the fiery indignation of Shelley and Byron, inspiring such lines as

'Still, Freedom, still thy banner, torn yet flying,
Streams like a meteor flag *against* the wind,'

and affected Coleridge and even Southey 'in their hot youth, 'when George the Third was king.' Tennyson's opportunity came when these thunderous echoes had died away, when the Reform Bill had become law, when the era of general peace and comfortable prosperity that marks for England the middle of this century was just setting in. The change may be noticed in Tennyson's treatment of landscape, of the aspects of earth, sea, and sky. With Byron and Coleridge the prevailing effects were grand, stormy, wildly magnificent;

with Tennyson the impressions are mainly peaceful, melancholy, mysterious: he is looking on the happy autumn fields, or listening in fancy to the long wash of Australasian seas. There are of course exceptions on both sides; yet in Byron the best-known descriptive passages are all of the former, and in Tennyson of the latter, character. The difference in style corresponds, manifestly, not only with the contrast in the temper of their times, warlike for the earlier poets and peaceful for the later, but also with the disorder and unrest which vexed the private lives of Byron, Shelley, and Coleridge, as compared with the happy domestic fortunes of Tennyson.

It is almost superfluous to lay stress on the well-known metrical variety of Tennyson's poems, or upon the musical range of his language. He followed the best models, and perhaps improved upon them, in using the primitive onomatopœa as the base for a higher order of composition, in which the words have a subtle connotation, blending sound and colour into harmonies that accord with the sense and spirit of a passage, convey the thought, and create the image. His skill in wielding the long flowing line was remarkable, nor had any poet before him employed it so frequently; its flexibility lent freedom and scope to his impersonations of character, and in other pieces he could give it the rolling melody of a chant or a chorus. On the instrumental power of blank verse we know that he set the highest value; he had his own secret methods of scansion, and his long practice enabled him to extend the capabilities of this peculiarly English metre. But for an excellent critical analysis of Tennyson's blank verse, in comparison with the rhythm of other masters, we must refer our readers to Mr. J. B. Mayor's 'Chapters on English Metre,' with especial reference to the final chapter, where the styles of Tennyson and Browning, as representative of modern English verse, are scientifically examined.

We make no apology for having included some criticisms of Tennyson's work in this review of his life, because not the least valuable feature of the Memoir is that it has been so arranged as to form a running commentary upon and interpretation of his poems, as reflecting his mind and his manner of life. We may congratulate the present Lord Tennyson, and still more his readers, on the appearance of a biography that could not have been left undone, that might have been ill done, and that amply fulfils our just expectations. Throughout the second half of this century

Tennyson has been foremost among English men of letters, and it is his proud distinction to have maintained the apostolic succession of our national poets in a manner not unworthy of those famous men who went immediately before. Many will place Browning very near, if not equal, to him; yet the very originality of Browning's masculine genius sets him to some extent outside the highest direct line of those who pass on the lamp; and all will admit, we believe, that on this line no other hand but Tennyson's has carried it across the last fifty years, a period notable rather for fair average performance than for signal achievements in the field of poetry. It is therefore singularly fortunate that a Memoir, which could not but be an important contribution to the history of English letters, should have been undertaken by a writer who, besides possessing the most intimate knowledge of his subject, has also displayed no ordinary ability, taste, and discrimination, combining artistic sensibility with the power of bringing out the salient points of a remarkable character. We can certify it to be a biography of great literary merit; from the beginning to the end impressive, interesting, and often very amusing.

ART. II.—1. *Farthest North.* By DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN.
Westminster: 1897.

2. *The First Crossing of Greenland.* By FRIDTJOF NANSEN.
Translated by HUBERT MAJENDIE GEPP. London: 1890.

3. *Fridtjof Nansen, 1861—1893.* By W. C. BRÖGGER and
NORDAHL ROLFSEN. Translated by WILLIAM ARCHER.
London: 1896.

4. *The Great White Journey.* By ROBERT E. PEARY.
New York and Philadelphia: 1893.

THE story of Arctic discovery is like that of the defence of a great fortress of nature, for ages besieged by man, and still holding out against him. By sap and parallel, by trench and mine, he gradually creeps nearer and nearer, carrying its outworks century by century, but still repulsed and defied by the inviolable ramparts of its central citadel. Death in a thousand forms lies in wait for the forlorn hope that attempts the assault, and winter is perennially entrenched behind the unassailable battlements of ice in which no breach has yet been found. But if the inner works still remain intact, the outer line of defence has been beaten in to their very gates, and Dr. Nansen, if he has not penetrated the walls, may be said to have at least effected a lodgement on the glacis. The approach to the Pole, hitherto advanced by emulous explorers each some miles or scores of miles ahead of his predecessor, he carried forward by 200 miles at a single stride, surpassing by that distance the highest latitude ever previously reached by man. Nor was this achievement due to any fortuitous combination of chances, but to a bold divination akin to those which have made epochs in the history of discovery. When he committed himself to the North Polar current, whose existence he had inferred from signs empty of meaning to others, he backed his own interpretation of the facts of nature in the same spirit of inspired audacity as Columbus when he sailed into space, and as Stanley, when he launched himself on the stream which was to bear him from the unknown to the known, from the inmost heart of Africa to the mouth of the great river on its coast. By this happy intuition he has deservedly earned the fame awarded to him, and, for its verification by indomitable persistence in the face of incredible toil and hardship, his name will go down to posterity with those of the great heroes of exploration.

The history of Arctic research divides itself naturally into two main chapters distinguished by the aims for whose prosecution it was undertaken. These were, down to the earlier part of the present century, exclusively commercial, and only in our own time has the furtherance of science, the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake alone, been substituted for more material ambitions as the stimulus to this supreme form of human effort. Dr. Nansen points out in his Introduction that to his Viking ancestors belongs the credit of having been the pioneers of Arctic research, and he dwells on the colonisation of Iceland and Greenland, and the voyages of Othere and Harald Hardrade, as specimens of the deeds of those warlike adventurers, who steered their longships so far afield from their own ice-bound coasts. Scandinavian fancy, too, peopled the Frozen North with demons and giants of its own creation, and placed there the hyperborean Tartarus of its Nivlheim and Helheim, as well as its Ginnungagap, the 'jumping-off place,' or abyss at the world's end. More remarkable is the exact knowledge of the character of the Polar ice displayed in the '*Kongespeilet*,' or '*Mirror of Kings*,' one of the surviving fragments of early Norse literature :

'As soon as one has traversed the greater part of the wild sea,' runs the passage in question, 'one comes upon such a huge quantity of ice that nowhere in the whole world has the like been known. Some of the ice is so flat that it looks as if it were frozen on the sea itself; it is from 8 to 10 feet thick, and extends so far out into the sea that it would take a journey of four or more days to reach the land over it. . . . This ice is of a wonderful nature. It lies at times quite still, as one would expect, with openings or large fjords in it; but sometimes its movement is so swift and rapid as to equal that of a ship running before the wind, and it drifts against the wind as often as with it.'

But between this legendary age of Scandinavian adventure and the date at which Western Europe took up the running in maritime adventure lies the great gulf in which the older civilisation perished, and the newer struggled into existence through long throes of birth. The modern era opened with the towering achievements of Spain and Portugal, by which at the close of the fifteenth century the gates of the East and the West, of the sunset and the dawn, were thrown open simultaneously, and the Caucasian race, dazed with the splendour of the future in store for it, entered on the inheritance of the earth. But in that inheritance other nations were at first denied all share by the monopoly of the ocean routes claimed by their dis-

coverers, and Tudor England, when the stirrings of commercial enterprise began to wake within her, found herself excluded from any part in the golden booty of the East Indies and Spanish Main.

To seek an alternative route to the treasure-lands of the world by steering to the north of the intervening continents became therefore the dream of her merchants and seamen. The idea of its practicability was based on a twofold misconception: the imaginary contraction of the land masses along the higher parallels, and the existence of the fabled Polynia, or open Polar Sea, which still continues to haunt the brain of even accomplished navigators. The first illusion suggested to William Barents on reaching the Gulf of Obi, after his circumnavigation of Novaya Zemlya in 1594, the belief that he had doubled the northern promontory of Asia; and to the English sailor Thomas Dutton, the equally false conviction that he had steered into the Pacific after passing Hudson's Strait in 1612.

The attempt to seek a North-East Passage to the Indies, first urged upon the Government of Henry VII. in 1527 by Robert Thorne, an Englishman residing in Seville, was not actually made till a quarter of a century later. The project was then revived by Sebastian Cabot, in response to the appeal of the citizens of London for his advice as to a remedy for the prevailing stagnation of trade, and at his suggestion was founded, on December 18, 1551, the Company of Merchant Adventurers 'for the searche and discoverie of 'the northern part of the world by sea to open a way and 'passage to Cathay by the North-East.' The previous voyages of the Cabots themselves, though resulting in the discovery of Newfoundland and the exploration of 1,800 miles of the coast of the New World, had proved the hopelessness of searching for a North-West passage across the unbroken bulk of continent they found barring the way. An expedition of three ships, commanded by the gallant Sir Hugh Willoughby, with Richard Chancellor as his pilot, was accordingly fitted out by the Merchant Adventurers, and sailed from the Thames on May 30, 1553, to seek for the North-East Passage through the Polar Seas. Separated by a storm off the Lofoden Islands, the consorts parted company, never to meet again. The fate of two of their number forms a fitting prologue to the long tragedy of the Arctic ice, for their crews, sixty-two all told, including the leader of the

expedition, perished to a man of scurvy on the desolate shores of Russian Lapland, where the ships, manned by the dead, were found by native fishermen in the following spring. This disaster was counterbalanced by the success which attended Chancellor's voyage. Entering the White Sea, he wintered near the spot which is now occupied by the port of Archangel, journeyed to the Court of Ivan the Terrible at Moscow, and obtained from him those commercial privileges for England which led to the formation of the Muscovy Company, and laid the foundations of the trade between this country and Russia. This voyage was the first and last British effort on any considerable scale to reach the Far East by way of the Siberian Seas, although the visit of Stephen Burrough to Novaya Zemlya in 1556, and of Pet and Jackman in vessels of 20 and 40 tons to the Kara Sea in 1580, deserve to be chronicled as daring achievements of nautical pioneering.

The Dutch followed on their track, and William Barents, in three memorable voyages in 1594-97, discovered Spitzbergen, explored the northern contours of Novaya Zemlya, and, icebound on its desolate shore, added a new experience to human adventure by passing the winter in the Arctic regions. Not for 275 years was Ice Haven, the scene of this experience, revisited by a ship, and Captain Carlsen, who in 1871 circumnavigated Novaya Zemlya, found and brought home the relics of the Barents expedition to be preserved in a museum in Holland.

The American had meantime been substituted for the Asiatic Polar route as the goal of English maritime ambition, kept steadily in view until its discovery at the end of 300 years proved at once its existence and its impracticability. From the series of voyages initiated by that of Sir Martin Frobisher in 1576, each of which contributed its quota to our knowledge of the intricate approaches to the western Arctic Seas, those of Henry Hudson and Thomas Baffin stand out pre-eminent. The former, sent out by the Muscovy Company in 1607, to sail, if possible, across the Pole itself, although he fell short of that counsel of perfection, reached a high latitude in the Spitzbergen seas, but found the ice barrier a hopeless obstacle to further progress. Three years later he started on a more eventful voyage in a ship of 55 tons, provisioned for six months. Rounding Cape Farewell, he brought up the Desolations, as western Greenland was not inappropriately called, and, still steering north, encountered the appalling spectacle of the ice procession of Baffin's Bay.

Threading his course amid its floating Alps, sometimes anchored to one, sometimes following the channels between them, he struck the great western strait leading to the broad expanse of sea that bears his name. As he tracked its eastern shore southward his hopes ran high, for now indeed he thought the riddle of ages was solved, and the Pacific Ocean, with its fabulous isles, reached by a route which had doubled the last cape of America. But ere that was in truth accomplished the ice was yet to demand many other victims, and he himself was doomed to be one of the first. A sullen and mutinous crew, frost-bound and entrapped in the rigours of an Arctic winter, plotted to get rid of their commander, and turned him adrift in an open boat, with a few sick and helpless sailors as his companions. In what form their fate overtook them none ever knew, and the great navigator vanishes into the darkness, leaving his name writ large across the map of Arctic America. Baffin earned a like distinction at a cheaper rate, for he returned in safety from his exploration, in 1616, of the great northern bight that bears his name, after having discovered the openings of its three main outlets—Smith, Jones, and Lancaster Sounds—though without recognising their true character of avenues to the seas beyond. His voyage, therefore, regarded as conclusively disproving the existence of the North-West Passage, closed for two centuries the efforts of British seamanship in this direction.

The pursuit of the mirage had not, however, been altogether in vain. It bore fruit in the establishment of the Greenland and Spitzbergen whale fishery, which has been at once a considerable source of profit and an inestimable school of seamanship to the nations taking part in it. Scoresby gives an aggregate value of 25,000,000*l.* for the produce of the Dutch fishery from 1668 to 1778, while his own take in thirty voyages was worth 200,000*l.* General Greely* estimates the total value of the fish captured by English, Americans, and Dutch at 100 millions sterling, without reckoning that of seal, walrus, and other Arctic big game.

The pursuit by England of that will-o'-the-wisp, the trans-polar route to India, was resumed in this century as soon as the restoration of peace on the Continent set free her energies for pacific enterprise. The expedition despatched under Ross and Parry in 1818 had a purely negative result,

* 'Handbook of Arctic Discoveries.' By A. W. Greely. London : Sampson Low. 1896.

since its commander, after a somewhat perfunctory examination of Baffin's Bay, reaffirmed the view taken of it by its first explorer as a *cul-de-sac*, completely land-locked on three sides. But this opinion was not shared by his second in command, and the three memorable voyages which have rendered the name of Captain Parry a household word followed on this initial failure. Sailing triumphantly through Lancaster Sound, that threshold of the western polar seas, he tracked the unknown waterways beyond to a point 30 degrees of longitude past that reached by any previous explorer, and lifted the veil of mystery which had until then hung over the existence of an ocean to the north of the American continent. His ultimate point on Melville Island still remains the *ne plus ultra* of navigation in that direction, since it was only reached by M'Clure on foot across the ice from the west, in order to prove the continuity of the North-West Passage by establishing its connection with his farthest from the opposite side. Parry's explorations from 1819 to 1825 were supplemented by those of Sir John Ross, whose five winters in the Arctic regions, from 1829 to 1833 inclusive, were signalised by many important discoveries, including the determination of the North Magnetic Pole by his nephew, Sir James Clark Ross.

Coincidentally with Parry's first voyage the future discoverer of the long-sought-for strait from west to east had appeared upon the scene. Franklin, starting by land from the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company, by journeys over ice and ocean, in sledge and canoe, had, in combination with Back, Richardson, and Hood, surveyed 550 miles of the Arctic coast of America, leaving a blank of only 50 leagues between his limit and that reached through Bering Strait by the 'Blossom,' of the expedition commanded by Captain Beechey. But while the contours of this portion of the American coast had thus been delineated with approximate accuracy, the connecting links between it and the western outlet of Lancaster Sound yet remained to be established in order to prove the existence of a continuous waterway by the north-west.

This was the quest on which the 'Erebus' and 'Terror,' under the command of Sir John Franklin, were sent out in May 1845, to disappear from human ken in the middle ice of Baffin's Bay. Last seen there by the crew of a whaler, waiting for a free path to Lancaster Sound, the lost expedition entered the frozen archipelago from whose mazes it was never to emerge. The story of the thirty-nine relief parties

sent on its track both from England and the United States, between 1847 and 1859, at a cost to this country of between two and three millions, forms in itself a whole library of Arctic literature; but it was reserved for the widowed Lady Franklin to crown her husband's memory with the glory of the discovery achieved at the cost of his life. The steamer-yacht 'Fox,' despatched almost entirely at her expense, under the command of Sir Leopold M'Clintock, found, not only the last relics of the expedition, but a document establishing its title to have attained its object by traversing the gap between the known seas on the east and on the west, thus achieving the exploration of the North-West Passage. Sir Robert M'Clure's discovery in the interim of a second through waterway in much higher latitude, by reaching, *vid* Bering Strait, Parry's farthest from Baffin's Bay, does not derogate from Franklin's fame, since the discovery of the latter had priority. It had long ceased to have any save a theoretic importance, nor has any one vessel ever traversed throughout the ice-blocked labyrinth of the Arctic archipelago, while a gap of fifty-seven miles separates the points reached in ships by Parry from one direction, and by Collinson, M'Clure's second in command, from another. Barren of all but fame, the quest of ages brought laurels only to the dead, and the so-called passage remains for ever impassable.

On the proof of the hopelessness of all commercial possibilities in the far north followed the opening of the second chapter of Arctic exploration, with the substitution of scientific for material aims as the incentive to its prosecution. Parry, the pioneer of northerly ice travel, by the use for the first time of boats and sledges combined, attained in 1827 the latitude of $82^{\circ} 45'$, which remained for half a century the record of such achievement, and has since been only four times surpassed. His efforts at further progress were baffled, like those of most of his successors, by the southerly drift of the ice counteracting his toilsome advance in the opposite direction.

Smith Sound, with its outlets, Kane Basin, and Kennedy and Robeson Channels, resembling an Arctic Hellespont, Sea of Marmora, and Bosphorus, furnished an avenue three hundred miles long leading direct to the Polar Sea. Into this sea the United States ship 'Polaris,' commanded by Captain Francis Hall, was the first to penetrate, attaining in 1871 a latitude of $82^{\circ} 11'$, the highest then reached by navigation. Her voyage was signalised by the terrible ex-

perience of a portion of her crew, nineteen in number, who, having taken refuge on the ice with stores and provisions, were parted from the ship, and drifted on the floe 1,300 miles in 197 days before they were picked up by the 'Tigress' off the coast of Labrador. Not only did they all survive, but their numbers were augmented by the birth of an Eskimo baby during their dreadful voyage.

The British expedition, consisting of the 'Alert,' 'Discovery,' and 'Valorous,' followed the same route in 1875. The ships wintered on the open shores of the Polar Ocean, which was explored in a series of heroic sledge journeys, that of Captain Markham attaining by unheard-of exertions the unprecedented latitude of $83^{\circ} 20'$. The record thus held by England passed to America when Lieutenant Lockwood, of the Greely expedition, reached in 1882, also by sledging over the Polar pack, the northing of $83^{\circ} 24'$, passing Markham's farthest by four miles.

But while the contours of the western Polar basin were thus gradually shaping themselves out of the unknown, new light had been thrown upon its eastern configuration by an epoch-making discovery. The Austrian steamer 'Tegetthof,' commanded by Lieutenants Weyprecht and Payer, hopelessly beset in the pack to the north of Novaya Zemlya on August 20, 1872, was drifted with it in a north-westerly direction for a whole year, at the end of which her crew saw the peaks and glaciers of a pale Arctic land, sheeted in snows, start out of the curtaining mists of the Polar horizon. Cast away upon its desolate shores, they explored them in a series of adventurous sledge journeys, planted the Austrian flag on its northernmost promontory, Cape Fligely, in $82^{\circ} 5' N.$, conferred on it the name of their Emperor, and, after incredible toils and hardships, made their way back by boat to Novaya Zemlya in the autumn of 1874.

Franz Josef Land was next visited by Mr. Leigh Smith in the yacht 'Eira' in 1880, and in that and the following years, 1881-82, he carried out a systematic series of explorations which made known a whole fringe of outlying islands, and gave the coast a considerable extension to the north-west. Mr. Smith's voyages were not only important in themselves, but led to the adoption of the islands as a basis for further Arctic discovery. Mr. Frederick Jackson accordingly started in July 1894, Mr. Alfred Harmsworth having supplied the means for his expedition, to take up his residence on the shore of this Arctic archipelago, and push

his investigation of it as far north from his winter quarters as possible. The result of his journeys, made in the spring and summer, by boat and sledge, has been to revolutionise some of the pre-existing ideas as to its configuration, showing it to consist of scattered groups of islands separated by wide channels, instead of the comparatively large land masses reported by its first discoverers. It is now believed to extend westward to near Spitzbergen, the mysterious lands glimpsed by Captain Johannesen and other mariners forming the connecting links between the two.

Meantime the Polar passage by the north-eastern route from Europe to the Indies had been actually made, and the voyage of the 'Vega,' under Baron Nordenskiöld, fulfilled this secular dream of maritime adventure. Sailing from Tromsø, on July 25, 1878, she successfully ran the ice blockade of the Kara Sea, doubled, for the first time in the annals of navigation, Cape Chelyuskin, the northern promontory of Asia, and, after passing a winter imprisoned in the ice within 120 miles of Bering Strait, returned home by the Suez Canal early in 1880, after having circumnavigated the two continents of the Old World. Her name stands out as that of the only ship which has passed from one great ocean to the other by the Arctic Seas.

Less fortunate was the attempt made in the same quarter by the ill-starred 'Jeannette,' formerly the yacht 'Pandora,' with an American expedition commanded by Lieutenant de Long, to reach high latitudes with the help of the northerly Japanese current. Beset in the ice for twenty-one months, she foundered off the New Siberian Islands on June 12, 1881, while her crew made their way to the Asiatic coast, only to perish of hardship and starvation in the inhospitable delta of the Lena. Yet she holds no mean place in the records of northern travel, as having been, in a sense, the pioneer of the 'Fram,' piloted by her wreckage across the high parallels of the furthest north.

Fridtjof Nansen, at the date of her loss, was still under age, and had just adopted a scientific career, after some preliminary hesitation, during which he had inclined to one of arms, and been actually entered as a military cadet. His temperament had all his life been curiously poised between thought and action, so that fits of brooding meditation intervened between the passages of athletic outdoor life, in which his frame was inured to all forms of exertion. Born on October 10, 1861, at Great Frøen, in a picturesque, creeper-draped house, on a small property owned by his

mother near Christiania, he learned, in his boyish wanderings among mountain, stream, and forest, more from Nature than from books. Of his proficiency in the latter we hear, indeed, but little; while it is recorded that at four years old he was already an accomplished 'skilöber,' or snow-shoe runner. His physique was not inherited from his father (Baldur Nansen), a keen-visaged lawyer of mediocre stature, and must have come down to him from some hardy Norseman among his more remote progenitors. Having matriculated at the University of Christiania, in 1880, he decided, after a short period of uncertainty, to devote himself to the study of zoology, and was recommended a voyage to the Greenland Seas in a sealing ship as the best means of acquiring a special knowledge of Arctic fauna.

Sailing from Arendal, in the 'Viking,' on March 11, 1882, he made his first acquaintance with the ice near the island of Jan Mayen. The approach to the Polar Sea was heralded by the appearance of a green gull, called the 'storm horse,' who keeps watch at its entrance hundreds of miles from land, in readiness to escort the northward-bound ship that passes its beat.

'He had been following us a couple of days,' writes Nansen, 'and the sea was beginning to grow greener, when, on the evening of the seventh day, the cry went forth, "Ice ahead!" I rushed on deck and looked out—it was black night all around. But suddenly something huge and white loomed out through the darkness—it came nearer, it grew bigger and whiter, like driven snow against the jet-black sea. It was the first ice-floe we were passing. Then came others; they cropped up far ahead, glided by with a lapping sound as the sea washed over them, and were left far behind. They were only scattered outposts. But suddenly I was conscious of a strange brightening over the northern sky, strongest on the very rim of the horizon, but perceptible right up to the zenith—a mysterious half-light like the reflection of a great conflagration far, far away—indeed in the world of spirits it would seem, for the light was of a ghastly whiteness. Then, too, I heard a dull roar which filled the air to the northward like surf breaking upon rocks. The noise came from the breaking of the sea on the floes, as it hurled them crashing one against another.'

Caught in the Greenland shore ice, the 'Viking' drifted among bergs and floes for twenty-one days, during which young Nansen, fascinated by the vision of that crystal continent, would have striven to make his way to it, had not the captain peremptorily forbidden the attempt. His time was not yet, but the seed of future achievement was sown in those weeks of thwarted longing.

Returned to Norway, he was appointed, though still under

age, Curator of the Bergen Museum. Having made the study of the nervous systems of invertebrates his special branch of research, he went to Italy in 1886, in order to perfect himself in Professor Golgi's method of demonstration by staining them with foreign colouring matter. From Pavia he was attracted to Naples by the facilities afforded for work in natural history by the Zoological Station and Aquarium, where students of all nations are provided with private laboratories and necessary equipment in proportion to the amount of the subsidies contributed by their respective countries. But Nansen, despite his passionate interest in his subject, was not born to be a student, and the roving blood of the old Vikings was beginning to stir in his veins once more. The ice panorama of Eastern Greenland had, as we have seen, already drawn him like the vision of a Promised Land, and Baron Nordenskiöld's march, in 1883, over some thirty miles of its mountainous glacier had inspired him with a desire to emulate or surpass the feat. The vastness of the area here untracked by man was in itself an incentive to his spirit of adventure, for only the embayed levels at the foot of its scarp of ice have been the scene of Eskimo wandering or Danish settlement. The combined area of Madagascar and New Guinea, heretofore ranked as the two largest islands in the world, is exceeded by that of their great Arctic rival, whose insularity has been established by the journey of Peary and Astrup, in 1892, across its northern extremity from Whalefish Sound to Independence Bay. All, save at the outside one-fifth of its surface of 500,000 or 600,000 square miles, lies buried beneath thousands of feet of primeval glacier, stretching in promontories and tongues of ice to the sea, wherever a fjord or valley makes a breach in its mountain rampart. The wreckage of its gleaming, glassy cliffs, fronting the ocean with shining façades from 100 to 1,000 feet in vertical height, is hurled in thunder to supply the great iceberg stream of Baffin's Bay with the overflow of 120,000 square miles of tributary snow. The eastern coast of Greenland is rendered difficult of access by the accumulation of the Polar ice, which, swung westward by the rotation of the earth as it drifts south, is brought up against its giant breakwater. Its survey has, nevertheless, been effected through seven degrees of latitude from Cape Brewster to Cape Bismarck in 77° N. by the 'Germania,' of the second German Arctic expedition, under Captain Koldewey, in 1869-70. Franz Josef Fjord, running nearly 100 miles into the land, and Petermann's Peak,

towering 11,000 feet above the sea, were the principal features seen and named by it.

From this uninhabited eastern coast Nansen resolved to start on his journey across the inland ice, all retreat being cut off by the departure of the ship from which he and his five companions disembarked in open boats on July 17, 1888. The little column, thus left with its base in the air, must perforce either work its way to the settlements on the west coast or perish on the way. After drifting for twelve days in the floes, they escaped into open water on the 29th, and, falling in with a party of Eskimo, cruised with them along the coast, until they reached a suitable starting-point a little to the north of the 64th parallel. A few days saw their preparations complete, and on August 17 they set off, dragging their sledges with tents and stores, on their march of 275 miles across the trackless snows. Its incidents consisted mainly of variations of weather, inclement beyond belief, from the gale which kept them storm-bound in their tents for three whole days, to the constant fall of snow in the shape of crystal needles out of a semi-transparent mist through which the sun showed surrounded by haloes or multiplied by refraction. The temperature, meantime, varied between day and night from 35° to 40° below, to a few degrees above the zero of Fahrenheit. The declivity of the ice-cap was steepest near the coast, the level rising to 3,280 feet in the first fifteen miles, and to double that in the succeeding 35, while the crown of the stupendous dome was crossed 112 miles inland at a height of 8,920 feet. A surface of dry snow, on which the sun takes no effect beyond glazing it with a thin frozen crust, covered the ice, which was little crevassed and nowhere traversed by surface rivers. The waste is absolutely featureless, save where the horizon is toothed by an occasional semi-submerged peak, rising from the white plain like an island from the sea. The constant wind blows the loose snow against the legs and feet, sometimes knee high, giving at times the sensation of wading through a torrent. Another singular impression or illusion of Greenland travel is described as follows by Lieutenant Peary:—

‘Many a time I have found myself in cloudy weather, travelling, as it were, in grey space. Not only was there no object to be seen, but in the entire sphere of vision there was no difference in the intensity of the light. My feet and snow-shoes were sharp and clear as silhouettes, and I was sensible of contact with the snow at every step. Yet, as far as my eyes gave me evidence to the contrary, I was walking

upon nothing. The space between my snow-shoes was as light as the zenith. The opaque light which filled the sphere of vision might come from below as well as from above. A curious mental, as well as physical, strain resulted from this blindness with wide open eyes, and sometimes we were obliged to stop and await a change.'

Nansen and his companions reached the coast at the head of the Ameralik Fjord at the end of September, and he and Sverdrup made their way thence by sea to Godthaab in a boat which they constructed for the purpose. Reaching that settlement on October 3, they were able to send back for their companions, but were all detained for the winter in Greenland, as it was too late for a ship to call there during the remainder of the season.

Nansen had written of himself, in a letter dated March 30, 1885: 'If anyone may be excused for believing in his lucky star, it is surely I—so often have extraordinary chances happened just at the crucial moments of my life which seemed to point the way for me.' Among such guiding indications may well be numbered the circumstance which laid the seed of his Polar voyage, long germinating in his mind, even before, by his crossing of Greenland, he had made his mark as a daring explorer.

The idea of a transpolar current from the Siberian to the Greenland Seas was first suggested by a singular discovery. On a floating fragment of floe off Julianehaab, on the southwest coast of Greenland, a party of Eskimo found on June 18, 1884, a quantity of relics, identified as those of the 'Jeannette,' crushed by the ice at the opposite side of the Pole exactly three years before. These objects, including lists of the 'Jeannette's' boats and stores signed by de Long, were the subject of an article by Professor Mohn in the Norwegian 'Morgenblad,' but unfortunately are now known only through the description of the Danish director of the colony of Julianehaab, as they were destroyed by inadvertence after their arrival in Europe, two months before Nansen reached Copenhagen in order to identify them. Their genuineness, however, though hotly controverted at the time, seems scarcely open to question. Evidence pointing in the same direction was deduced from other jetsam on the coast of Greenland, driftwood from the Siberian rivers, an Eskimo throwing-stick with a style of ornamentation peculiar to Alaska, while even the very dust and mud of the floes told under the microscope the same tale, exhibiting a variety of mineral constituents indicative of Asiatic origin.

Nansen propounded his theory of the Polar currents to the Christiania Geographical Society in February, 1890, and wrote on the subject in 'Naturen' in the ensuing March, declaring his belief 'that a current flows at some point 'between the Pole and Franz Josef Land from the Siberian 'Arctic Sea to the east coast of Greenland,' and that in all probability 'the Polar current stretches its suckers, as it 'were, to the coast of Siberia and Bering Strait, and 'draws its supplies from those distant regions.' His argument, based on the necessity of some such inflow to counterbalance the outflow of the Polar basin, and for its existence north of Siberia, since everywhere else the ice is known to drift south, was embodied in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society on November 14, 1892, without, however, carrying conviction to the minds of many of his audience. The chief outlet of the North Polar Sea is the East Greenland current, filling the great Atlantic rift valley to a depth of 2,600 fathoms, and carrying south from 80 to 120 cubic miles of water every twenty-four hours. The main ice-drain of the Arctic regions, it brings down, too, some 200,000 square miles of berg and floe every year. The descent of these vast congealed masses during the summer months cannot fail to have an appreciable effect on the climate of Europe, and perhaps accounts for those 'cold snaps' in May, and even later, which often coincide with the presence of ice in the Atlantic. The Gulf Stream, which pours into the Polar basin north of Novaya Zemlya some 60 to 70 cubic miles of warm water per diem, does not suffice to supply the drain of the great south-flowing current, and the balance must be made up by the comparatively feeble stream running north through Bering Strait, and by the drainage of the Arctic slope of the eastern continent, poured out through the Siberian rivers. The reasoning based on these premises was confirmed by the north-westerly drift of the two ships beset in the eastern Arctic Seas, the 'Tegetthoff' and the 'Jeannette,' the latter at the average rate of two miles a day, increased in the last week to eight. The circuit was completed, and the last link forged in the chain of evidence, by the arrival of her ice-borne relics on the coast of Greenland, after having presumably passed over, or near, the Pole. Hence arose the design of the Norwegian explorer, as bold as it was original, of driving his ship as far as possible into the Polar pack, and taking his chance of drifting with it through the unknown regions to the north. 'Probably we shall in

‘this way,’ he said, with a forecast singularly verified by the event, ‘be carried near the Pole, or across it, and into the sea between Spitzbergen and Greenland, where we shall get into open water again and be able to return home.’

The attainment of very high latitude, not necessarily of the Pole itself, was the object of his voyage as defined in the following sentence:—‘It may be possible that the current will not carry us exactly across the Pole, but the principal thing is to explore the unknown Polar regions—not to reach exactly that mathematical point in which the axis of our globe has its northern termination.’

The daring and speculative character of Nansen’s plan made it seem to many the dream of a visionary, but, if he staked its success on purely hypothetical argument, he at least omitted no practical detail that could contribute to it. The great danger to be averted was that of being nipped or squeezed in the ice, by the impetus of whose colliding masses the hull of the stoutest ship is liable to be crushed like a walnut in the jaws of a nut-cracker. Nansen, in order to guard against such a catastrophe, devised the ingenious expedient of having a ship constructed with sides of such a slope as to give no grip to the ice, but to let it slip under her, lifting instead of crushing her. The ‘Fram’ was not only built on this principle, but had also an external sheathing, or ‘ice-skin,’ of polished wood, rendering her slippery sides elusive of close contact. In rig she was a three-masted fore-and-aft schooner, carrying squaresails for running before the wind, and with engines capable of propelling her at a moderate rate of speed. Her interior was lined with many layers of non-conducting material, obviating one of the greatest discomforts of Arctic voyaging—the deposition of moisture on the sides of the cabins which, alternately freezing and thawing, keeps everything damp and dripping. The expenses of the expedition were found by a grant of 11,250*l.* from the Storting, and by donations, the king contributing 1,125*l.*, and the Royal Geographical Society 300*l.*

Thus equipped for the battle before her, the ‘Fram,’ carrying a crew of thirteen, under the command of Captain Otto Sverdrup, who had accompanied Nansen in his Greenland expedition, sailed from Christiania Fjord on June 24, 1893, leaving Vardo, the last Norwegian port, nearly a month later. Entering the Kara Sea by the Yugor Strait, between Waigatz Island and the mainland, she called at

Khabarova, on the Siberian coast, to embark an important addition to her *personnel*—thirty-four powerful sledge-dogs, sent there to meet her by Baron von Toll. A further batch of these animals was to have been taken on board at the mouth of the Olenek river, but inevitable delays had by that time rendered it too late to make the necessary deviation from the prescribed course. In tracking the Siberian coast through the month of August, many uncharted islands were discovered and the previous view of its conformation largely modified. Several days were lost through encountering areas of what is called ‘deadwater,’ places where a surface stratum of fresh water rests on the salt sea water, and is carried along with the ship, gliding on the surface of the heavier water beneath as though on a solid foundation.

‘The difference between the two strata,’ says Nansen, ‘was in this case so great, that while we had drinking-water on the surface, the water we got from the bottom cock of the engine-room was far too salt to be used for the boiler. Dead-water manifests itself in the shape of larger or smaller ripples or waves stretching across the wake, the one behind the other, arising sometimes as far forward as almost amidships. We made loops in our course, turned sometimes right round, tried all sorts of antics to get clear of it, but to very little purpose. The moment the engine stopped, it seemed as if the ship were sucked back. In spite of the “Fram’s” weight, and the momentum she usually has, we could, in the present instance, go at full speed till within a fathom or two of the edge of the ice, and hardly feel a shock when she touched.’

Despite this unforeseen obstacle, Cape Chelyuskin was rounded on September 10, and the ‘Fram,’ after steering along the New Siberian Islands, was fast frozen in the floe to the north of that group on September 21, in about $78\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude.

Then came the heart-sickening monotony of the ice-drift, with hopes that waned or grew with the changing directions of the ship’s erratic course, as her northward progress was interrupted by many a set-back under the influence of contrary winds. Each loop and zigzag on the map marks a period of elation or despair, as the helpless ship swung backwards or forwards with the inscrutable movements of her floating dock of ice. Still, on the whole, the ‘Fram’ justified her name ‘Forward,’ and slowly crept up to the higher parallels.

With the advent of winter she was exposed to the form of trial she was specially designed to meet, the dreaded ice-quake which periodically convulses the grinding floes.

Nansen ascribed these movements in the Siberian Sea to the tidal wave, as the ice packed and slackened twice in every twenty-four hours, while the greatest pressure was at spring-tides, especially those of the new moon. These conclusions did not, however, hold good in the further north, as pressure there occurred irregularly, probably under the influence of changes of wind driving the ice in opposite directions, but were again borne out by the periodicity of pressure as the North Atlantic was approached.

‘Such an ice conflict,’ writes Nansen, ‘is undoubtedly a stupendous spectacle. One feels oneself to be in the presence of Titanic forces, and it is easy to understand how timid souls may be overawed and feel as if nothing could stand before it. For when the packing begins in earnest, it seems as though there could be no spot on the earth’s surface left unshaken. First you hear a sound like the thundering rumble of an earthquake far away on the great waste; then you hear it in several places, always coming nearer and nearer. The silent ice-world re-echoes with thunders; nature’s giants are awakening to the battle. The ice cracks on every side of you and begins to pile itself up; and all of a sudden you find yourself in the midst of the struggle. There are howlings and thunderings round you; you feel the ice trembling and hear it rumbling under your feet; there is no peace anywhere. In the semi-darkness you can see it piling and tossing itself up into high ridges nearer and nearer you—floes 10, 12, 15 feet thick broken and flung on the top of each other as if they were featherweights. They are quite near you now, and you jump away to save your life. But the ice splits in front of you, a black gulf opens, and water streams up. You turn in another direction, but there, through the dark, you can just see a new ridge of moving ice-blocks coming towards you. You try another direction, but there it is the same. All round there is thundering and roaring, as if of some enormous waterfall, with explosions like cannon salvos. Still nearer you it comes. The floe you are standing on gets smaller and smaller; water pours over it; there can be no escape except by scrambling over the rolling ice-blocks to get to the other side of the pack. But now the disturbance begins to calm down. The noise passes on and is lost by degrees in the distance.’

The effect of these recurring tumults is to throw up packed ridges, or pressure dykes, which intersect the ice in all directions, and rise to a height of from 18 to 23 feet, the greatest Nansen thinks possible to be attained by open-sea ice, where not banked up against a coast. These ridges render sledging over the ice a species of steeplechase, comparable to what it would be across country over banks and fences.

Life on board the ‘Fram’ was by no means idle, even in winter. There were workshops where all manner of

necessary instruments and fittings were manufactured or repaired, an observatory on the ice where observations were continually taken, an excellent library, and varieties of recreative games. Christmas Day, 1894, was signalised by the crossing of the 83rd parallel, and a few days later was touched the highest latitude ever previously reached, *i.e.* Lockwood's record of 83° 24'.

Nansen had in the meantime been maturing a project of extraordinary audacity, that of cutting himself adrift from the comparative security and comfort of the 'Fram,' and starting Poleward by boat and sledge across the untracked and uncharted waste of the Arctic Ocean. Leaving his ship in command of Captain Sverdrup, and taking with him as his sole companion Hjalmar Johansen, a kindred spirit with daring equal to his own, he turned his face northward on March 14, 1895, to confront the untried adventure of the ice. His transport consisted of two kayaks, and three stout sledges with twenty-eight dogs to draw them. Both sledges and kayaks had been made on board under his own orders. The latter consisted of a bamboo skeleton covered with sailcloth, waterproofed by soaking in paraffin and tallow, weighing but 36 lb., and with the aperture rendered watertight by a close-fitting ring clasping over the sealskin jacket of the occupant. The camp equipage was composed of a silk tent and sleeping-bags; the stores, of pemmican, liverpie, grated fish, oatmeal, butter, biscuits, &c., packed in canvas bags, and representing food for one hundred days. No more than thirty days' rations were carried for the dogs, on the calculation—which sounds heartless in cold blood—that, as the loads lightened, they might be gradually slaughtered as food for each other for a further term of fifty days.

Starting from latitude 84°, they at first made fairly good progress, and by March 25 had passed the 85th parallel; but the ice as they went on became more and more uneven, and the labour of dragging the laden sledges over the ridges increasingly great, as the dogs could only draw them on the level surface. Their efforts were counteracted, moreover, by that southerly drift of the ice which had checkmated all previous Arctic sledging parties. By superhuman exertions the latitude of 86° 14' was reached on April 7, and then, as nothing but ridged and furrowed ice was to be seen to the north, the adventurers reluctantly turned their faces south, to make for the desolate cliffs of Franz Josef Land, 250 miles away. Struggling over the floes, which presented fresh difficulties as they became intersected with seams of open

water, enduring the extremity of toil and hardship, slaughtering their dogs as they one by one broke down from work and starvation, they at last sighted land on July 23; but even then it took them, now afloat in their canoes, thirteen days of further continuous effort to reach it. Cruising among glacier-covered islands in their crazy canvas boats, they skirted unknown capes and coasts, until the growth of fresh ice checked their progress, and obliged them to go into winter quarters on August 26. The archipelago, though not exactly a Canaan flowing with milk and honey, abounds in the more substantial dainties supplied by bear, seal, and walrus, and the two Arctic Crusoes, having partly built, partly excavated themselves a hut, were able, with the aid of their rifles, not only to re-stock their larder, but also to provide themselves with kitchen fire from the fat and blubber of those unwieldy creatures.

This troglodyte existence lasted until May 19, when the wayfarers once more set out, at first dragging or sailing their sledges over the ice, and later, when they came to open water, paddling in their kayaks, in the wild hope of reaching Spitzbergen, and there finding a ship to convey them home. But this hope was to be realised sooner than they expected, and in a most unforeseen way.

Since the meeting of Stanley and Livingstone in the heart of Africa, there has been no such dramatic incident in the annals of exploration as Nansen's encounter with Mr. Jackson among the ice-hummocks off the southern shore of Franz Josef Land. The presence of this brother explorer, who, as we have seen, has made Franz Josef Land the base of his intended advance towards the Pole, was first notified to him by the barking of a dog in the soundless distance of the Arctic landscape. The contrast between the aspect of the two men is drawn by Nansen himself as follows:—

‘Above us a roof of mist shutting out the world around, beneath our feet the rugged, packed drift-ice, and in the background a glimpse of the land, all ice, glacier, and mist. On one side, the civilised European, in an English check suit and high rubber water-boots, well shaved, well groomed, bringing with him a perfume of scented soap perceptible to the wild man's sharpened senses. On the other side, the wild man, clad in dirty rags, black with oil and soot, with long, uncombed hair, and shaggy beard black with smoke, with a face in which the naturally fair complexion could not possibly be discerned through the thick layer of fat and soot which a winter's endeavours with warm water, moss, rags, and at last a knife, had sought in vain to remove. No one suspected who he was, or whence he came.’

Among other pleasant incidents of the meeting was the chivalrous courtesy of our fellow-countryman, who, inferring from Nansen's manner that he had lost his ship, not only abstained himself from all questions bearing on her fate, but conveyed to his companions an intimation that they were to observe a like reticence. Needless to say, the English party welcomed the Norwegian castaways as the most prized of guests, and Mr. Jackson shared with them what seemed the palatial luxuries of Elmwood, as he has called his residence on Cape Flora, within ten degrees of the Pole.

The arrival of the 'Windward,' with the annual supplies for his party, furnished Nansen and Johansen with means of reaching home, and they arrived in Vardo on August 13, after a sojourn of three years in the Arctic regions. By one of the extraordinary coincidences which marked the voyage, the 'Fram' made her appearance in Tromsø a week later, after a westerly and southerly drift which brought her to the waters of Spitzbergen. She, too, had performed a noteworthy feat, having not only penetrated into higher latitude than any ever attained by a ship, but passed three winters among the extreme northern parallels, and traversed the Polar basin across 130 meridians of longitude.

Not the least singular circumstance connected with this extraordinary voyage was the rumour of Nansen's return originating in Eastern Siberia, which preceded its actual occurrence by six months. Transmitted to Europe in the shape of an official telegram from Irkutsk, dated January 31 [February 12], it was to the effect that the merchant Kuchnareff had sent a message through the chief of the police at Kolymsk: 'Nansen has reached the North Pole, has discovered land, and returns.' Traced to its fountain-head, it was found, according to M. Kuchnareff's subsequent explanation, to have been started by the report of native emissaries sent by him to collect mammoth ivory in the Siberian Islands that they had seen Europeans on the ice in the neighbourhood of that archipelago who were presumed to have belonged to Nansen's party. The tale, easily explicable if false, was at least a marvellously felicitous coinage of the savage brain, since it was, in point of fact, substantially true. Nansen was then in his winter quarters on Franz Josef Land, whence it seems impossible that any tidings of his presence should have reached the natives on the New Siberian Islands; yet their strange tale was still more strangely verified by the event.

The thrilling interest of the voyage of the 'Fram' as a

tale of adventure is equalled by its scientific importance, and its hero has done more to extend our geographical knowledge of the Arctic regions than any single explorer since Parry. His most unexpected discovery was the increasing depth of the soundings from the 79th parallel northwards, down to nearly 2,000 fathoms. This rapid shelving of the sea floor proves the Polar basin to be a true oceanic area, continuous with the deep Atlantic chasm between Greenland and Spitzbergen. Scientific speculation had, on the contrary, conceived it as a shallow sea, covering a submerged continent, of which its girdling islands are outstanding remains, and on this supposed condition of things was based the hypothesis that many forms of life had originated here, and been gradually diffused downwards to lower latitudes. Some reconstruction of physical theories is accordingly necessitated by the facts now brought to light.

The sea temperatures found were equally at variance with many preconceived ideas. The surface cold, of about a degree below the freezing point of water, was exchanged after a depth of 100 fathoms for higher readings, extending to the bottom, though with considerable fluctuations, after attaining its maximum of nearly $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ Fahrenheit at somewhere about 200 fathoms. For a supposed shallow sea studded with islands, and with ice-cold water in its depths, geographers must therefore substitute a deep basin covered with floating ice, but nowhere with a fixed crust, and with a milder temperature in its abysses. This comparative warmth in the deep soundings, combined with the greater salinity of the water, must be due to the Gulf Stream, since there is no other source whence a large body of warm water can be poured into the Polar Sea. The conditions of the latter observed by Nansen he believes to prevail up to, or beyond, the Pole itself. Not only was no land sighted from the 'Fram' throughout the whole of the area traversed by her, but the apparently unimpeded northerly drift of the ice, and other indications, pointed to its absence in still higher latitudes. He draws a like inference from the width of the ice-belt in the Greenland current, to which he thinks a similar breadth of ice-bearing sea to the north must correspond.* The same conclusion was deduced by Sir Clements Markham from similar facts in an interesting article on 'The North Polar Problem,' read by him at the meeting

* 'Some Results of the Norwegian Arctic Expedition, 1893—96.' By Fridtjof Nansen. 'The Geographical Journal,' May 1897.

of the Royal Geographical Society on March 22nd. The continuous line of ancient ice everywhere impinging on the coasts of the western Arctic Sea is also viewed by him as evidence of the absence of land masses farther north which would act as breakwaters in stopping its progress. Its great mass in this region, in contrast with the comparatively young ice seen by Nansen to the east, is probably due to its accumulation against the coasts encountered in its southerly or south-westerly drift, the floes becoming piled one upon another by the winds and currents. The oldest ice encountered by Nansen was the growth of some five or six years, and averaged from 10 to 12 feet in thickness. It is never stationary, and shares the free circulation of the ocean in the eastern Arctic regions.

The Polar basin, as we now know it, is seen to be girt with a ring of islands, formed by outlying fragments of the greater land masses, and united to them by the bank of shallow soundings on which they stand. This continental fringe of shoal and island is cleft at one point alone, where the great trough in the North Atlantic constitutes the deep-water outlet of the inner Arctic Sea. The chain of archipelagoes forming part of the submarine plateau attached to Arctic Asia and America marks, according to some conjectures, the edge of a submerged continent, once clothed with vegetation, as the geological record seems to show. But all known Arctic lands, whatever their past history, are now in process of upheaval, and the same evidence of raised beaches, and marine deposits found high above the present sea level, comes to us from Greenland, from Spitzbergen, and from the lands skirting the western side of Smith Sound. Sea-shells were found by Mr. Seeböhm in the valley of the Yenesei, four miles from the river, at a height of 500 feet above the sea, and Nansen saw near Cape Flora, on the southern coast of Franz Josef Land, ancient coast lines 80 feet above the present beach, and skeletons of whales lodged 50 feet higher than the tide now flows.

His visit to this hyperborean archipelago has obliged us to revise our previous ideas of much of its geography. His discovery of a new group of islands on its eastern flank, named by him Hvidtenland, is counterbalanced by the obliteration of the northern half of Wilczek Land, over which he sailed in open water, where Lieutenant Payer, deceived by fog and distance, had marked a continuous coast line and the ice expanse of the Dove glacier. Of a like dubious character he found, too, the distant lands

reported by the same explorer as lying to the north and north-east of Cape Fligely, and called by him King Oscar Land and Petermann Land. The latter was the bourne of Nansen's sledge journey, and he failed to catch a glimpse of it, although he must have passed near its supposed position. Thus the map of this region has been considerably modified by his exploration of it.

His conjecture that the temperature in the Polar basin would be found to be higher than that of parts of Siberia was borne out by his experience, although the mercury was frozen for weeks together and a minimum of 62° below zero of Fahrenheit recorded. Despite these low readings, the padded cabins of the ship were invariably comfortable, and even outdoor excursions tolerable. The sky was usually clear and the winds feeble, the further north affording in this respect a marked contrast to the weather on Franz Josef Land, where high winds were the rule and gales frequent. The absence of serious illness on board the 'Fram' during her three Arctic winters is the best proof of the care with which all arrangements for the health and comfort of her crew were thought out beforehand.

The darkness of the Polar night was glorified by the perpetual fireworks of the Aurora Borealis, displayed in all their infinite variety whenever the sky admitted of their visibility. The colours at times were surprisingly vivid, but no sound was ever heard, now did the luminosity appear to descend very low down. Nansen, in the article already quoted in the May number of the 'Geographical Journal,' makes the following remarks on it:

'I must mention that the sky was always covered by a faint, even veil of light, which, as far as my spectroscopic investigations could determine, seemed to be a constant aurora-veil. This veil was thick enough to almost hide the Milky Way, so that we could never discern it with certainty. On the whole I received the impression that the aurora-belt which surrounds the Pole extends, on this side, a good deal further north than is generally supposed.'

Considerable as is the contribution made by the voyage of the 'Fram' to the sum of knowledge, its importance is even greater from another point of view as marking a new departure in Arctic exploration. The latter will be guided for the future by something approaching to accurate knowledge, instead of by the tentative methods which have hitherto been its sole reliance. Nansen has apparently proved, by an experiment dared with the splendid audacity of conviction, that the circulation of the Polar basin is

mainly carried on by a continuous current sweeping in a north-westerly and westerly direction from the Siberian Sea into the great southward flowing stream between Greenland and Spitzbergen. It is possible that this Arctic 'river in 'the ocean' may cross the Pole itself on its way from the sea north of Bering Strait to the coast of East Greenland, by a line approximating to a meridian of longitude or 'great 'circle,' and there seems ground for believing that it runs more swiftly in the higher latitudes, since the ice which carried the relics of the 'Jeannette' covered a distance nearly twice as great as that travelled by the 'Fram' in exactly the same time. It may be assumed that if the Pole be ever reached by a ship, it will be by this ice-ferry from the eastern to the western furthest north, whose existence Nansen was first to divine, and of whose utilisation for the purposes of Arctic navigation the voyage of the 'Fram' has pioneered the way.

- ART. III.—1. *Edelsteinkunde*. Von Dr. MAX BAUER. Leipzig: 1896.
2. *Precious Stones*. By A. H. CHURCH, M.A., Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Academy of Arts. London: 1883.
3. *Gems and Precious Stones of North America*. By GEORGE FREDERICK KUNZ. New York: 1890.
4. *Cantor Lectures*. By Professor HENRY MIERS, M.A., F.R.S. Delivered before the Society of Arts. London: 1896.
5. *La Gravure en Pierres fines, Camées et Intailles*. Par E. BABELON. Paris: 1894.

WOMAN is and has long been a 'decorative creature.' As such she has always had a strong affection for those beautiful products of Nature which form the subject of this article; and it may be hoped that she will continue to love them, in spite of the pestilent heresy of Sydney Smith, who is said to have urged his wife to run instantly, before the world grew wiser, to dispose of some trinkets which had been left her. If man in the West is not now equally interested in precious stones, the balance is redressed in the East, where through wide regions they are still highly prized by the lords of creation. It often happens, however, that persons who admire them very much know nothing about them, and we propose in the present paper, without trespassing on the domain of the *savant*, to bring together a good many facts which a lover of gems would, we think, rather learn than not—the sort of facts which the owner of a collection of them might like to tell his friends while they were looking over it. But what are precious stones? That question may be answered in a variety of ways. Some, including Cellini, confine the title to the emerald, the oriental ruby, the diamond, and the sapphire; others would admit the opal, the turquoise, and, strange to say, the pearl, which belongs more to the animal than to the mineral kingdom. We should absolutely exclude the pearl, but include, in addition to the above stones, a large number of others, omitting, however, many which have been cut as gems, but are chiefly confined to the cabinets of the curious. We shall not treat of semi-transparent or opaque stones, however beautiful, with the exception of the opal, the turquoise and the lapis lazuli, which have acquired a sort of privileged position.

Of each of those which we admit into our list we shall

have something to say below, but must begin by a few preliminary observations. We have often heard people to whom such a stone, for instance, as a yellow sapphire was shown for the first time, remark: 'Oh! but are not all sapphires 'dark blue?' and on being informed that that is very far from being the case, rejoin: 'How do you, then, know that this is 'a sapphire?' The reply to that very natural question is a quite simple one. Colour, although of vast importance in giving beauty and value to stones, does not help us much in their discrimination. We remember a first-rate authority observing to a correspondent, to whom he had sent a very bright chrysoberyl: 'He will be a 'cute coon who can tell it 'from a yellow diamond;' and a friend of ours found himself some years ago possessed of a ring containing a stone to which every one of the specialists to whom it was submitted gave a different name, adding: 'Of course we could tell you 'in a moment if you would let us take it out of its setting.' The owner, however, preferred to keep it as it was, and to call it a 'mysteriolite'!

But how would they have been helped by taking it out of its setting? In this way. Precious stones are classed according to: (1) Their chemical composition; (2) their hardness; (3) their specific gravity, and (4) their optical properties. When, for example, you say that a stone is a sapphire, you mean that it has the chemical composition of a sapphire, the hardness of a sapphire, the specific gravity of a sapphire, and the effect on light of a sapphire. You affirm nothing about its colour. To ascertain the chemical composition of a stone would require, of course, a long and expensive process. For practical purposes, then, the best tests are their hardness, specific gravity, and optical properties.

The diamond is by a great deal the hardest of all precious stones; in other words, it can scratch every other, and no other can scratch it. It is conventionally marked as 10 in the scale of hardness, whilst sapphire, which comes next, is a whole degree softer and is marked 9. The oriental ruby, which, as we shall see presently, is only the red sapphire, is a very little softer than the blue sapphire, but the difference is so trifling that it may be neglected. Next, only about half a degree softer than the sapphire, comes the chrysoberyl, and then follow in order the spinel, the topaz, and the aquamarine, which are all equal in hardness and classed as 8. These are followed by the emerald and the zircon, which pair off together. Next come the tourmaline and the rarely

seen phenakite, which do the same. They are followed by the almandine garnet, and the cinnamon stone, a somewhat softer form of garnet, and by the amethyst, which concludes the list of what are known as the hard stones. All below the amethyst can be scratched by quartz. The most important of these are the peridot, the moonstone, the Bobrovka garnet, the turquoise, the opal, and the lapis lazuli, which last is numbered 5.2. All stones below 5 can be scratched by a knife.

When we turn to examine the specific gravity of stones, their relative position in the scale is somewhat different. The heaviest is one which is seldom used in jewellery, but which we have seen successfully introduced in connection with sapphires set in oxidised silver. This is the hæmatite, one of the ores of iron. It is classed in respect of its specific gravity as 5.3.

Amongst stones which are frequently employed for ornament, far the heaviest is the zircon, best known in its red variety, the jacinth; then comes the almandine garnet, and next the sapphire. All these rank at and above four degrees. Then follow a large number of precious stones, all of them classed under 4 and above 3, of which the Bobrovka garnet has the highest and the tourmaline the lowest specific gravity. The diamond comes half way between these, and is numbered 3.52. Next comes a group of stones which are all under 3 and above 2, the phenakite being the heaviest and the opal the lightest.

Major Preston Battersby reprinted last year from the 'Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution' a capital little paper containing rough and ready hints for the guidance of officers at foreign stations in the detection of precious stones. To it we would refer anyone who wished to know how, with hardly any apparatus, he can distinguish a great many of them, and avoid not a few disappointments. It would be difficult to pack more relevant facts into a shorter space. Those who wish for fuller information, contained in a very small compass, set forth with extreme clearness, and by one of the best authorities in England, should expend a shilling in the purchase of the two Cantor Lectures on Precious Stones, delivered last year before the Society of Arts by Mr. Miers, the Professor of Mineralogy at Oxford. There they will learn all they are likely to care to know about the best methods of recognising precious stones, including the use of heavy liquids for determining specific gravity, the

very simple dichroscope, and the far less simple polariscope, with much else.

At the opposite pole from these papers is the work which we have placed at the head of this article, by Dr. Max Bauer, a professor of the small University of Marburg, best known, we suppose, to the English tourist by the beautiful church, a visit to which led Montalembert to write his 'Life of 'St. Elizabeth.' It is a huge volume, containing more than seven hundred pages, and is most elaborately illustrated, partly in colours. A very Domesday book, it omits *nec lacum, nec locum, nec lucum* of its subject, and, while intended for the use of all persons interested commercially or otherwise in precious stones, is *eingehend* in the highest degree, and contains amidst a world of valuable information a vast number of details, especially as to the geography of precious stones, for which the ordinary reader will have no great appetite, and which would have, sooth to say, more value if we were quite sure that the learned author had not, after the manner of his countrymen, mopped up information good, bad, and indifferent, with more regard to quantity than quality. Of late years several works have appeared connected with the names of well-known jewellers. These, although they have more or less the character of advertisements, furnish matter of considerable but unequal value. Until Dr. Bauer's book is translated they will be worth buying by anyone not familiar with German, who is so powerfully attracted by this department of mineralogy as to give much time to it. Should, however, some of our readers be only sufficiently interested by what we have to say as to desire, without collecting themselves, to have a fair notion of the variety and beauty of precious stones, we should strongly advise them to procure the tiny but altogether admirable work of Mr. A. H. Church, 'Precious Stones considered in their Scientific and Artistic Relations,' which is published as one of the South Kensington handbooks. Armed with this, if they will spend an hour or two for several days in the Mineralogical Department of the Natural History Museum, they will have added a great deal to their pleasure and to their knowledge, with a very small expenditure of either time or labour. It is probable that the form of Dr. Bauer's book, and more especially its coloured illustrations, were suggested by the 'Gems and Precious Stones of North America,' published in 1890 by George Frederick Kunz, who describes himself as the 'gem expert with Messrs. Tiffany & Co., the well-known jewellers,

‘of New York.’ This splendid work—the first, so far as we are aware, of its kind—is chiefly occupied, as its name would imply, with a very minute account of the different places in the United States and Canada in which precious and semi-precious stones have been found; but it brings together incidentally a great deal of information interesting to all lovers of gems.

‘Antique Gems,’ by C. W. King, the ‘Natural History of ‘Gems or Decorative Stones,’ and the ‘Natural History of ‘Precious Stones and of Precious Metals,’ by the same author, although much more occupied with the softer semi-precious stones, which in all ages, and especially in antiquity, have lent themselves more readily to the work of the gem-cutter than their harder and costlier brethren, contain, nevertheless, many facts relating to the latter, and should be in the hands of all who love them. The pages of a gossipy book on ‘Gems and Jewels,’ by Madame de Barrera, published in 1860, may still, perhaps, be turned over not wholly without profit.

We must now, however, turn from general considerations to make some remarks upon each of the stones which we consider to deserve the title of precious; and, first, we need hardly say we must do homage to the *Diamond*, which, although at this moment only the third in value of precious stones, has a place by itself, not only from its decorative power, but because it has occupied, and will probably long continue to occupy, a place in literature and history which none of its rivals has ever attained. The chief merits of this king of gems are, like those of many others of his order, by no means intrinsic. It is very hard to make an impression upon him; but, on the other hand, he can with no very great amount of violence be smashed to atoms, as some who have taken the phrase ‘as hard as adamant’ in a too comprehensive sense, have found out to their cost. His substance, again, is not particularly rich nor rare. He is crystallised carbon, a material which in the closely allied form of blacklead we freely use, but do not bow down to. The diamond is a sort of Louis XIV.—a *Roi Soleil*. His supreme distinction lies in his beaming aspect, his power of reflection, of refraction, and of ‘dispersing the coloured rays into ‘which white light is split,’ the latter being the property which is described as ‘fire,’ or, as Mr. Church puts it, ‘the ‘flashing of prismatic hues.’ Be his intrinsic merits, however, great or small, he is the undisputed sovereign of a world-wide empire; and the enormous stores of diamonds

which have been extracted from South Africa, already calculated in tons, have done little to diminish his sway.

A rough diamond is more like a piece of gum arabic than any natural object with which we are acquainted, and gives little idea of its power of adding beauty to beauty. A very large series may be seen in the Natural History Museum, most of them small, but one of great size, and singularly perfect in form. This is the Colenso diamond, which was presented to the collection, as an inscription tells us, by Mr. Ruskin, 'in honour of his friend, the loyal and patiently 'adamantine first Bishop of Natal.' How much better is such a mode of commemoration than a work of art of the class which made someone suggest, as a proper method of commemorating the sixtieth year of her Majesty's reign, the solemn destruction of all the statues in the streets and squares of London!

The largest of all known diamonds is that which bears the sufficiently absurd name of the Excelsior. It was found on the last day of June, 1893, at Jagersfontein, is believed to weigh $971\frac{3}{4}$ carats, and to be of the most beautiful blue-white colour.

The values attached to large diamonds are of course quite fanciful. Dr. Bauer says that the great Braganza diamond, now believed not to be a diamond at all, was valued at 224,000,000*l.* sterling. *Solvuntur risu tabule!*

The most highly prized of all diamonds are the Indian—the so-called Golconda diamonds; not that a diamond was ever found at Golconda. It was only the mart where they were sold. Most of the fine Indian diamonds must have been picked up, at rare intervals becoming ever rarer, in various parts of what are known as the Ceded Districts, in Bellary, in Anantapur, and especially in Kurnool, which was probably the original home of the Kohinoor. The reader may ask, Why do we not hear of diamond mining in that region? Alas! many have been at great pains to inquire into the chances of success which would be likely to attend such an enterprise; but there does not seem to be the slightest reason to suppose that a more systematic search for diamonds would lead to any satisfactory result. The last important stone found in that part of India is known as the Gor-do-norr, an appellation which is nothing more than the name slightly altered of a very worthy jeweller of Madras, Mr. Gordon Orr, in whose possession it was fifteen or sixteen years ago. Mr. Church speaks highly of its merits, and its size is considerable— $213\frac{1}{2}$ grains. There

are some small diamond diggings in Bunganapilly, a tiny *enclave* in the Kurnool district, but they are without importance.

There is a great deal of false and a great deal of doubtful history to be read by those who look for it in connection with the diamond. Dr. Bauer has obviously taken much pains to collect facts, but the value of some of them may be gauged by the circumstance that he speaks of the Nassick diamond having belonged to the 'Fürst von Peschwa,' a creature who never existed on the surface of this planet. A spirit of absurdity seems to descend upon persons who write about this particular diamond, for we once saw it asserted, to the confusion of geography and history, that it had belonged to the 'Peshawur of the Mahrattas!' Dr. Bauer's account of the Sancy is also quite worthless. The Sancy, which was in London a few years ago, is an Indian cut stone. How it came to Europe is not known, but it has been proved *not* to have belonged to Charles the Bold. It takes its name from Nicolas Harlay de Sancy, who sold it to our James I. in 1604. Carried by Henrietta Maria to France, it came eventually into the hands of Mazarin, who left it to Louis XIV. It was stolen in the Revolution and found its way back to India. Dr. Bauer, writing last year, leaves it in the possession of the 'Maharajah of Gutticola,' another monster who never lived on land or sea. It may conceivably have then belonged to the Maharajah of Puttiala, but we do not know that it did. If mistakes of this kind are made by a laborious man of science like Dr. Bauer, what mistakes may not be made by mere popular authors? We advise all persons, accordingly, to more than half disbelieve every story they hear about any of the great historical diamonds. Would that all had been as carefully investigated as was the most interesting of all, that of the Regent, which was told by the late Sir Henry Yule, whose name is a synonym for accuracy and scholarship.

Mr. Kunz, writing of America in 1890, says: 'Ten years ago \$100,000 was an unusual amount for even the wealthiest to have invested in diamonds; to-day there are numbers of families each owning diamonds to the value of half a million dollars. Of the French crown jewels, more than one-third, aggregating over \$500,000 in value, came to the United States.' He adds that at least half a dozen families in that country own jewels which rank as regards intrinsic worth with some of those belonging to the royal and imperial families of Europe, the American

ones being finer in quality, the European ones having a value of their own from their historical associations.

We may next pass to the stone whose name occurs most frequently along with that of the diamond as a sort of symbol of magnificence—to the *true or Oriental Ruby*, which is a form of the substance known as corundum. The ruby, like the sapphire, is an oxide of aluminum. We say like the sapphire, for they are really the same substance, differently coloured, save that, as we have seen, the sapphire is a very little the harder of the two. The true ruby might, with perfect propriety, be called a red sapphire, while the sapphire would not object to be called a blue ruby. A ruby of one carat costs about twice as much as a diamond of the same size and quality; but a ruby of three carats costs about ten times as much as a three-carat diamond. The best rubies used to come from Burma, but of late there seems to have been a great failure in the supply. Dr. Bauer, with the fatuity which is apt to characterise even educated Germans when they talk of this country, intimates a half belief that one of the reasons why England took Burma was that she desired to possess the ruby mines! Every now and then fine rubies are found in Ceylon, while a good many, not so fine, come from Siam.

Another source of rubies is nearer home; for this, the most valuable of all precious stones, is the only one, so far as we are aware, save the turquoise, which has been made artificially of a sufficient size to have a commercial value. What is made is not an imitation of the Oriental ruby, but the Oriental ruby itself—that is to say, a substance having the same appearance, the same weight, the same hardness, and the same effect on light, as the natural product. The chief difference which the acutest and most practised specialist can detect is that the tiny cavities which occur in the true ruby are angular, while those in the artificial ruby are like air-bubbles. Before, then, ladies give for a ruby of three carats ten times as much as they would give for a diamond of three carats, they should be quite sure that it was called into existence in the laboratory of Nature, and not in the laboratory of a clever chemist in some European or American city.

King thinks that a wild fable relating to a stone which the Greeks called Pentarbes, and which is stated to have been seen in India by Apollonius of Tyana, refers to the ruby. It was believed to be luminous in the dark—so

luminous that 'Jamshid's ruby cup blushed rosy through ' the porphyry walls within which it was immured.'

Most people believe, as we have hinted, all *Sapphires* to be dark blue, but nothing can be further from the truth. There are light blue sapphires, and grey sapphires, and lilac sapphires. Some are bright yellow, others have a primrose hue, others are orange-coloured. These yellow sapphires are often, but most improperly, called oriental topazes, for they have nothing to do with the topaz, and are much less widely distributed. The finest we have chanced to see is amongst the crown jewels at Vienna, and is said to have been worn by Maria Theresa as a clasp for the fur mantle which she used when sledging. Other sapphires are green, and are then known, again quite improperly, as oriental emeralds. They are much more rare than the true emerald, and in our opinion superior to it in every way. That is, however, a mere matter of taste. About as rare is the purple sapphire, known as the oriental amethyst; but all these designations are merely confusing, and should be banished. There is also a white sapphire, perhaps the *first* Adamas of antiquity, which has not the brilliance of the diamond, but is not, after all, so very much behind it. The European jeweller has, so far as we know, permitted it to keep its own name; but in the East it bears the very fitting title of the Luz or Lux sapphire—the sapphire of light. There are sapphires which really defy description. One familiar to us—a large and very lovely stone—has been described by various people as 'rose of dawn,' '*eau rouge*,' 'zinnia pink,' 'pink with bronze shades,' 'pink with gold shades.'

The most valuable sapphires are blue with the blue of a cornflower, and have a soft velvety look; but there are so many shades of blue sapphires that one is reminded in turning over a collection of them of Ruskin's delightful description of the Rhone at Geneva: 'The ever-answering ' glow of unearthly aqua-marine, ultra-marine, violet blue, ' gentian blue, peacock blue, river of Paradise blue, glass ' of a painted window melted in the sun.' A rough, old-fashioned classification divided all blue sapphires into male and female—the former being dark and the latter light.

Some people admire very much parti-coloured sapphires, among which those which are partly blue and partly yellow are most frequently met with; but among Ceylon stones we have seen one, and one only, which is red and blue—a hybrid, one might say, between the oriental ruby and the sapphire,

a most strange and sinister-looking stone, which ought to have been, and was not, the property of Lucrezia Borgia. Similar stones are said to be found not unfrequently in Montana. Another interesting sapphire is that known as the *Asterias*, or star-stone. In the more perfect specimens there is a well-marked star of six rays, very beautiful when seen by any strong light, either natural or artificial.

Closely connected with the *Asterias* are a group of stones, always cut *en cabochon*, which would be star-stones if they could. Some of these have most beautiful colours, and some look as if they were first-cousins of the opal, with which, however, as we shall see hereafter, they have no relationship.

The best sapphires which now come into the market, according to Dr. Bauer, are found in Siam, but very beautiful ones come from Ceylon. A few years ago a new source of sapphires was discovered in Kashmir. These are exceedingly pretty, but we have never seen any with the soft velvety appearance of the best Ceylon sapphires. On the contrary, they have a determined, self-assertive look, hard to describe, but which would, we think, strike anyone who compared the two.

King comes to the conclusion, and shows very strong reasons for doing so, that our sapphire was the *Hyacinthus* of the Romans, while their *Sapphirus* was our lapis lazuli. So intractable a material as crystallised corundum required modern appliances to make it easily workable; and we, no doubt, see the sapphire to far greater advantage than did the ancients. Although its beauty can never have been fully appreciated until it was cut into the brilliant form, it was used even by the Greek, but much more by the Roman, gem-cutter; and in mediæval times it became specially appropriated to bishops' rings. It owed this honour to a singular circumstance. The sapphire is very cold to the touch, as anyone can find out who will apply his tongue, first to a piece of glass, and then to a specimen of this stone. Hence arose a fancy that it was inimical to heat, and would if thrown into a fire promptly put it out. A further developement of folly and metaphor led people to believe that it was favourable to the virtue most to be desiderated in the prelates who had to preside over a celibate clergy. We have changed many things, but to this day the lover of precious stones may smile to see that the father of *episcopatulos* and *episcopatulas* still wears the symbol of a way of looking at life with which he has no sympathy.

We arrive next at an exceedingly beautiful stone, which

has hardly received in England, or perhaps in any European country, with the exception of Portugal, its due amount of homage. This is the *Chrysoberyl*, which comes next to the sapphire and ruby in the scale of hardness. Like them, it has in its composition a great deal of alumina, but, unlike them, it contains also not a little beryllia. Its most characteristic colour is, as the name implies, golden green, and ordinary jewellers are much given to confounding it with the chrysolite, a far less distinguished member of the gem aristocracy, of which something will be said presently. We cannot doubt that this lovely stone only requires to be better known to be more admired. To ourselves its most attractive variety is the brownish yellow, but many of its friends prefer the lighter ones. There is a fine series in the Natural History Museum, from an inspection of which the reader will be able, *en pleine connaissance de cause*, to agree or disagree with our opinion. In Brazil, where the chrysoberyl seems first to have attracted attention, at least in modern times, it was for a brief period prized more highly than the diamond; but large numbers having been discovered, it naturally fell in value. Some Brazilian specimens which we have seen are extremely pale—much paler than any which we have met with from Ceylon, whence most chrysoberyls now come into the market.

King thinks that this stone is mentioned by Pliny, but it is quite possible that the passage cited from that writer may refer to a yellow variety of the true beryl, of which we shall have to speak later.

Closely allied to the chrysoberyl, which is usually cut as a brilliant, is the *Cymophane*, or chrysoberyl cat's-eye, which is not faceted like the transparent chrysoberyl, but cut *en cabochon*, and has become of late years far more expensive than its lovely relative, 'only,' says Dr. Bauer, 'because the Duke of Connaught presented a specimen of it to his bride.' But the margins of his pages, when they do not treat of purely scientific questions admitting of no doubt, should be sown with marks of interrogation.

The dark grass-green, or emerald-green, chrysoberyl is known as the *Alexandrite*, because, says Dr. Bauer, it was first accidentally discovered in the Urals, on the day on which the son of Nicholas, the ill-fated Alexander II., was declared to be of age. It has always been popular in Russia, partly for that reason, and partly because, being green by day and red by candlelight, it recalls to the Muscovite mind two colours much associated with the

Russian army. It has been described as an emerald by day and an amethyst by night. Few Alexandrites are now found in the Urals; most come from Ceylon, but they are rather rare, and dear even in that island of the blest.

Distantly related to the ruby and the sapphire is another gem, far less familiar, which is known as the *Spinel*. The ordinary jeweller has hardly heard the name; in fact, we remember an instance in which a very respectable member of that fraternity, in an important town, declared to a customer that no such thing existed. It does exist, however, and differs in composition from its more august neighbours chiefly in this: that whereas the sapphire and ruby are formed of alumina, the spinel contains only 70 per cent. of alumina and 26 of magnesia. King believes that both its red varieties and the oriental ruby were comprehended under the name of *Lychnis*. The most valuable spinels are red. Of these there are two kinds: the deepest in colour, which are known as *Spinel rubies*; and the paler, which are known as *Balas rubies*. Both of them, we suspect, have been sold as oriental rubies. Even within these last months we have known a case of an attempt having been made to substitute the less for the more valuable gem. Spinel has also been sold, Dr. Bauer tells us, for oriental amethysts; and he speaks the truth, for the writer, before he knew the last-named very rare gem, bought in Asia an old French ornament which contained a large and exceedingly beautiful spinel, offered to him, it is believed in good faith, as an oriental amethyst.

Some blue spinels look very like sapphires, but are not so bright, and can readily be distinguished by the dichroscope. Very beautiful peacock-blue spinels come from Ceylon. These are quite unlike sapphires, and are, indeed, like nothing but themselves. Several other colours are distinguished, as, for instance, the rubicelle, and the almost black pleonaste, which Dr. Bauer tells us is used sometimes for mourning jewellery, but is by no means an attractive stone.

The *Topaz*, which used to be very popular in several of its varieties, has now fallen out of favour, thanks to some caprice, which may any day yield to a counter-caprice. It is a very pretty stone, especially, we think, in its sherry-coloured variety. Perhaps one reason for its having slipped into the background is that there is a good deal of confusion about its name. Jewellers have a way of confounding it not only with the, as we have seen, more valuable yellow

sapphire—which they are pleased to call the oriental topaz—but with the cairngorm, neither of which is, of course, a topaz at all. The first-mentioned we have already described. It is far harder than the topaz, and we have explained that it consists of pure corundum, while the topaz is a very composite stone, containing, amongst other things, fluorine. Another thing which may have tended to depreciate the value of this stone is that its colour is very easily altered by heat, so that when we buy a pink topaz we may be buying a manufactured article. Brazil is its principal home; but it is found in many places, notably in Russia. Very exquisite white and slightly tinted topazes come from Ceylon—too large, sometimes, to be used in jewellery.

Mr. Church tells us that the topaz has only been distinguished as a separate stone in modern times, and that when the ancients spoke of it they meant something quite different from our topaz, probably the peridot. King is of precisely the same opinion. The white topaz is, to an inexperienced eye, when well cut, very like the diamond; and it is now believed that the great diamond of the Portuguese crown—the Braganza—which is said to weigh 1,680 carats, is only a very fine white topaz. One very easy way of determining whether a stone is a topaz is to rub it, and to see whether it will attract fragments of paper or of cotton-wool. This the topaz does most powerfully.

The beryl is a very different stone from the chrysoberyl—far less hard and far less heavy. They both contain a considerable amount of beryllia; but while the chrysoberyl contains 76 per cent. of alumina, the beryl contains only about 19 per cent. of it, *plus* a great deal of silica, which is not a constituent of the chrysoberyl. The beryl is best known in jewellery through two very distinct varieties, the *Aquamarine* and the *Emerald*. The first of these is perfectly well described by its name, for it looks exactly like sea water, and is, to our thinking, one of the loveliest of stones.

For one person who is familiar with the aquamarine probably at least ten are familiar with the *Emerald*, the finest variety of which appears to some eyes like a meadow in spring. Fashion gives it a position among precious stones to which it is perhaps hardly entitled. Cellini considered it as by far the most valuable of gems; and at this day a perfectly flawless emerald, even of one carat, is very costly; but its price falls rapidly if it has not quite the favourite colour, or if it has more than a moderate

allowance of flaws. Various huge emeralds, of which there has been talk at different times, have turned out to be mere green glass; but Dr. Bauer admits an emerald of 1,350 carats, belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, to be undoubtedly genuine. It came from Muso, in the United States of Columbia. Upper Egypt, however, and the coast of the Red Sea south of Cosseir were apparently, in ancient times, the principal source of the gem. Dr. Bauer says that both cut and uncut specimens have been found on the beach at Alexandria, and believes that large quantities of these stones must at some period have been thrown into the sea near that place.

The emerald has a strange habit of splitting or becoming flawed on being exposed to the sun after it is taken out of the mine, and for that reason it is often dried slowly in closed and opaque vessels. It is a favourite stone in India, but it may well be doubted whether any true emeralds have ever been found in that country. King believes that emeralds were exported from the Coimbatore district of the Madras Presidency. Beryls were certainly found there; but we very much doubt whether the species of the beryl which we call the emerald ever was. Many superstitions were connected with this stone, and it possessed, according to popular belief, some most unamiable properties, which are set forth by Mr. King in his book on 'Precious Stones and Metals' under the not unnecessary veil of a learned language.

In the very distinguished family of the zircons, the reddish yellow variety, known as the *Hyacinth* or *Jacinth*, is oftenest seen; but there are a great many others amongst them, reddish brown, almost white, green and yellow zircons, the last being, to our taste, one of the most beautiful of stones—like a drop of liquid gold. Some of the white ones are manufactured by subjecting coloured specimens to the action of very strong heat. In this state they have been frequently sold for diamonds, for they disperse the light almost as much, and, being very heavy as well as hard, are easily perceived not to be glass or rock crystal. Their distinguishing characteristic is the presence of zirconia, a substance which does not occur in any other gem; but a great deal of silica and slight traces of other substances exist in them. Ceylon is their principal home; but they have been found in various other places, as, for example, at Expailly, in the Haute Loire. The word jargoon, sometimes used for stones of this family, is only a variation of zircon.

Mr. Kunz mentions that a search begun in 1886 for some of the rarer earths which were wanted to make the mantles of incandescent gas-burners resulted in the discovery of large quantities of zircon in Norway, the Urals, and Canada, and believes that, like aluminium and magnesium, zirconium may some day become a useful metal.

The *Tourmaline* is exceedingly composite, and under this general name are classed a number of very closely related gems whose chemical constituents vary not a little, though they crystallise in the same form. Dr. Bauer counts as many as eleven ingredients in red and brown specimens, while no less than fourteen are to be found in one sort of tourmaline or another; but the most important of its constituents are always silica and alumina. The tourmaline may be thought of as standing at the opposite pole to the diamond, which is the simplest of all gems.

The tourmaline possesses remarkable optical, and no less remarkable electrical, properties. These last are of very considerable importance for its easy discrimination. It has, for example, been mistaken for the oriental ruby, which has no power of attracting small bodies when heated; indeed, no gem has which could possibly be mistaken for it, save perhaps the topaz. It is this peculiarity that obtained for it, when it was first observed in Holland in the early part of last century, the name of *Aschentrekker* = ash-attractor. The tourmaline is found in many parts of the world—in the United States, in the Urals, in Siberia, in Ceylon, in Burma, in Brazil, and elsewhere, but is not often used in jewellery. It is difficult to say why, for it is not easily scratched, and in its finer specimens is exceedingly beautiful. If anyone wishes to form an opinion on that subject, we should recommend an inspection of the case devoted to the tourmaline in the Natural History Museum. Let the visitor then say whether he does not consider the brown tourmaline, the green tourmaline, the red tourmaline, and, above all, the deep blue tourmaline, to be worthy of all admiration. The last two are known respectively as the *Rubellite* and the *Indicolite*. The rubellite is, Dr. Bauer tells us, much worn in Russia, especially in its darker varieties, which sell for higher prices than the lighter ones.

The name garnet, derived from the French *grenat*, a word suggested by the resemblance of some of the family to the seed of the pomegranate, is, as Dr. Bauer points out, by no means confined, like that of the topaz or the diamond,

to a single stone of definite composition, but is the generic appellation of several stones of the same cousinhood.

The chief of these are the almandine, the cinnamon-stone or essonite, the pyrope or Bohemian garnet, and we may add, perhaps, the demantoid or Bobrovka garnet. In all garnets silica and alumina are the most important constituents, but their other ingredients vary very much indeed, and they are all highly compound bodies.

The *Almandine*, which has nothing to do with almonds, but bears a name derived from Alabanda, in Caria, whence it came into commerce, is characterised by the presence of a great deal of iron and some manganese. Its predominant colour is dark red passing into violet and its more beautiful specimens are very hard to distinguish from the oriental ruby. Some of the best come from Ceylon, and others used to find their way to the West through Siriam, in Pegu, once an important place, but now quite fallen. There is no reason to suppose that they were actually found in Siriam, any more than that diamonds were actually found at Golconda. Great numbers of the commoner sort of almandines are met with in Rajputana, and it is by no means a rare stone in many parts of India. The *Carbuncle* of the modern jeweller is the almandine garnet cut *en cabochon*. Some carbuncles can be cut so as to show a star; but the star differs from the asterias, of which we have already spoken, in having only four rays—not six. King believes the *Carbunculus* of Pliny to have been the spinel ruby.

The predominant characteristic of the *Essonite* is the presence of lime. It is a very attractive stone, more like a hyacinth in colour than any of its garnet cousins. It is often sold for that gem, and has been described as the false hyacinth; indeed, up to the end of last century it was confounded with the hyacinth even by mineralogists. If any of our readers are shown a large hyacinth, we should advise them to remember the Pyrrhonist proverb: 'Be sober, and remember to doubt,' before they purchase. Almost all the essonites in commerce come from Ceylon, as it is only right that *Cinnamon stones* should. They are less used by the jeweller than they ought to be, for they have the merit of looking better by artificial light than they do by day. Tiny specimens of essonite are said by King to have been found in cavities in the lava of Vesuvius.

The pyrope, or *Bohemian garnet*, would probably be much more admired if it were not so cheap. Here the violet shade of the almandine is altogether absent, and a distinct

tone of yellow mingles with its prevailing dark blood-red hue. Its composition is very complicated, but the presence of magnesia is its most distinctive characteristic.

One of the peculiarities of this stone is that it is singularly free from foreign admixtures which could mar its purity, so that one might say that all Bohemian garnets are of first quality, although they vary in size, and consequently in value. The cutting, boring, and setting of the Bohemian garnet is an important branch of industry in the districts in which it is found, and since, in the second decade of this century, Carlsbad and Töplitz rose to cosmopolitan importance, the products of this industry have found their way to all lands.

A far less common but very pretty species of garnet (if we may describe it as a garnet, for Mr. Church is very doubtful about its exact position) was found some thirty years ago in the Urals, and is much liked in Russia. The colour being yellow-green, it was first mistaken for a chrysolite—of which we shall speak presently; but when examined it was found entirely to differ from that gem, alike in composition and properties. Silica, iron oxides, and lime are its chief constituents. It is not often seen in England, and, when it is, passes under the name of the *Bobrovka garnet*. In spite of its beauty, it is not probable that it will be ever much used in jewellery, for in the scale of hardness it only reaches $6\frac{1}{2}$, and is accordingly softer than quartz and very easily scratched.

Continuing our progress down the scale of hardness, broken for a moment by the anomalous Bobrovka garnet, we arrive at quartz or silica. We have already seen that this compound of oxygen and silicon enters largely into the constitution of many gems, but we have now to deal with it in its purest form, that of rock-crystal. This substance, out of which all kinds of beautiful objects have been cut from time immemorial, is often so bright as to be used with great effect in the cheaper jewellery of many countries. When well cut it may sometimes be mistaken, if not for white sapphire, at least for white topaz.

The *Amethyst* was at one time very highly prized. Now, however, Dr. Bauer tells us that the amethyst necklace of Queen Charlotte, which was valued in the beginning of the century at 2,000*l.*, would hardly find a purchaser at the twentieth part of that sum. It is probable, nevertheless, that this under-valuing of the amethyst will have its day, and that it will be better appreciated. It is the violet or

purple form of rock-crystal, and derives its name from the Greek, *a* and *μεθύω*, because it was believed by the Greeks to have the property of preventing its wearer getting drunk. Two pretty epigrams from the Anthology quoted in King's 'Natural History of Gems' attest the antiquity of the fancy. It is from the southern part of Brazil, from Uruguay and Ceylon, that the finest specimens come in the largest numbers; but good ones are found in many parts of the world, more especially in the United States and in the Urals, near Mursinska.

First cousin to the amethyst is the beautiful yellow rock-crystal, known as *Citrine*. Very often its colour is the result of exposure to heat, but it is also found in some abundance as a natural product, more especially in the same districts of South America which send us the amethyst. Dr. Bauer does not give Ceylon as one of its localities, but in a cabinet known to us there are several specimens which came to Europe from that island, including one which a very practised eye mistook for a chrysoberyl.

Nearly related to the citrine is the brownish-yellow *Cairngorm*, so-called from the Scotch mountain of that name, but occurring plentifully in other localities. It is sold as the false topaz, and we regret to say that the adjective has frequently to be supplied by the purchaser.

Next in the scale of hardness come the peridot, the moonstone, and the turquoise; but the *Opal*, which is softer than the softest of these, is so closely allied to rock-crystal that we must take it out of its turn. It is composed to a great extent—90 per cent. or more—of silica, but it also contains a good deal of water, say 10 per cent., and, unlike rock-crystal, it is not crystallised but amorphous. Its specific gravity is also less than that of its near relative. In beauty of colour it is, as everyone knows, surpassed by no other gem; but its colours are not produced, at least in the Hungarian opal, by very minute traces of colouring matter, as is usually the case in other gems, but, so far as is known, simply by the effect upon light, occasioned, as it passes through the stone, by numerous excessively minute rifts in its interior and by the presence of water. Dr. Bauer, however, intimates that he is not quite sure that science has said its last word about the colours of the opal. These colours are apt to be fugitive. Your opal must not be kept too hot, neither must it be kept too cold. In every way it must be treated with the greatest possible care and respect, or it will very likely show its annoyance by changing colour.

It takes, too, every opportunity to get broken on the slightest provocation. These idiosyncrasies are, we presume, the cause of the superstitions which attach to it, and which cause it to be considered as a bringer of ill-fortune to its possessor. The *vraie vérité* as to that matter was spoken by a Frenchman, who remarked: 'Opals are unlucky to those who have them not'—so they are, very unlucky indeed! The variety most prized by the jeweller is the Hungarian opal, which is supposed to be a little less liable to change under adverse influences than some other kinds; but the Mexican fire-opal, which has a trace of oxide of iron in it, is also very beautiful; and still lovelier, to our thinking, are the Queensland opals, which are remarkable for the most enchanting shades of blue. All these varieties can be seen to great advantage in the Natural History Museum, where, too, the student of their beauties will probably hear some person enlarge to his or her companion on the manifest danger of possessing these treasures, which have not as yet, however, done much to injure the British nation.

The black opal is very rarely found in Nature, though Dr. Bauer fully admits its existence. It may be suspected, however, that some black opals, like most onyxes, are manufactured articles. Undoubtedly the so-called mother-of-opal, that is to say the stone in which the opal is found, which is sometimes dotted with little particles of opal, can be made to absorb oil and then heated until it becomes black, while the spangles of opal stand out unaltered from the surface, with which they contrast in a very pleasing manner. There is a good specimen of mother-of-opal in its unchanged condition in the Natural History Museum.

Of all opals, the most sensitive is the Mexican fire-opal, which is believed to have been first brought to Europe by Alexander von Humboldt. It has been thought that this very lovely stone is even influenced by the weather, and that it is brighter in summer than in winter. This is more than doubtful. On the other hand, it is too certain that it sometimes changes colour and loses brilliancy without any assignable reason.

There are a great number of other varieties of the opal, inferior in importance to the Hungarian or noble opal and the Mexican fire-opal, one of the most interesting being the *Hydrophane*, which, immersed in very pure water, takes up a good deal of it, retains it for a time, during which it has much the appearance of its distinguished relatives, becoming dull again as it gradually gets dry. One variety of

hydrophane mentioned by Mr. Kunz has been called 'The Magic Stone' because, when slowly wetted, it becomes transparent, disclosing miniatures or other objects hidden behind it.

A few years ago the *Peridot* became, for a short time, what is called fashionable; why or wherefore, who can say? It is the leek-green variety of olivine, while the true chrysolite is the greenish-yellow variety of the same mineral, although the name is often incorrectly given to other stones, more especially, as we have mentioned, to the harder, heavier, and more beautiful chrysoberyl. The writer once bought in Rome an intaglio which, in the innocence of his heart, he thought might be that more than *rara avis in terris*—an engraved chrysoberyl; but alas! it was only a peridot. The name olivine is properly reserved to the olive-green variety of peridot, a stone which is rarely seen in jewellery. It is a silicate of magnesia, combined with ferrous oxide, found in volcanic rocks; but no one seems now able to light upon any olivines or peridots worth cutting. Anyhow, if they do, they keep their secret extremely well. Mr. Kunz says that all those which we see employed in modern jewellery have been taken out of old ornaments, and that many of the stones which pass for emeralds in Church treasures—notably those in the Shrine of the Three Kings at Cologne—are only peridots.

The *Moonstone*, which during the last few years has enjoyed a good deal of popular favour, is the form of felspar known as orthoclase, and consists chiefly of silica, alumina and potash. It is often called *Adularia*, from the St. Gothard where it is found, though the moonstones of the jeweller nearly all come from Ceylon. From the name Adula has been coined the word 'adularising,' to denote the very peculiar lustre of this gem, which is different from, though like to the *chatoyant* appearance of some other stones, as for instance, the cymophane or chrysoberyl cat's-eye already mentioned. Comparing it with one of these, the quartz cat's-eye, Dr. Bauer says with much truth that the lustre of that stone is silky, while that of the moonstone is more like mother-of-pearl.

Only the blue varieties of the *Turquoise* are prized in Europe; but the stone, of which alumina, phosphorus, water and copper oxide are the chief constituents, is often green, and in Mexico, where stones of that colour occur in abundance, they were highly prized and much worn by the natives. In Persia, from which nearly all the

best turquoises come, the darker blue is preferred to the lighter. The chief source of the Persian turquoise is the Province of Naishapur, the land of Omar Khayyám, who, thanks to the magnificent mis-translation of his poem by FitzGerald, has had so wonderful a resurrection in the England of our day. A good many are also found in the Sinaitic peninsula, but at what exact spot Dr. Bauer does not venture to say, the Bedouin dealers wisely keeping their own counsel. Of the Midianite stones he speaks less well, saying that they lose their colour easily.

Quite different from the true turquoise, but often, we fear, confounded with it, is the bone turquoise or odontolite, which owes its origin to the colouring by phosphate of iron of the bones and teeth of prehistoric animals, while the true turquoise is coloured by phosphate of copper.

It would be well if persons buying the turquoise, in any large quantity, were to take care that the dealer specifies exactly what he is selling—a caution which it might indeed not be amiss to observe in the case of many gems.

In the Middle Ages a turquoise which was given—for a bought turquoise had not the same power—was supposed to be sympathetic to its owner. Hence the words of Donne quoted by Madame Barrera—

‘As a compassionate turkis, that doth tell,
By looking ill, the wearer is not well.’

Almost the same phrase is used by Cartwright in a sufficiently silly poem on the recovery of Charles I. from the small-pox in 1633.

Lapis lazuli, probably as we have seen the *sapphirus* of the ancients, and a good deal employed by them in the making of *intagli*, is still much used in jewellery, and is an exceedingly beautiful material. Pliny compares it very felicitously to the starry heavens, and certainly the contrast of its deep blue with the fragments of pyrites which exactly resemble gold is extremely charming. It is even more effective when used in large masses than when it is cut into beads, crosses, or brooches. There are some superb tables veneered with it in the Hermitage Palace at St. Petersburg, and it was a favourite stone of the Jesuits. Many of our readers will remember their great church at Rome and Macaulay’s allusion to the place where the ‘remains of Ignatius Loyola lie enshrined in lazulite and ‘gold.’

Unlike the stones of which we have been treating, it is

not a single definite substance, but is made up of many, and one piece of lazuli will not contain its various component parts in the same proportion as will another. It was at one time very much employed in the arts, but has been superseded by the far less expensive and equally useful artificial ultramarine.

Professor von Kobell, at the end of a very pleasant lecture on precious stones, delivered at Munich in 1849, and translated into English, answers the inquiry whether the list of precious stones must be considered closed, by saying that he thought that various candidates for the honour of admission might hereafter be promoted to a place in it. He enumerates andalusite, axinite, epidote, rutile, and azurite. A pretty complete cabinet of gems would include cut specimens of all these, but we suspect that none of them have in the last fifty years made any great way in the favour of the jeweller, though one large and fine andalusite has certainly been seen of late years in London society. The diopside, of which Professor von Kobell also speaks very highly, is a pretty and interesting stone, but we have never known it set.

By rutile the Professor no doubt meant rutile enclosed in a transparent medium, clear quartz cut *en cabochon*, known as *Venus's hair*. It derives its popular name from the long, thin, almost hair-like crystals formed of the oxide of the rare metal titanium, and its scientific appellation is sagenite. There is a dark variety, which was probably the *Veneris erinis* of Pliny, though it does not exactly tally with his description of that stone.

We rather wonder at Professor von Kobell's not having mentioned the curious *Phenakite*, which must have been known to him, and which derives its names from the Greek *φέναξ*, 'a deceiver,' because it pretends to be a diamond, and is not. Nothing would be easier, however, than to mistake it for one, especially by candlelight; though in play of colours it is inferior to its nobler relative. It was originally found in Russia, but has since been discovered in Colorado. Dr. Bauer says that it has been a good deal worn both in Russia and the United States, and as it is pretty hard—rather harder than emerald—there is no reason why it should not be. Like that gem and the aquamarine, it contains a great deal of beryllium, its other constituent being the almost ubiquitous silica.

Sphene or titanite, more especially the golden-green variety, would probably have found a place in Professor von Kobell's

list of aspirants, if its softness did not bar its claim to be of much account as a gem-stone. Formed chiefly of silica and of the oxide of titanium, with a good deal of lime, it occurs in various parts of the Alps, as, for instance, in the Zillerthal; but Mr. Kunz tells us that specimens, quite equal to the best European ones, have been found in the United States.

Since the lecture we speak of was delivered some new stones have appeared on the scene, one of the most interesting of which, the *Hiddenite*, or green spodumene, is an extremely rare and very pretty stone—too soft to be used in jewellery, except with great care. The emerald is itself, as we have seen, not very hard—say, from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 8; but the hiddenite has a hardness of only $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 7. It is sufficiently like its more famous cousin to be sometimes called the lithia emerald. In the Old World it never has been found at all, and the principal source of it has been a deposit discovered in 1879 in North Carolina, and believed to have been quite exhausted as early as 1888. A few specimens are said to have come from Brazil; but the number of hiddenites which have been faceted is sufficiently small to make even one an interesting possession—at least, on this side of the Atlantic. The total sale of all these gems found from the beginning to the close of operations is said by Mr. Kunz to have amounted to about \$7,500. A $2\frac{1}{2}$ carat stone sold for \$500; but this must be attributed rather to the patriotic interest which it excited as an American stone than to anything else.

Another curious stone discovered a few years ago is the *Beryllonite*, a phosphate of beryllium and sodium which has only been met with at Stoneham in the State of Maine. It is very brilliant; but its hardness is under 6, so that it is not well suited to the purposes of the jeweller.

The *Idocrase* or Vesuvian is sold, according to Mr. Kunz, by Neapolitan jewellers. Good specimens may be seen in the Natural History Museum. The *Iolite* or water-sapphire, a violet stone possessing very remarkable optical properties, likewise finds its way, though rarely, into ornaments.

If we pass beyond these, we get out of the region of precious stones, even in the largest acceptation of the term, and come into that of their semi-precious connections, the importance of which has at various periods of history not been less than that of the others. The limits, indeed, of the two have been, and we presume ever will be, very fluctuating. It is only necessary to look at the list of stones given

in the twenty-first chapter of the Apocalypse to see that this was the case, for the jasper, the sardonyx, the sard, and the chrysoprase all occur in it; while we have not found room for any of them, even in the very liberal enumeration we have made. There is much doubt as to what some of the stones mentioned in that passage were. King expresses quite seriously the opinion that the writer was intimately acquainted with stones, and concludes from this that St. John the Apostle and St. John the Divine were different people. The most interesting thing in his very learned chapter on the subject is a reference to the Book of Tobit, where, in the prayer of Tobias, occur the following words. We quote from the Revised Version :

‘Jerusalem shall be builded with sapphires and emeralds and precious stones.

‘Thy walls and towers and battlements with pure gold.

‘And the streets of Jerusalem shall be paved with beryl and carbuncle and stones of Ophir.’

There is a somewhat similar passage in Ezekiel xxviii. 13.

Precious as well as semi-precious stones have, no doubt, owed their position in Christian literature not a little to the gem-loving fancy of Hebrew writers; but the happy thought of turning the Holy City into a jeweller’s advertisement was reserved for our own age. In the month of March, 1894, anyone who took his way through Bond Street might have seen the following notice in a shop window: ‘Model showing part of the wall and one of the pearl gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem, with the Lamb in diamonds, and twelve real precious stones representing the twelve foundation stones set in the wall (Rev. xxi. 10–21).’ The ingenious modeller was unable to make his gate of a single pearl, and so fell back upon mother-of-pearl! Surely that last touch, ‘the Lamb in diamonds,’ rises to a pitch of the sublime to which the most gifted auctioneer never yet soared.

The Romance of precious stones, including their supposed virtues, appears at first sight a very attractive subject; but we should warn anyone entering upon it that he has undertaken no light labour, for most of what has been written on the subject is really sad drivel. What can one make of nonsense like this? The beryl—‘Engrave upon it a lobster, and under its legs a raven, and put beneath the gem a vervain leaf enclosed in a little plate of gold; being consecrated, it makes the wearer conqueror over all

‘bad things, and preserves from diseases of the eyes.’ This is quoted by King, with much of the same kind of matter, in his ‘Natural History of Precious Stones and Precious Metals,’ while Madame Barrera has pages upon pages of equal value. To write a book worth reading upon the Romance of Precious Stones would involve an immense amount of travelling and endless examination into the hoards of jewels belonging to private persons as well as to public collections. We fear, too, that the inquirer, if thoroughly able and conscientious, would make not a few enemies by discovering that many treasures were not treasures at all, and that many legends which have been repeated in one book after another have no foundation—witness what we have said above as to the Sancy diamond, and as to the emeralds in the Cathedral of Cologne.

We must, however, bring these fragmentary remarks to an end, merely pointing out in conclusion that we think the precious stones outside the narrow limits for which the ordinary jeweller used to care are likely to receive more attention, and to meet with more appreciation, in the next generation than they have hitherto received. Already we hear of and see very beautiful pieces of work, in which advantage is taken of the peculiarities of many gems which have been till lately almost unknown. Much credit for this is due to the late Mr. Giuliano, and he appears to be finding not a few successors beyond the bounds of his own family. It is far from impossible that an increased appreciation of the beauty of precious and semi-precious stones, irrespective of their cost, which is their chief recommendation in the eyes of the vulgar, may lead us back to the taste for engraved gems which acclimatised itself last century in England, but has now almost vanished from what is commonly known as Society. One of the two great *Dilettanti* Sir Joshuas to be seen at the Grafton Galleries represents a group of persons of the highest social importance engaged in examining gems. We do not think that any contemporary painter would be likely to depict a corresponding group similarly occupied. Yet never were the facilities for the study of these precious relics of antiquity anything like so great. The arrangement of the *intagli* and *camei* in the Bloomsbury division of the British Museum, which was begun by Professor Maskelyne and has been carried further by Mr. A. S. Murray, is quite immeasurably superior to anything we have ever before seen in this country, and we only wish that Goethe could

return for a day or two from the Elysian Fields to have the pleasure of inspecting it. M. Ernest Babelon, who is at the head of the corresponding department in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and who has recently published an interesting work upon gem-engraving, has little good to say of most of the work that has been done in this line during the present century, but believes that we are now seeing the first streak of the dawn of a new Renaissance, and concludes his book with these words: ‘Ces tentatives
‘sont d’un bon augure; pourquoi notre génération ne
‘verrait-elle pas le relèvement d’un art qui, à travers tous
‘les siècles passés, a provoqué le génie de tant d’artistes
‘d’élite, excité le plus sincère enthousiasme, passionné les
‘Mécènes les plus éclairés, et procuré, en un mot, tant de
‘jouissances délicates à l’âme humaine?’

ART. IV.—*A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.* By ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, LL.D. (Yale), L.H.D. (Columbia), Ph.Dr. (Jena), late President and Professor of History at Cornell University. London: 1896.

NOTHING is more remarkable in the history of the last few centuries than the additions which have been made to the knowledge of mankind. The intellect of man is no greater than it was, perhaps is not so great as it was, in the days of Athens. But the knowledge of man has increased, and is increasing, at a constantly accelerating ratio. This addition to our knowledge affects us in every department of life. It endows our inventors, our engineers, our mechanics with new powers. It enables them to achieve successes which in past ages they could not have even contemplated. But increased knowledge has not merely enabled man to dominate nature; it has furnished him with new materials for explaining nature. The old theories which geologists, astronomers, and biologists universally accepted a few centuries ago have been discarded for new theories, to which new discoveries and new inventions have contributed; and the whole idea of the world in which we live and of the surrounding universe has been modified and enlarged.

Ready, however, as most of us are to admit that the area of human knowledge has been extended during the preceding centuries, many of us forget that only a comparatively small number of persons have the means, the leisure, or the ability to satisfy themselves of the truth of the conclusions which scientific men have established. The ordinary citizen accepts the facts that the world is some 24,000 miles in circumference, and that the sun is rather more than 90,000,000 miles from the earth, just as he accepts the fact that a message handed to a telegraphist in London can be transmitted within a second of time by electricity to New York. But he could no more give an intelligent reason for his faith in the one case than he could himself construct an electric battery in the other. The victory which the electrician has won over the forces of nature is, indeed, impressed on him by the circumstance that he can himself communicate by electricity with a distant friend. But the victory which the astronomer has concurrently won over nature is not brought home to the ordinary citizen in the same way. He accepts the facts

which scientific men have established because he finds that other persons, whose integrity he trusts and whose abilities he respects, have received them as proven. Beyond this he cannot go: he cannot hope to measure for himself the circumference of our globe or its distance from the sun.

If these circumstances be clearly borne in mind it will not seem surprising that new discoveries in physics should have only slowly filtered into the popular understanding. They could only be accepted by the great mass of men and women on the authority of those who taught them; and authority necessarily rests with those who maintain old traditions and not with those who propound new theories.

The reluctance of mankind, moreover, to accept the new discoveries which scientific men have made has been increased by the fact that religion in all ages has assumed the task of interpreting nature. Both in the ancient and in the modern world the ideas about the earth in which we live and the surrounding universe have been associated with religious belief; and new theories, therefore, seemed not only opposed to authority, but subversive in many cases of faith. This attitude of religion affected the ancient heathen as well as the modern Christian world. Plutarch tells us in his life of Nicias—if we remember rightly—that Anaxagoras was thrown into prison for explaining the manner in which the moon was illuminated. Perhaps, therefore, it is not wholly surprising that Galileo should have been similarly imprisoned for explaining the movement of the earth. Authority in each case was in favour of the old faith; and authority, in the interests of religion, thought it necessary to interfere with the promulgation of what it supposed to be error.

This attitude of religion, both in ancient as well as in modern times, was no doubt unfortunate. It was specially disastrous in modern Europe, because the religion of modern Europe is based on revelation, and a little courage might have taught its professors that revelation did not cease with the dispersion of the Jews. The history of this people had shown a continuous evolution in religious thought. The God of the Old Testament, who walked in the garden in the cool of the day, became by an almost insensible change the God of the New Testament, whom no man hath seen nor can see; and it was in reality irrational to suppose that this evolution, which had continued through all time, should have been abruptly terminated after the fall of Jerusalem. Unfortunately the Church found it difficult to believe that

the series of revelations, which had been given to mankind through the agency of the prophets, should be continued through the agency of men of science. It assumed that the infallibility with which it thought that it was endowed invested it with a monopoly of knowledge; and it resented the idea that men who had no mission from the Church should promulgate new views of the world or of the universe which were inconsistent with those which the Church herself had declared to be true.

It is, however, too often forgotten that, if the attitude of the Church towards scientific discovery may have impeded the progress of learning, it proved still more disastrous to the cause of religion. The worst thing that an institution which claims that it is infallible can do is to afford a proof of its fallibility. And this is the precise mistake which the Church made. From the seventeenth century downwards it has been constantly asserting that certain discoveries were false, which subsequent experience convinced every thinking man to be true. It did not prevent the ultimate acceptance of the new doctrines, but it convinced men, by resisting them, that its own claims were unfounded. Without seriously arresting the progress of knowledge it weakened its own position, and it set thinking men to inquire whether, when it had been proved wrong on matters of fact, it could be accepted as right on matters of opinion. 'A bishop,' wrote Archbishop Whately, 'who in Galileo's time would have supported astronomy would have saved many from 'infidelity.' A frank acceptance of the new discovery would have preserved the Church, at any rate, from a humiliating future.

These reflections are naturally suggested by a perusal of the important book whose title we have placed at the head of this article. The work which Dr. White has given to the world is the result of years of labour. More than a quarter of a century ago our author—so he himself tells us in his preface—was associated with 'Ezra Cornell in founding the 'university which bears his honoured name.' It was the intention of the founders that the new institution should be under the control of no political party and of no religious sect. It never entered into the minds of either of them that, in thus acting, they were doing anything either irreligious or unchristian. But experience soon convinced them of their mistake.

'Opposition began at once. In the State Legislature it confronted us at every turn, and it was soon in full blaze throughout the State, from

the good Protestant bishop, who proclaimed that all professors should be in Holy Orders (since to the Church alone was given the command, "Go teach all nations") . . . to the perfervid minister, who informed a denominational synod that Agassiz—the last great opponent of Darwin, and a devout Theist—was preaching Darwinism and Atheism in the new institution.'

This opposition convinced Dr. White of the constant antagonism between the theological and scientific view of the universe which it is the object of his present work to demonstrate and combat. But it probably did something more. The intolerance which he and Dr. Cornell encountered inspired him with similar intolerance, and induces him here and there to write with a bitterness which, instead of commanding approval, occasionally provokes a smile. We are not ourselves prepared to accept Mr. Gladstone as an authoritative exponent of Genesis and geology. But to say, as Dr. White says, that Mr. Gladstone's writings on these subjects rank among 'the most imposing monuments of human folly and piety' makes us doubt whether our author has any sense of either proportion or humour. It may amuse our readers if we add that the three other imposing monuments of human folly and piety with which Mr. Gladstone's 'Genesis' is bracketed are Father Thomassin's 'Universal Hebrew Glossary' and the treatises of Fromundus against Galileo and of Quaresimus on Lot's wife. We do not profess to have an intimate acquaintance with the light literature of our American cousins, and they may possibly be nurtured on Thomassin, Quaresimus, and Fromundus. But we can assure Dr. White that in this country our 'state is 'the more gracious,' and that no one is required to read monumental works of this description.

The intolerance, however, with which his own well-intended measures were received induced Dr. White to consider the attitude which theology had adopted towards science in previous generations. Invited to deliver a lecture in the great hall of the Cooper Institute at New York, he took for his subject the battlefields of science. The lecture was subsequently expanded into a couple of magazine articles, which were afterwards republished in a little book called 'The Warfare of Science.' Later on, the publication of Professor Draper's well-known book on 'The Conflict between Science and Religion' induced our author to believe that the discussion, so far as he was concerned, was ended. Other occupations, too, diverted Dr. White's attention to other pursuits. From 1870 to 1892 he repre-

sented the United States at Santo Domingo, at Berlin, and at St. Petersburg, and his diplomatic duties naturally interfered with his literary and scientific studies. But, throughout the whole period of his diplomatic career, he continued to meditate on the old themes. Reflection, moreover, convinced him that Professor Draper's treatment of the subject differed from that which he thought ought to be applied to it. Professor Draper had traced the progress of the conflict between science and religion; he himself desired to relate the struggle between science and dogmatic theology. He was anxious, in other words, to separate the views of theologians from the cause of religion, and to vindicate Christianity itself from the interpretation which theologians had unfortunately placed on Holy Scripture.

The two volumes into which the work is divided differ one from the other in their character. In the first Dr. White mainly confines himself to reviewing the ideas which have been held from time to time by the Church about the nature and form of the universe, and about the creation and antiquity of man. In the second volume he shows how the views which the early Church held about miracles interfered with the progress of medicine, and he proceeds subsequently to trace the growth of religious thought. The work, therefore, covers a large field. It deals with the subjects which are the most profoundly interesting to the human race. And if it is true that much that Dr. White has written may be found in the pages of Lecky, of Buckle, of Draper, of Huxley, and of Tylor, the whole subject has never before been brought together in the manner in which Dr. White has approached it.

Let us now, however, try to analyse the contents of the work. Dr. White attributes the erroneous ideas which so long pervaded the world, and interfered with the rightful interpretation of nature, to the endeavour of theologians to interpret natural phenomena by the language of Scripture. The text of the sacred books, written by a people peculiarly fond of metaphor, was interpreted in a literal sense, and the devout language of inspired poetry was supposed to be as exact as a scientific treatise. Pursuing these methods, the Church succeeded in constructing a universe of its own. The world of the sixth century was supposed to be a flat parallelogram, four hundred days' journey long, and two hundred days' journey broad. It was surrounded by four seas, at the outer edges of which rose massive walls closing

in the whole structure and supporting the vault or firmament of heaven, whose edges were cemented to the walls :—

‘This vast box is divided into two compartments, one above the other. In the first of these men live and stars move; and it extends up to the first solid vault or firmament, above which live the angels, a main part of whose business is to push and pull the sun and planets to and fro. . . . Over the first vault is a vast cistern containing the waters (above the firmament), and the angels not only push and pull the heavenly bodies to light the earth, but also open and close the heavenly windows to water it.’

This conception of the universe, which endured for centuries, survives in our language and in our literature. Dr. White might have added that the most probable derivation of the word ‘heaven’ is the place heaven, heaved, or lifted up above the earth. And so recent a writer as Dryden, in his ‘*Annus Mirabilis*,’ could venture to predict of the British sailor:—

‘Then we upon our globe’s last verge shall go,
And view the ocean leaning on the sky;
From thence our rolling neighbours we shall know,
And on the lunar world securely pry.

If heaven was above the earth it was natural to place hell beneath it. And a mediæval text-book explained the redness of the sun at night by its looking down upon hell. Even the companions of Columbus were afraid that if they sailed too far across the unknown ocean they might reach the boundaries of the earth and topple over into hell.

It perhaps naturally followed from this conception of the universe that an attempt should have been made to fix the centre of the earth. And this, on the supposed authority of Ezekiel, was placed at Jerusalem.* Within the last two hundred and fifty years, indeed—that is, after the time of Galileo and Descartes—a French writer endeavoured to prove that the exact centre of the earth was ‘a spot marked
‘on the pavement of the Holy Sepulchre, and that on this
‘spot once stood the tree which bore the forbidden fruit and
‘the Cross of Christ.’

If these errors prevailed through long centuries, and were supported by texts taken from the prophetic writings, it was only natural that errors equally grave should have

* ‘This is Jerusalem. I have set it in the midst of the nations,’ Ezekiel v. 5; cf. xxxviii. 12, where the same phrase is translated in the Septuagint ἐπὶ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν τῆς γῆς. In the ‘*Eumenides*,’ Æschylus calls the stone on the altar of Delphi ‘the earth’s navel.’

existed about the age of the earth and the antiquity of man. No part of the Bible is so well known, or has exercised so profound an influence on thought, as the first chapter of Genesis. And the simple language in which the story of creation is told by the divine poet naturally impressed on its readers a belief that the author was describing, in the exact phraseology of science, a series of events which had been supernaturally revealed to him. The most devout men founded on this narrative and on the subsequent books of Holy Scripture a systematic chronology. Luther declared, on the authority of Moses, that longer ago than 6,000 years the world did not exist. Melanchthon placed the creation of man at 3963 B.C., and Pope Urban VIII. at 5199 B.C. Archbishop Usher, after years of profound study, arrived at the date, which is still printed in our Bibles, of 4004 B.C.; and Dr. Lightfoot, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, declared with more precision that man was created by the Trinity on October 23, 4004 B.C., at 9 o'clock in the morning. With equal precision Luther fixed the hour at which Eve ate the forbidden fruit at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

For sixteen centuries of our era crude conclusions of this kind were almost universally accepted by educated as well as by uneducated men. The more correct ideas which had prevailed in the ancient world of the form and construction of the universe were either completely forgotten or everywhere rejected; and no one had either the knowledge or the hardihood which were required to dispute the interpretation placed upon Scripture by the Church. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, however, Copernicus, after years of inquiry, arrived at the conclusion that the sun does not move round the earth, but that the earth and planets move round the sun. Copernicus was at that time a professor at Rome, and he only ventured on announcing his great discovery as a scientific curiosity or paradox. He thought it wiser, moreover, to return to Poland before he renewed his studies, and he allowed thirty years to elapse before he gave his great work on the revolution of the heavenly bodies to the world. He entrusted its publication to a friend, who pleaded, in a preface, that Copernicus propounded the theory of the earth's movement, not as a fact, but as a hypothesis. The preface served its purpose. For seventy years the Church maintained a comparative silence on the new discovery. Reformers, indeed, like Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin, condemned the novel doctrine as opposed to the clear authority of Scripture; and the Church

of Rome burned Giordano Bruno and scattered his ashes to the winds; and Bruno, among other heresies, was a strong supporter of the Copernican theory. Two generations, however, passed before the discovery of Copernicus was confirmed by the telescope of Galileo, and the struggle between science and the Church reached its Marathon. Galileo's telescope revealed two things: one, the satellites of Jupiter revolving round their primary; the other, the phases of Venus. Both things were consistent with the truth of the Copernican theory, both were opposed to the doctrine which the Church had taught. Galileo was summoned before the Inquisition, and was required by the Pope himself to renounce the view that the sun is the centre of the solar system and immoveable, and that the earth moves. And the treatment which he thus received was mild compared with that to which he was exposed in his old age under another Pope. Subjected to imprisonment, to indignity, to threats equivalent to torture, he was forced publicly to pronounce his recantation:—

‘I, Galileo, being in my seventieth year, being a prisoner and on my knees, and before your Eminences, having before my eyes the Holy Gospel, which I touch with my hands, abjure, curse, and detest, the error and the heresy of the movement of the earth.’

It is probable that the Church, throughout its whole history, never experienced a defeat whose consequences were more disastrous than those which naturally ensued from its victory over Galileo. Yet it is only fair to recollect that the struggle in which the theologians were engaged must have seemed very serious to the divines of that day. We, in our time, are so accustomed to the truths which Copernicus had revealed, and which Galileo had established, that we hardly realise how opposed they seemed at the time to the whole scheme of Christianity. It was argued, with much plausibility, that the story of the Old Testament, and—what was more important—that of the New Testament, rested on the assumption that the earth was the centre of the universe. If our globe were once degraded from its proud position, it seemed to these devout men impossible to resist attacks on the doctrine of the Redemption. It was one thing, they argued, to believe that God himself had suffered the supreme agony of Calvary in atonement for the sins of a world round which the heavenly bodies revolved, and for whose use, as no less a man than Milton thought, they had been created. It was another thing, so they concluded, to believe that He

had condescended to expiate the sins of the inhabitants of a little planet—a mere satellite revolving round the sun.

Religious men may thus have reasonably thought that it was worth while to stamp out the novel heresy, and they must certainly have congratulated themselves on their success. All the works propounding the new theory were placed on the Index; all the teachers who taught the new theory were removed from their positions. So far as the Church could control thought, the Church prevented the propagation of what it believed to be error. And so powerful was its arm, so difficult was it to resist its authority, that, in the middle of the eighteenth century, Boscovich, the great mathematician of the Jesuits, thought it necessary to avert ecclesiastical censure by the following statement:—

‘As for me, full of respect for the Holy Scriptures, and the decrees of the Holy Inquisition, I regard the earth as immovable. Nevertheless, for simplicity in explanation, I will argue as if the earth moves, for it is proved that, of the two hypotheses, the appearances favour this idea.’

As time rolled on, however, the position of the Church became more and more untenable. The researches of later astronomers, the discoveries of Kepler and Newton, proved distinctly that Galileo was right, and that Urban VIII. was wrong. In itself this would have been a matter of little consequence. There is nothing fatal to a man's character or to his cause in his defending an old superstition which he sincerely believes. What was fatal to the Church was that it had decided the question as one of authority, that it had based its attitude towards Galileo on its assumed right to interpret Scripture, and that it had committed itself to an interpretation which had been proved beyond all question to be wrong. Nothing could have prevented the ultimate victory of reason, and the acceptance of the Copernican theory. But a very little foresight might have prevented the more serious consequence to the Church—viz. that the acceptance of the theory showed that the claim of infallibility which the Church had set up was unfounded.

It would have been well for the Church if the experience, which it thus gained in its first contest with science, had taught it prudence in other matters. But, unfortunately, its later attitude towards geology was precisely similar to its earlier attitude towards astronomy. The problems connected with the creation of the world were to be decided by the text of Scripture, and the Scriptural text was to be

accepted as literal and exact. In St. Augustine's words, 'Major est hujus Scripturæ auctoritas quam omnis humani ingenii capacitas,' and St. Augustine's saying influenced human thought to our own time, if it does not even influence it to-day. The order of the creation, the miraculous intervention of the Deity at each stage, the universality of the deluge, were accepted as facts, and the theological spirit resented and repressed every attempt at a rational or scientific explanation of geological phenomena. Buffon, who, about the middle of the eighteenth century, attempted to 'state simple geological truths,' was dragged by the theological faculty of the Sorbonne from his high position, compelled to recant, and to print his recantation. He was forced to say—

'I declare that I had no intention to contradict the text of Scripture; that I believe most firmly all therein related about the creation, both as to order of time and matter of fact. I abandon everything in my book respecting the formation of the earth, and generally all which may be contrary to the narrative of Moses.'

It is clear, therefore, that theology had not derived wisdom from experience, and that the humiliation which it had ultimately encountered from its contest with Galileo did not save its professors from the folly of entering into a similar contest with Buffon. Yet, in excuse of the theologians, it ought again to be recollected that many of the foremost men of the age were on the side of authority, and not of Buffon. Years after Buffon wrote, indeed, our own poet Cowper professed his contempt for the geologists.

'Some drill and bore

The solid earth, and from the strata there

Extract a register, by which we learn

That He who made it, and revealed its date

To Moses, was mistaken in its age.'

But, whatever divines might think and poets might write in the eighteenth century, the progress of geological knowledge in the nineteenth century forced the Church to abandon its position; and how rapidly it shifted its ground, as discovery succeeded discovery, may be inferred from a curious anecdote which Dr. White gives on the authority of Dr. W. B. Carpenter.

'You are familiar' (so Dr. Carpenter wrote) 'with a book of considerable value, Dr. W. Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." The idea of the publisher and of the editor was to give as much scholarship and such results of modern criticism as should be compatible with a very judicious conservatism. There was to be no objection to geology, but

the universality of the Deluge was to be strictly maintained. The editor committed the article "Deluge" to a man of very considerable ability, but when the article came to him he found that it was so excessively heretical that he could not venture to put it in. There was not time for a second article under that head, and if you look in that Dictionary you will find under the word Deluge a reference to Flood. Before Flood came, a second article had been commissioned from a source that was believed safely conservative; but when the article came in it was found to be worse than the first. A third article was then commissioned, and care was taken to secure its "safety." If you look for the word Flood in the Dictionary, you will find a reference to Noah. Under that name you will find an article written by a distinguished professor of Cambridge, of which I remember that Bishop Colenso said to me at the time, "In a very guarded way it concedes the whole thing."

Yet, after all, this curious history only recalls the saying which Sir C. Lyell—if we recollect rightly—attributed to Agassiz: 'Whenever a new and startling fact is brought to light in science, people at first say that it is not true, then that it is contrary to religion, and, lastly, that everybody knew it before.'

Astronomy and geology were only two of the fields in which theologians assumed and maintained an indefensible position. The story of the Old Testament seemed to be irreconcilable with the great antiquity of the human race, and a literal interpretation of Scripture justified the inference that man could not have existed for more than some six thousand years on the earth. Hence the Church again found itself committed to a position from which, sooner or later, it was certain that it would be forced to recede. The investigations into the monuments of Egypt and into the Assyrian tablets proved conclusively that man had arrived at an advanced stage of civilisation at a period more remote than that which theology had assigned to his creation. The discoveries of the last half-century, the revelations which have been made in cavern and drift, showed equally conclusively that man had existed in a ruder state through countless æons. No scientific man at the present day would venture to assign a date to man's first appearance on the earth, but every scientific man would place it at a period so remote that our previously received chronology dwindles into insignificance when compared with it.

Just, however, as theologians, relying on the literal interpretation which they had themselves placed on the sacred text, had resisted the acceptance of astronomical and geological discovery, so they felt bound to reject the new

revelation which had been given to the world of the antiquity of man. But just as we think ourselves able to appreciate the reasons which made religious men oppose the teachings of Galileo and Buffon, so for our part we can understand their hesitation to accept the new revelation. For the discoveries of the present century, in establishing the great antiquity of the human race, not merely destroyed the chronology which the Church had laboriously constructed; they concurrently proved that man from his first appearance had gradually risen from a lower to a higher position; that the old theory which the Church had endeavoured to extract from the sacred text, and which Milton expressed in the lines that Adam was

‘the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve,’

was incompatible with the new discoveries which the explorers of cave and drift were making.

In its attitude towards the discoveries of the last three centuries, the Church undoubtedly did much to arrest the growth of knowledge. But, though it succeeded in discouraging research, and in retarding, perhaps, the intellectual developement of our race, it was powerless to prevent the ultimate victory of truth. For truth—as the Church might have recollected—‘endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore.’ If, however, the Church had confined itself to resisting the progress of discovery, it would not have seriously detracted from the sum of human happiness. The mass of mankind is not dependent for its comfort or its welfare on a right understanding of the movements of the heavenly bodies or a correct appreciation of the antiquity of our species; and men and women might have lived and loved and worked and wept, without any sensible reduction of their joys or addition to their sorrows, if they had continued to believe that the sun moved round the earth and that Adam was created on October 23, 4004 B.C.

The same reasoning, however, which induced the Church to oppose the revelations of scientific discovery unfortunately prevailed in other matters. The sacred text, so it thought, seemed to indicate the constant intervention of the Deity in the government of the world. It was not merely true that God had created the sun, the moon, the stars, the world, and man himself by a series of miracles. He had since miraculously interposed in the management of the

greatest as well as of the smallest affairs. If the direct intervention of the Deity could, as it was thought, be traced in other matters, it was especially apparent in producing and curing disease. And this idea, which has been prevalent among both savage as well as civilised nations, seemed justified and approved by the language of the Bible. Such diseases as 'the leprosy of Miriam and Uzziah, the boils of Job, the dysentery of Jehoram, the withered hand of Jeroboam, the fatal illness of Asa [were attributed] to the 'wrath of God or the malice of Satan.' And, when once it was established that cases of particular illness were the direct consequence of supernatural agency, it followed, almost naturally, that all disease was due to the same cause. The New Testament seemed in this respect to confirm the teachings of the Old. If the earlier books had shown that disease was due to the wrath of God or to the malice of the devil, the New Testament seemed equally to show that illness occasioned by miraculous intervention could be cured—perhaps only cured—by miracle.

Five hundred years before Christ, 'Hippocrates, one of the 'greatest names in history, [had] laid the foundations of 'medical science upon experience, observation, and reason.'

'His thought was passed on to the school of Alexandria, and there medical science was developed yet further, especially by such men as Herophilus and Erasistratus. Under their lead, studies in human anatomy began by dissection; and the old prejudice which had weighed so long upon science, preventing that method of anatomical investigation without which there can be no real results, was cast aside apparently for ever.

'But with the coming in of Christianity a great new chain of events was set in motion which modified this developement most profoundly. The influence of Christianity on the healing art was two-fold: there was first a blessed impulse—the thought, aspiration, example, ideals and spirit of Jesus of Nazareth. This spirit, then poured into the world, flowed down through the ages, promoting self-sacrifice for the sick and wretched. Through all those succeeding centuries, even through the rudest, hospitals and infirmaries sprang up along this blessed stream. . . . But while this vast influence, poured forth from the heart of the Founder of Christianity, streamed through century after century, inspiring every development of mercy, there came from those who organised the Church which bears His name another stream of influence—a theology drawn partly from prehistoric conceptions of unseen powers, partly from ideas developed in the earliest historic nations, but especially from the letter of the Hebrew and Christian sacred books.

'The theology, developed out of our sacred literature in relation to

the cure of disease, was mainly twofold : first, there was a new and strong evolution of the old idea that physical disease is produced by the wrath of God or the malice of Satan, or by a combination of both, which theology was especially called in to explain ; secondly, there were evolved theories of miraculous methods of cure, based upon modes of appeasing the Divine anger, or of thwarting Satanic malice.'

Two results naturally ensued from these conclusions. In the first place legends of miracles grew up in particular places, or in connexion with particular persons who had passed exceptionally blameless lives ; and, in the next place, people who were persuaded that they might rely on the direct interference of the Deity for the cure of disease, naturally neglected the resources which science placed at their disposal. Dr. White traces this curious history at the commencement of his second volume. In doing so, he partly covers the ground which Mr. Lecky has already traversed in his '*History of Rationalism.*' But he approaches it from a new standpoint, and deals with his material in a different manner. The rapid growth of legend he illustrates by the life of St. Francis Xavier. He shows that in his own letters, which are very numerous, and in contemporary writings, there are no references to any miracles worked by the saint, and that the miracles which are now ascribed to him gradually grew up after his death :—

'For example, in the beginning of his career, during a journey in Europe with an ambassador, one of the servants, in fording a stream, got into deep water, and was in danger of drowning. Xavier tells us that the ambassador prayed very earnestly, and that the man finally struggled out of the stream. But his biographers tell us that it was Xavier who prayed, and finally, by the later writers, Xavier is represented as lifting horse and rider out of the stream by a clearly supernatural act.'

Again :—

'Throughout his letters, Xavier constantly dwells upon his difficulties with the various languages of the different tribes among whom he went. . . . In the early biography, Tursellinus writes : "Nothing was a greater impediment to him than his ignorance of the Japanese tongues ; for, ever and anon, when some uncouth expression offended their fastidious and delicate ears, the awkward speech of Francis was a cause of laughter." But Father Bouhours, a century later, writing of Xavier at the same period, says "He preached in the afternoon to the Japanese in their own language, but so naturally and with so much ease that he could not be taken for a foreigner." Nor was even this sufficient : to make the legend complete, it was finally declared that, when Xavier addressed the natives of various tribes, each heard the sermon in his own language.'

Thus, in mediæval times, legends of miracles grew up almost naturally among a credulous and unscientific people. And the same men who resolutely refused to receive the great truths which science was slowly revealing to them, because they were inconsistent with the interpretation which they had themselves placed on the sacred text, readily accepted the quaint legends of miracles which they were able to reconcile with the language of Holy Scripture. And these opinions—perhaps logically, and at any rate naturally—led to other conclusions. Since supernatural means were so readily available, there seemed to these pious people something irreligious in having recourse to natural means. Had not death been the fate of Asa, who, when he was seized with gout in his old age, ‘sought not to the Lord, but to ‘the physicians’?

‘Hence it was that St. Bernard declared that monks who took medicine were guilty of conduct unbecoming to religion. Hence [too] the Lateran Council, about the beginning of the thirteenth century, forbade physicians, under pain of exclusion from the Church, to undertake medical treatment without calling in ecclesiastical advice.’

The attitude which the religious world thus adopted, at a period when the power of the Church made itself felt in every household, would alone have seriously interfered with the progress of medical knowledge. But the Church placed a still greater obstacle in the way of science by denouncing dissection and anatomy. These operations, so essential both for the discovery and the cure of disease, were regarded as irreligious because the body was the temple of the Holy Spirit, with which it was sacrilege to interfere, and because the shedding of blood was supposed to be illegal. While these ideas continued to prevail the best men naturally shrank from the practice of surgery, and superstition reigned supreme because no one resorted to the methods which would have best served to promote knowledge, and so to dissipate ignorance.

The Church, moreover, inferred from various passages in Scripture that disease was sent by God as a judgement for sin, and that consequently those who sought to stamp out disease by human methods were directly interfering with the operations of the Deity and provoking Him to greater anger. A little more than a century ago a clergyman of the Church of England, preaching against inoculation, declared that Job’s distemper was probably confluent small pox; that he had been doubtless inoculated by the devil; that diseases

are sent by Providence for the punishment of sin, and that the proposed attempt to prevent them is a diabolical operation. In the same century it was similarly argued that 'inoculation is an encroachment on the prerogatives of Jehovah, whose right it is to wound and to smite;' and the beautiful language of Hosea, 'Come, and let us return to the Lord. For He hath torn, and He will heal us: He hath smitten and He will bind us up. After two days He will revive us: in the third day He will raise us up,' was quoted to prove that the cure of disease was with God, and not to be effected by human agency.

If the reasoning to which we have referred induced the Church to believe that illness was the punishment of sin in the individual, the same train of thought led to the conclusion that epidemics were the punishment of national transgression. The Old Testament contained familiar examples of plagues arrested by the prayers of a high priest and the burnt offerings of a king; and the castle of St. Angelo owes its name to the circumstance that, in the midst of a terrible pestilence, Gregory the Great fancied that he saw the Archangel Michael sheathing a flaming sword over the mausoleum of Hadrian. These examples naturally made a profound impression on ages ignorant of the laws of hygiene, and hence, 'at the appearance of any pestilence, the Church authorities, instead of devising sanitary measures, generally preached the necessity of immediate atonement for offences against the Almighty.'

Another explanation was, however, occasionally given of the occurrence of epidemic disease. Plagues, it was thought, were not always due to the wrath of God; they were occasionally caused by the malice of the devil. And the devil, in bringing these disasters upon the human race, was supposed to avail himself of the agency of the Jews and of witches. It was noticed, or believed, that the Jews suffered less severely than the Christians in time of pestilence. Whether this was really the case or not it is probably impossible to determine. A fact which, at the present time, could not be established without careful statistical investigation, cannot be asserted of an age when there was no statistical knowledge. But it is possible that the simple sanitary rules which Moses had prescribed, and which were still observed, coupled with abstention from certain kinds of food, may have secured for the Jews comparative immunity from some of the more prevalent disorders. At any rate, the mediæval world concluded that

'Their immunity resulted from protection by Satan, and that this protection was repaid, and pestilence caused by their wholesale poisoning of Christians. As a result of this mode of thought, attempts were made in all parts of Europe to propitiate the Almighty, to thwart Satan, and to stop the plague by torturing and murdering the Jews. Throughout Europe, during great pestilences we hear of extensive burnings of this devoted people. In Bavaria, at the time of the Black Death, it is computed that twelve thousand Jews thus perished; in the small town of Erfurt the number is said to have been three thousand; in Strasburg the Rue Brulée remains as a monument to the two thousand Jews burned there for poisoning the wells and causing the plague of 1348; at the royal castle of Chinon, near Tours, an immense trench was dug, filled with blazing wood, and in a single day one hundred and sixty Jews were burned. As late as 1527, the people of Pavia, being threatened with plague, appealed to St. Bernardino of Feltro, who during his life had been a fierce enemy of the Jews, and they passed a decree promising that if the saint would avert the pestilence they would expel the Jews from the city. The saint apparently accepted the bargain, and in due time the Jews were expelled.'

The attitude of the Church towards the Jews was, after all, only due to inferential reasoning; its attitude towards witches, on the contrary, was based on the text of Holy Scripture. That such a thing as witchcraft existed seemed evident from the well-known story of the Witch of Endor, and from St. Paul including witchcraft among the works of the flesh. That it was the will of God that witches should be slain seemed equally evident from the positive direction, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.' Even within the last hundred and thirty years Wesley uttered his famous declaration, 'The giving up of witchcraft is, in effect, the giving up of the Bible;' and it ought not, therefore, to be surprising that in an earlier and less critical age Pope after Pope issued bull after bull 'exhorting the inquisitors of heresy and witchcraft to use greater diligence against the human agents of the Prince of Darkness.' At last Pope Innocent VIII. in 1484 issued the bull *Summis Desiderantes*, which, according to Dr. White, 'of all documents issued from Rome, Imperial and Papal, has doubtless, first and last, cost the greatest shedding of innocent blood.' The bull 'committed the Church to the idea that witches are a great cause of disease, storms, and various ills which afflict humanity;' and, under its authority, witch-finding inquisitors were sent out to scour Europe, and a manual was prepared for their use—the 'Witch-hammer,' *Malleus Maleficarum*.

The investigations of the inquisitors naturally produced

the very evidence which seemed to justify their proceedings. Wretched creatures, subjected to torture, were, of course, easily persuaded to confess the things which the inquisitors desired; and the rack therefore provided an indefinite supply of victims. The Reformed Church vied with the Church of Rome in its activity in searching out witches. In Germany 'women were sent to torture and death by 'thousands, and with them from time to time men and 'children.' Mr. Lecky, whose treatment of the subject is fuller than that of Dr. White, has described the ferocity of the persecution in Scotland. 'Scotch witchcraft,' he says, 'was but the result of Scotch Puritanism, and it faithfully 'reflected the character of its parent.'

Horrible, however, as these persecutions were, and greatly as we are now disposed to condemn those who initiated and conducted them, it is only fair to recollect that the views of the Church towards witchcraft were supported by the most learned men of the age, and that they accurately reflected the prevalent opinion of the centuries in which they occurred.

'It is impossible to deny' (wrote Mr. Lecky) 'that the books in defence of the belief are not only far more numerous than the later works against it, but that they also represent far more learning, dialectic skill, and even general ability. For many centuries the ablest men were not only unwilling to repudiate the superstition; they often pressed forward earnestly, and with the most intense conviction, to defend it. Indeed, during the period when witchcraft was most prevalent, there were few writers of real eminence who did not, on some occasion, take especial pains to throw the weight of their authority into the scale.'

If these words describe the attitude of men of ability, it is hardly necessary to add that the masses of the people were firmly persuaded of the existence of witchcraft. Some of us may doubt whether, even in the present day, the old belief in the reality of Satanic possession does not find some votaries in every village.

It is impossible to measure the extent of suffering which was inflicted on the human race for many centuries by the persecutions thus originated on a literal interpretation of a text of Scripture. 'An eminent authority estimates the 'number of victims sacrificed during [one] century in 'Germany alone at over a hundred thousand.' And the mere tale of those who suffered only reveals a portion of the mischief inflicted on humanity. The habitual contemplation of suffering deadens the sympathies of our race, and

men accustomed to the spectacle of misery cease to feel compassion for the pain of their fellow-men. Thus the main lessons which the Bible ought to have taught, and which it was intended to teach, were obscured by the insistence of the religious world on the duty of carrying out the injunctions of one or two of the harsher texts in the Jewish code. And the very books which, read as a whole, would have impressed on society the righteousness of mercy and compassion, were strained to justify a policy of slaughter and torture. Rome and Geneva were equally occupied in enforcing the letter and neglecting the spirit of sacred literature, and they furnished, in doing so, a new illustration of St. Paul's saying, 'The letter killeth, but 'the spirit giveth life.' Nor was this the only untoward consequence which resulted from a literal obedience to the directions of isolated texts. So long as the world retained the belief that epidemics were due to the wrath of God and the malice of Satan, it seemed useless to devise any precautions against the propagation and spread of disease. The plainest rules of sanitary science, the most ordinary suggestions of common sense, were disregarded by generations who deemed that the surest method of arresting a plague was to be found in the burning of Jews and witches. The common idea that the wells had been poisoned was usually true enough. But the people had not the sense to perceive that the poisoning, which they attributed to the agents of Satan, was really due to their own neglect in permitting the contamination of the water with the filth from their dwellings. Persecution may have claimed its victims by the hundred thousand, but the neglect of sanitary science—which the train of thought leading to persecution occasioned—swept away the people by millions.

It is a melancholy reflection that, if the interpreters of Holy Scripture had only insisted on obedience to other directions of the Pentateuch with the same urgency with which they persisted in stamping out witchcraft, much of this suffering might doubtless have been avoided. The criminal code which is embodied in the Pentateuch contained, as was only natural from the period in which it was composed, some harsh laws.* But the sanitary code, which

* Even here, however, the fault of the religious world was in taking isolated texts as the basis of conduct, and in neglecting the context. The verse in Exodus, for example, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,' is followed almost immediately (two verses only intervening) by

was laid down in the same book, was far in advance of the age in which it was first promulgated. The plain directions which had been given by Moses for the disposal of refuse and for the cleansing of the person might, if they had been followed, have proved as powerful as the burning of Jew and witch proved impotent to avert the march of plague and sickness. Unhappily, however, by a curious perversion of ideas, these precepts, though embodied in the same sacred books, were wholly neglected; and the religious world, in the earlier centuries of Christianity, persuaded itself that living in filth was an evidence of sanctity:—

‘St. Jerome and the breviary of the Roman Church dwell with unction on the fact that St. Hilarion lived his whole life long in utter physical uncleanness; St. Athanasius glories St. Anthony because he had never washed his feet; St. Abraham’s most striking evidence of holiness was that for fifty years he washed neither his hands nor his feet; St. Sylvia never washed any part of her body save her fingers; St. Euphraxia belonged to a convent in which the nuns religiously abstained from bathing; St. Mary of Egypt was eminent for filthiness; St. Simon Stylites was in this respect unspeakable—the least that can be said is that he lived in ordure and stench intolerable to his visitors.’

And the people who tolerated and even admired these filthy habits, vainly attempted to stop disease by burning witches and persecuting Jews.

There was, moreover, one form of illness which has unhappily always prevailed in the world, and which the Church thought that it had special authority for attributing to Satan. In the centuries which preceded as in those which immediately followed the commencement of the Christian era, a series of great men had propounded the truth that madness is a disease of the brain, and that its proper treatment must be gentle and kind.

‘This evolution of Divine truth was interrupted by theology. There set into the early Church a current of belief which was destined to bring all these noble acquisitions of science and religion to nought, and, during centuries, to inflict tortures, physical and mental, upon hundreds of thousands of innocent men and women—a belief which held its cruel sway for nearly eighteen centuries; and this belief was that madness was mainly or largely possession by the devil.’

It is hardly necessary to refer to the well-known passages of

these precepts: ‘Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. Ye shall not afflict any widow or fatherless child.’ The one text ought to have saved the Jew, the other ought to have preserved many a witch from torture.

the Old and New Testament on which this belief was originally founded. It is a pleasure, however, to relate that during many centuries the Church followed the example of its Divine founder, by the kindly treatment of the unfortunate people, who, whether they were possessed or merely ill, were evidently insane. But, as the power of the Church increased, and the kindlier instincts of the earlier Christian centuries gradually gave way to the harsher discipline which was introduced by later generations, the gentle treatment of the insane was rejected for rougher methods. 'The first main weapon against the indwelling Satan continued to be the exorcism.' But, if the devil would not yield to the injunctions of the Church or to kindly persuasion, it was necessary, so it was argued, to have recourse to sterner methods. The main characteristic of Satan was supposed to be pride.

'Therefore, the first thing to do in driving him out of a lunatic was to strike a fatal blow at his pride. This theory was carried out logically, to the letter. The treatises on the subject simply astound one by their wealth of blasphemous and obscene epithets which it was allowable for the exorcist to use in casting out devils. . . . Efforts were also made to drive him out with filthy and rank-smelling drugs.'

And when all these means failed more cruel methods were resorted to.

'One of the least terrible of these punishments, and perhaps the most common of all, was that of scourging demons out of the body of the lunatic. . . . But if the disease continued, as it naturally would after such treatment, the authorities frequently felt justified in driving out the demons by torture.'

It is horrible to reflect that, for more than a thousand years, the idea that lunacy was the result of demoniacal possession continued to influence thought and to afflict the insane. Happily, in the sixteenth century a few bold and wise men ventured to stem the popular current, and to pronounce that madness was a disease which should be dealt with by the physician. But centuries were still to pass before their wise counsels were to achieve the triumph which they deserved. Though doubt continued to gain adherents, the religious world was able to resist the teachings of mercy and sense, just as, at the same time, they were able to prevent the acceptance of the revelations which Copernicus was making. It was only at the end of the last century that Pinet—made physician at the Bicêtre, one of the most extensive lunatic asylums in France—was able, by his example and success, to prove to the world the error of its ways.

‘What the exorcisms and fetiches and prayers and processions, and drinking of holy water, and ringing of bells, had been unable to accomplish during eighteen hundred years, he achieved in a few months. His method was simple: for the brutality and cruelty which had prevailed up to that time, he substituted kindness and gentleness. The possessed were taken out of their dungeons, given sunny rooms, and allowed the liberty of pleasant ground for exercise. At the same time the mental power of each patient was developed by its fitting exercise, and disease was met with remedies sanctioned by experiment, observation and reason. Thus was gained one of the greatest, though one of the least known, triumphs of modern science and humanity.’

We have endeavoured in the preceding pages to follow Dr. White in tracing the unfortunate consequences which the interpretation of particular texts by theologians have entailed on the world. There can be no doubt that the attitude which the religious world assumed arrested the growth of knowledge and inflicted a horrible measure of suffering on mankind, and that these results were uniformly due to a rigid adherence to the text of particular passages, and to a complete neglect of the spirit of the Bible. For, whatever views different persons may entertain on the inspiration of Scripture, or even on the precise limits which we are to impose on one of these words, and the exact meaning which we are to attach to the other, few persons would venture to deny that the Old Testament records the history of a people whose prophets and exponents are continually acquiring fresh knowledge of the highest things, and that the chief lesson of the New Testament is the duty of mercy and compassion. It is melancholy to reflect that the Church, while inferring from the literal interpretation of Christ's words the reality of demoniacal possession, should have substituted for His soothing and kindly treatment of the insane the whip and the torture chamber. Yet, while so far we are thoroughly at one with our author, we think that he hardly makes sufficient allowance for the men whom he unreservedly condemns. It is not easy for us, who have grown up in the freer atmosphere, and amidst the enlightened literature of the nineteenth century, to understand the position or the prejudices of an Urban VIII., a Luther, or even of John Wesley. Their religion was constructed on the theory that the whole Bible was of equal authority as the revealed Word of God, and that no particular text could be set aside without loosening and damaging the whole structure. They thought it impossible to apply a metaphorical or rational interpretation to isolated texts without undermining

the foundations on which the Church and Christianity itself were based.

Serious as was the mistake which the Church thus made, the chief sufferer from it was the Church itself. As one by one the old doctrines to which Pope and Reformer had equally committed themselves had to be abandoned, proof after proof was afforded that the claim of the Church to infallibility as an expounder of science was untenable. Thinking men thenceforward saw that the mission of science was distinct from the mission of the Church, that science and religion had each their own fields to occupy and to cultivate, and that the true method of avoiding conflict between the two was for each of them to leave the other in undisturbed possession of its own ground. As Dr. White himself contended, in lecturing in New York—

‘In all modern history, interference with science in the supposed interest of religion, no matter how conscientious such interference may have been, has resulted in the direst evils both to religion and to science, and invariably; and, on the other hand, all untrammelled scientific investigation, no matter how dangerous to religion some of its stages may have seemed for the time to be, has invariably resulted in the highest good both of religion and science.’

We may perhaps add to this just remark that however much the cause of religion may in the first instance have suffered from its conflict with science, the new revelation which had been made to man has produced a higher idea of God than had previously prevailed in the world. Just as in the Old Testament, the idea of God had been insensibly raised from the God of a family to the God of a nation, and from the God of a nation to the God of the universe, so in modern Europe the anthropomorphic God of our ancestors, who employed the angels to push the planets across the firmament, to open the windows of heaven, and to cut down with the sword of pestilence the inhabitants of rebellious cities, has gradually and insensibly given place to the idea of a Deity whose omnipotence we recognise by the universality and eternity of His laws. We see that the largest affairs of the universe and the smallest changes which affect our own planet are alike regulated by an immutable law; and that the highest achievement which man has yet wrought is that a few of the foremost of his species have been enabled to explain to us, not the origin, but the operation of these laws.

No doubt different individuals have been affected in various ways by this revelation. Some men have felt their whole religious nature elevated and enlarged by their con-

sciousness of the existence of 'a Power divine that moves 'to good; only its laws endure.' Others, on the contrary, unable to get behind the Law, which they recognise, to its origin, replace God by some fiction of their own, which they label matter or nature, force or motion; while others again, conscious of their own inability to explore the hidden secrets of the universe, think their only logical position is to refrain from any decision and to profess themselves Agnostic, or unable to know the truth. Yet we sometimes think that these men are all much nearer one another than their names and their professed opinions indicate. All recognise a Power which they cannot explain, a Law which they cannot trace to its origin. The Materialist calls that Power force or motion; the Theist worships it as God. But both Materialist and Theist are agreed that this unseen and incomprehensible Power can be partially seen and comprehended through its laws, which endured before life had its origin on this planet, and which shall endure after its final extinction.

It may be hoped that the wider knowledge which now prevails on these subjects may make it impossible for the Church to resume in the future its old attitude towards science. The Church, indeed, is not likely to be confronted hereafter with such tremendous issues as the revelation of the Copernican theory or the discovery of the great antiquity of man. But we live in an age of investigation. Every year is adding to our knowledge of the universe and of the world. Any month, any day, may produce some new revelation which may appear, at first sight, inconsistent with the interpretation that the religious world has hitherto placed on some particular passage of Holy Scripture. But the history of the preceding centuries should convince us that religion itself will not suffer because we may be forced to read a new meaning into some texts of the Bible. The God of the Bible is the God of truth and of knowledge, and His empire in men's hearts must be enlarged by the wider diffusion of the one, and by man's nearer attainment to the other. For knowledge (as Mr. Disraeli said years ago in one of the finest passages in modern oratory) 'is like the 'mystic ladder in the patriarch's dream. Its base rests on 'the primæval earth; its crest is lost in the shadowy 'splendour of the empyrean; and the great authors who for 'traditional ages have held the chain of science and philosophy, of poesy and erudition, are the angels, ascending 'and descending the sacred scale, maintaining the communication between man and Heaven.'

ART. V.—1. *Epic and Romance*. By W. P. KER. London: 1897.

2. *Flourishing of Romance and Rise of Allegory*. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY, M.A. Edinburgh and London: 1897.

IT is possibly in accordance with some of those undefined laws which regulate phases of literary invention that as with the lapse of centuries the genuine romance readers become fewer, the romance critics increase and multiply. The audiences who read for pleasure the long and tangled narratives of the ages of chivalry are past and gone. In their stead a new audience has arisen, and in place of the idler, to whom the romance represented a story, we have the scholar, to whom it offers a problem. The pastime of the old world has become the study of the new. Questions historical, geographical, and critical—questions of the specialist—have gathered themselves together around volumes whose intrinsic charm, despite artificialities of narration, formalities of rhetoric and ornament, despite all the accumulated pedantries of a gradually developed literary method, was their simplicity of motive and the direct sincerity of their imaginative sentiment. And these investigations and discussions have become so involved that few men who are not familiarly conversant with all romance, with the root-germs of all legends, and their later accretions as they travelled from land to land and from race to race; few, that is to say, who are not masters of all would venture a conjecture with regard to any. Nor have the most learned of critics yet said their last word even upon such popular debating grounds as the origin of the Charlemagne traditions, the branches of the Volsung tragedy, the historical accuracy of the Cid, the derivatives of the Graal legend, or the precise nationalities of the Arthurian group. It would indeed appear as if the legend of criticism might become as interminable as the legends of romance, and outrival in length the 110 Chansons de Geste of early France, ranging, we are told, from 4,000 to 60,000 lines, or surpass in bulk the yet lengthier narratives of the prose chronicles of later years.

Notwithstanding, however, the exhaustive research of recent authors, the assertion volunteered by Mr. Saintsbury concerning the Morte may possibly be accepted in a wider application, and it may well be true that, setting aside details of texts, dates, origins, and nationalities, 'the beauty and

‘the genius of the romance too often escapes attention altogether, and scarcely in one instance receives full recognition.’

Yet it is distinctly from the æsthetic, as apart from the critical, point of view that mediæval romance can attract to itself the sympathy of the ignorant majority—happily ignorant or happily indifferent to the scientific analyses of the commentator. The simple pleasure-seeker amongst readers is in his own way—the wisdom of the fool—a philosopher. His concern is with what he possesses, not with what he has lost, not with the whence and wherefore of romances, but with the romances themselves. He occupies himself not with original models, but with the pictures drawn by poets in verse and poets in prose, and handed down to us, of Cuchullin, the *preux chevalier* of Ireland, of Grettir and Nyal and Kiartan the Icelanders, of Roland and Tristram and Launcelot and Amadis, and all those other heroes of, according to Mr. Ker’s jealous definition, post-heroic generations. Did such men live, ‘les seigneurs du temps jadis?’ did their lives, nobler than the lives of their fellows, bear in them the germ of their own legend? It is a question of but small account to the laity of literature.

‘D’en plus parler je me desiste :

Ce n’est que toute abusion,

Il n’est qui contre mort resiste,

Ne qui treuve provision.

Encor fais une question :

Lancelot, le roy de Behaigne,

Où est-il ? Où est son tayan ?

Mais où est le preux Charlemaigne ?’

Where indeed! But we have what we have. We have the legends themselves of North and South, of Eastern and Western Europe, and we have the romances embroidered around them embodying, if not the realities, at least the ideals ‘des temps jadis.’ We have, too, the imaginative figures of men and of women as distinct and personal as they are ideal, heroes and heroines of whom the individuality was still unobscured by that secondary developement of mediæval fancy, the allegory.

These figures Mr. Ker is careful to distinguish from the figures of epic heroism. The distinction he draws may not be too broad, but if he attains justness of fact it is without justness of sympathy. His attitude is clear from the first. Romance was the degradation of the epic mood. ‘Whatever epic may mean, it implies some weight and solidity,’

he says. 'Romance means nothing if it does not convey some 'notion of mystery and fantasy.' The epic age 'may be full 'of nonsense and superstition, but its motives of action are 'mainly positive and sensible—cattle, sheep, piracy, abduction, merchandise, recovery of stolen goods, revenge. . . . 'It cannot dress up ideas or sentiments to play the part of 'characters. If its characters are not men they are nothing, 'not even thoughts or allegories.' And although he allows that some of the old English poems on subjects such as *Beowulf*, *Finnesburh*, *Maldon*, and the Icelandic sagas, adhere to the old order, mediævalism gradually superseded the heroic tradition, and there came in its stead 'not the 'old-fashioned romance of native mythology, not the natural 'spontaneous romance of the Irish legend or the Icelandic 'stories of gods and giants, but the composite far-fetched 'romance of the age of chivalry, imported from all countries 'and literatures to satisfy the mediæval appetite for novel 'and wonderful things.'

His is undoubtedly rational, vigorous, authoritative, and orthodox criticism. Yet in the matter of romance, so far as the book deals with it, we are conscious of a blank. Is it that Mr. Ker has, all too forcibly, applied the criticism of thought and reason to a subject which rather demands the criticism of emotion and sentiment? Or is it, more probably, that the very essence of our delight in that old romance-world is primarily lodged in its most shadowy regions of imagination—regions eluding definition, evading reason, defying authority, and refusing to be indexed in the short-hand of the critic's pen?

However this may be, there is another point of view from which mediæval romance may claim to be regarded. And with all its faults and failings, its extravagancies and sentimentalism, it bears, so viewed, an aspect which in part accounts for the tenacity of its hold upon the minds of poets—the greatest—of later ages. And accounts likewise for the contemptuous aversion of minds of a contrary order who, to their own loss, hold no 'open sesame' to the door—closed to them—of romantic imagination. 'Quant aux Amadis et 'telles sortes d'escrits,' said Montaigne, 'ils n'ont pas eu 'le credit d'arrester seulement mon enfance.'* Montaigne, however, and those who echo his sentiments, may well remember that there are minds that have never had a childhood, as, conversely, there are minds whose eternal youth

* *Essais de Montaigne*, Livre II. Chap. x.

old age has no power to obliterate. This aspect is one a diligent and unprejudiced study of Mr. Saintsbury's volume—text-book though to a certain extent it is—cannot fail to suggest. His sketches of the various schools of romance from the twelfth century onwards to the close of the thirteenth, no less than the bare abstracts of Dunlop's 'History of Fiction,' or of Ellis's 'Specimens of Metrical 'Romances,' would serve to evidence that three leading instincts of mankind were continually present and predominant in the minds of the romance-writers, and that upon the basis of these instincts, taken severally or simultaneously, they had erected a scheme of idealisation in the main both consistent and complete. The three great legends of the world's life, war, love, and religion, incarnated in the person of the warrior, the lover, and that spiritual adventurer whose quest was God, were by them inscribed and glorified. The war-legend took shape in such traditions as the Charlemagne cycle, or the semi-historical, semi-biographical sagas of the north; the love-legend in such records as the Tristram and Launcelot, or the elder stories of the Volsunga Saga. The legend of religion embodied itself in the romance of the Holy Graal, and in the primary conception of the Merlin romance; while in the North the corresponding instinct for the supernatural gave birth and perpetuation to a whole world of ghostly visitants whose dimly defined presences give a curious and disquieting touch to the annals—stormy and riotous—of the lives of Norseman and Iclander.

Nevertheless, supernaturalists and idealists as they stand confessed, they did not invent a new world of men and of women. Life had passed the term of its infancy, and while childhood demands its fairy-tale = the impossible, youth contents itself with its romance = the ideal. The one asks for what cannot be, the other for what might be. And, although much of the fairy-tale still clings around the romance, it was this latter demand the mediæval chroniclers of chivalry strove to satisfy. They endeavoured, however crudely, to give imaginative literary expression to the desire and struggle of man 'to be what he is not, and to do what 'he cannot.'* But they did not attempt to eradicate from their pages the savage barbarities of their times, or to disguise the coarse passions of humanity as they knew and experienced them. Idealists they were. Upon the common clay of human nature they erected a fair spiritual edifice.

* Hazlitt 'On Ancient and Modern Literature.'

They superimposed the heroisms of courage upon the barbarisms of the mere fighting instinct; from the baser desires of earth they exacted the grace of fidelity, laid on them the obligations of sacrifice, and not seldom exacted the atonements of suffering. They evoked from the common herd of passions the single-hearted love of a Launcelot, the self-immolating revenge of a Brynhild, the stern dying of a Roland. But reformers they emphatically were not. They accepted the good and condoned the bad around them, and in the main treated both the one and the other as equally inevitable and equally irreparable. Fate—constantly symbolised in the magic invincibility of charmed weapons, in Conor's shield, the sheath of Excalibur, the sword of Amadis, in Iseult's resistless love-potion, in Andvari's accursed gold, in Viga Glum's spear and cloak—is strong in their eyes, and men's lives, fierce and ruthless, or gentle and wise, ring out unblamed their changes of passion and hate and love and prayerless agony, as best they may, against her invulnerable skies.

In the romances of which war, in one form or another, is the central theme, the scheme of idealisation manifests itself under its simplest conditions. Broadly considered, the spirit of combat, divested of any special motive, does not present the most idealisable of instincts. It is base as a purely egoistical desire for mastery, and brutal in the means it employs for the gratification of its desire. But good and evil have relative values. There are irreproachable virtues which seem consonant with, if not allied to the most sordid dispositions of man; contrariwise there are evils, reprehensible enough to the moralist, which would yet seem to preclude or counteract the more ignoble of our inclinations. This silver side of the moral shield was quickly grasped, consciously or unconsciously, by the authors of the war-romance. Out of the raw material of such fighters as Grettir, who in peace-time 'thought it very ill that he might nowhere 'try his strength;' out of the savage ferocities of the trials of physical strength, they created the generous chivalries of knighthood. 'Pity it is,' said Olaf the Saint, addressing two fierce robber soldiers of Norway, 'pity it is such fine 'slaughtering fellows should not believe in Christ.' The southern romance-writer had not indeed to convert his heroes on the plea of their fighting capacities to Christianity, but to what Walter Scott designates as the 'fanaticism of valour.'*

* Essay on Chivalry.

He exaggerated the two highest qualities the spirit of combat might induce—courage and the mutual faith of soldier to soldier. He reprobated by every anathema in his vocabulary the contrary vices, cowardice and betrayal. For the traitor there abides no mercy in his justice. ‘Whoso believeth him shall him false find, like as a broken spear,’ and like a faulty weapon he must be cast away from the company of the brave and true. Thus if the bare instinct of war had little to commend it, the legend-maker sought its justification in supplying a motive and an aim and a standard, and dignified the endeavours to achieve the aim by every means in his power.

This affords in some measure the key to that demand for ‘novel and wonderful things’ which Mr. Ker asserts is characteristic of the age. To attain the utmost idealisation of courage danger must be crowded upon danger, the last farthing must be exacted from valour. Perils of dragons, perils of giants, perils of the misty horrors of troll and warlock, must be unflinchingly encountered to show hardihood at its climax, and fidelity tested almost beyond its extremest point of endurance. Grettir must twice wrestle with the dead before he could be admitted into the highest ranks of heroic fellowship; Amile, in the name of Christ, ‘who hast commanded men to keep faith on the earth,’ must shed the blood of his own two children to cleanse the leprosy of his brother in arms, before he could satisfy the claims of the true fidelity of knighthood.

It is, in especial, in this glorification of valour that the romance of the South and the romance of the North are at one. And it is a feature of both to have apprehended to an extent, rivalled, but never surpassed in earlier or later times, that the representation of supreme courage necessitates a background of disaster and overthrow; disaster often suspended, but in the end inevitable. It is true the celebration of success—of prowess victorious—fills a conspicuous place in southern tradition. Walter of Aquitaine, Hildegund’s lover, who in the ‘narrow green place, with overhanging cliffs,’ slays thirteen of those great warriors who had sought to take him sleeping; Ogier le Danois and Huon de Bordeaux, over whom, however outnumbered, no arms might prevail, are forerunners to a vast army of minor conquerors. But the crown of worldwide fame does not lie with these. The magic gifts of victory belonging to Morgan le Fay’s two champions are banished, with victory itself, from

the pages recording the two great deaths of defeat—Vivien's, falling,

‘ En icel jor que la dolor fu grans
Et la bataille orible en Aliscans,’

and Roland's, overcome in that mortal contest at Roncesvalles, beginning when the dawn broke windlessly over the dark mountain pass, where the flowers were still dim with dew, and the birds singing their sunrise love songs (as the old verse is careful to tell us), and ending when the red cloud drifting over the presaging darkness of the day betokened ‘li granz dulors por la mort de Rollant.’

But the Northern Sagas, albeit the formulas of chivalry are absent, found a means, alike beyond victory and beyond defeat, for enhancing the effect of undaunted heroism. In them valour reaches the culminating point which knows no further summit, for the sense of certain doom is added to the anticipations of possible disaster. From the very beginning the gods themselves, in the myths of Asgard, are enclosed in the iron web of fate. Over Odin, the all-wise, Thor, the all-strong, Tyr, the brave, hung the decree of that grey twilight of uncertain eternity, Ragnarok, the final dusk beyond which, as the old Saga says quietly, ‘few may see.’ And in the greatest of tragic cycles, the Volsunga Saga, this pervasive sense of fatality is perpetuated. It lay on Sigurd, ‘wise to know ‘things yet undone,’ as he wooed Brynhild. It lay on Brynhild, who, with eyes open to the misery of the far-off days, took him for her well-beloved. It lay on Gudrun, who, forewarned alike of her coming joy and her coming agony, cried, ‘Grief to know such things shall be.’ And there is no loophole in the sequence of events by which we ever feel that Brynhild can evade revenging her wrong upon the only man she loves, by which Sigurd can evade the betrayal of the woman he has won, or Gunnar his foul treachery to his sworn brother in arms. And in that foreknowledge lay the Saga's secret for the manifestation of the invincibility of heroism. For one and all life's battle was lost, and for them hope was not. Yet, as Hagen in the *Nibelungenlied*--in Carlyle's phrase--‘offers to Ruin his sullen welcome,’ so do they all, men and women alike, pass before us on what the Gaelic death-proverb calls ‘the journey of truth,’ glorified with dauntless courage and indomitable fortitude. Fierce and ruthless they may be in the loves and hates and sorrows of lost joys, but, when life has ceased to be desirable, nobly instinct with an infinite and royal disdain of death. ‘We have fought; if we die to-day, if we die to-morrow, there is

‘little to choose. No man may speak when once the Fates ‘have spoken,’ said Sorli, the son of Gudrun, in the lay of Hamdir. ‘He got his death, being minded to go home to ‘Odin, a thing much desired by many folk in those days.’ ‘I grow weary with my wound, and will go see our kin that ‘are passed before,’ were the last words of Sigmund to Hjordis, his well-beloved, as she sat beside him where he lay, with broken sword, upon the battlefield. ‘The gods ‘will welcome me; there is nothing to bewail in death. I ‘am ready to go. They are calling me home, the maidens ‘whom Odin has sent to call me. The hours of life are gone ‘over, laughing will I die,’ was the song of Ragnar Lodbrok, as the fangs of the serpent stung him to death. Sentences such as these, continually recurring, sum up the mental attitude, the serene indifference to death, the triumphant acquiescence in fate, of those who held in very truth that ‘no man may flee from that which is wrought for ‘him.’

Nor in the semi-Christianised Sagas is this spirit wholly lost. The last sea-fight of Olaf the Christian in the Heims-kringla Saga belongs to the same school, if not to the same epoch, as the Death Song of Ragnar Lodbrok. And though in the one, as in the other, Mr. Ker may detect the tone of imitative rhetoric, few will deny that the echo in both indicates some close proximity to the original voice of unconventionalised heroism.

But it is in the worship of valour alone that Northern and Southern romance accord. In the treatment of national love-romance there is more dissimilarity than likeness. In lands where men had made a convention of chivalry, a code of courage, and an organisation of knighthood, where the religious instinct was formularised in the creed and law of ecclesiastical catholicism, it was small wonder that love presented itself to the mind as requiring a kindred conventionalisation. With knighthood as an Order, religion as a Church, love was resolved into a ‘*science*.’ And, further, the lover, no less than the monk, demanded an apocalypse.

The romancers did their utmost to write it. Subject to the codes of the new *science*, they pursued the idealisation of coarse and lawless passion much after the same manner as in the glorification of the spirit of combat. Their love stories, touched and retouched by the hands of successive generations and divers nationalities, at length attained to a more or less consistent representation of that manner of loving whose rule and example they would have enforced

upon the imaginations, if not upon the lives, of men. 'It is impossible to make out with precision the chronology of a moral sentiment,' the historian of European Morals declares. It is equally impossible definitely to follow the phases of an ideal sentiment. Moreover, critics are in conflict. Sir Walter Scott, who may well speak with authority, traces the ideals of chivalry to a birthplace amongst the ancient denizens of German forests. He regards the lover *par amour* of chivalry as theoretically embodying the reverent enthusiasms of a purer and sterner day, when

'Je l'aime tant que je ne l'ose aimer'

was the true spirit of the lover's worship. Others view mediæval love far otherwise. Christian chivalry, we are told, in one of the most chivalrous passages of modern prose, was responsible for a popular idealisation 'combining elements of infamy and dishonour' to which there is no parallel in pagan records of antiquity.*

It would be easy to attest the justice of both statements from the romance literature of the Middle Ages. But the fact neither disputes is that, for good or evil, springing from one source or another, there was idealisation—an attempt, that is, to divest sordid impulses of their more degraded aspect, and to rob the selfishness of passion of its viler semblances. Nominally, in the formulas of chivalry if nowhere else, the love of man and woman was to take its place in the scheme of life as the inspiration and reward of the noblest deeds of manhood.

Never before, surely, did an ideal challenge so hopeless a defeat at the hands of the actualities of its own day. And in the love-romances the dissonant reflections of both the real and the ideal are mirrored with intertwined outlines. The two greatest and most familiar of all romances may well serve to illustrate the singular contradictions and inconsistencies which ensued. 'There be within the land 'but four lovers,' said la Beale Isoud; 'that is, Sir Launcelot 'du Lake and Queen Guenevere, and Sir Tristram de Liones 'and Queen Isoud.' And true it is that these four figures do indeed, in the world's remembrance, dominate with unrivalled supremacy the love-pageants of the past. Moreover, in the whole course of Southern romance it would be difficult to find two pictures of more antagonistic sentiment, or two stories—despite identities of incident and situation—

* Lecky, 'Hist. of European Morals,' ii. 367.

tinted in sharper contrasts of colour. The Tristram, technical tragedy as it is, is, more especially in its later version, characterised by a joyous and light-hearted materialism. Born under the free skies, he is from boyhood a vagrant, noble of mind, generous with the spendthrift generosity that squanders disastrous benefits on the undeserving; but, at once and for all, we recognise the fact that Tristram is incapable of that single-hearted devotion which with Launcelot excludes all loves save one, and makes not so much a duty of constancy as an impossibility of change. Thus from the first Isoud is a woman no less wronged than wronging; yet with her also, in lesser measure, the keynote of life is mirth. She too is courageous, unscrupulous, and generous, and, withal, strictly observant of that thief's honour which betrays a Mark to be faithful to a Tristram. For, faithful she remains to his unfaith, until the outcast wife of a coward king, the 'gay-beseen' queen, swoons to death upon her dead lover's corse. Malory has blotted out even the one brief hint of Tristram's passing penitence found in Thomas the Rhymer's verse. In the Morte shame and dishonour are things of which the barest perception seems alien to the nature of either Tristram or Isoud. That she has sinned for his sake, or he for hers, never for a moment touches the one or the other with a shadow of regret. No uncertainties of conscience trammel their pleasures; for them the broken law of honour their loves, *sans* conscience, *sans* religion, outrage, does not exist.

With Launcelot the picture is absolutely reversed. Destiny, symbolised by the love-potion in the Tristram, is, we feel with Tristram, but the duplicate of choice. In Launcelot, destiny, the doom foretold by Merlin, is also present; but it is destiny in conflict with will. Launcelot, 'of sinners 'earthly the most peerless,' stands throughout the emblem of that inner kingdom of a man's soul divided against itself. His own lips proclaim his creed of honour. 'To take my 'pleasure with paramours, that will I refuse in principal for 'dread of God. For knights that be adulterous or wanton 'shall not be happy nor fortunate. . . . And whoso that so 'useth shall be unhappy, and all thing is unhappy that is about 'them.' Such was his creed, confessed in word, recanted in deed, for Launcelot was at war, not, as Tristram, with rival knights, but with the only enemy strong enough to overcome him—Launcelot was at war with Launcelot. His own lips make confession of his overthrow. 'My sin and my wickedness have brought me unto great dishonour. I have loved

‘a great queen unmeasurably. . . . Where overmuch sin dwelleth there may be but little sweetness.’ Tristram for the love of Isoud forfeited and suffered much. If he did not love well, at least he loved greatly. His cry as he dies, in spite of his love-wanderings, is the cry of an irrevocable passion: ‘Ha, douce amie, à Dieu vous command. Jamais ne me veerez, ne moy vous.’ And when grief exacts its mortal penalty from Isoud le Roïne, and ‘le cueur lui part et l’ame s’en va;’ when the rose-briar springs from the grave of ‘Monseigneur Tristan,’ and embraces the tomb of the dead queen, blame’s epitaph halts upon our lips. Yet beside the love of Launcelot for Guenevere such loves fade into nothingness. With them it was but the current of a barrierless torrent; with Launcelot it was the insweeping of a mighty sea through the broken dyke.

Although it may be said that in its idealism the Launcelot legend stands alone, it nevertheless may fairly be contended that the tendency towards some such idealism was widely spread, for the lover in constancy no less than in strength; for the woman in fidelity no less than in fearlessness. Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Parzival*—

‘Dass wahrlich nie ein ander Weib
Seine Minne nahm dahin,
Als alein die Königin’—

is not a solitary instance. Outside the Arthurian group the loves of Florice and Blancheflour, of Sir Bevis and Josyan, of Huon and Esclarmonde, are all records of mutual faith. In Gyron le Courtois, though tempted to the treachery of a Tristram, ‘loyauté passe tout.’ Guy of Warwick, remembering his first love, Felice the Sheen, renounces the hand and kingdom of fair Loret. Le Frain, forsaken, unwillingly, by her lover, whom holy Church commanded

‘Some lordis daughter for to take,
And his leman all forsake.’

is as gentle, true, and constant of heart as Griseldis herself; while, to come down to a later date, the *Amadis*, which in France and Spain stood first in the ranks of popular favour, is from beginning to end a portrayal of the ‘Knight in the world who most loyally maintained his love.’ From the hour when Oriana, aged ten, accepted the service of the Child of the Sea, saying ‘it pleased her,’ Amadis ‘kept her word in his heart, and in all his life was never weary of serving her. . . . And their loves lasted as long as they

'lasted, for as well as he loved her did she also love him.' Like Aucassin, Mr. Pater's ideal of passion in its mood of deepest intensity, in 'the great malady of his love,' his heart trembled at hearing her name, 'so that well nigh he fell from 'his horse.' We see him, a Donzel very fair, with shield of lions azure on a field or, clad in rich armour, his white horse stained with the blood that flows from the wounds of the youth's first adventure, as he rides through the woods in April time where flowers grow on either side, and the birds sang overhead, and, seeing him, we know that 'apart from his 'love he sits heedless of all about him.' Night and day he weeps, his eyes are worn with their many tears, and many a time, as Aucassin likewise, he faints for very love. Nor, when the time of weeping is over and past, and the dawn breaks over the running brook and the soft herbage of the woods, and finds the two lovers together, is the prize won less dear to him than was the prize desired, for 'thereby was 'their love increased, as pure and true love always is.' Amadis, who would not slay the lions before whom his foes had fled, may well be trusted by the woman who has laid her heart in his hand.

'Certes, Sir Knight,' said an old man, 'you will not 'break faith to man since you keep it so well to beasts.' And truly, as, in the passage quoted by Mr. Ker, the Cliges and Fenice of Christien de Troyes, to the end Amadis and Oriana are still lovers.

'De s'amie a feite sa femme,
Mais il l'apele amie et dame.
Que por ce ne pert ele mie,
Que il ne l'aint come s'amie.
Et ele lui autresi
Con l'an doit feire son amie.'

Nor are the love-stories of the North without their own ideal, although it is an ideal as divergent as are the favourite types of womanhood presented by Scald and Trouvère. Between the heroines of North and South there was little affinity of nature or temperament, and they loved and were loved in different guise. No doubt the pages of chivalrous romance contain women evil and fair and crafty as Morgan le Fay, with her face somewhat brown of hue, with her hands so fair that they were the fairest hands and the best skilled in all Breteyne, full *debonaire* to them who did her pleasure; for others 'evil to accord with,' as Guenevere found to her undoing; weird, double-natured

women as Vivianne (whose ancestors held dealings with Diana, the goddess) or Kundrie; women faithless as the lady of Maloane, and ill-living as Ettard. But the heroine closest to the heart of the old romance-writer is none of these. The best-beloved heroine to him, like Elain le Blanc, has at once the irresponsibility, the passion, the patience, the eager simplicity, and, above all, the docility of a child. ‘“Wed me, or be my lover, or my good days are done” . . . and there never was child nor wife mecker to father or husband than was that fair maiden of Astolat,’ pious old Malory adds commendingly. After the same manner the king’s daughter loved Osaie le Triste, when, clad as a minstrel, she wandered seeking him from castle to castle. So Nicollette loved Aucassin—Enid Geraint. So Blancheflour, Le Frain, and many another loved their lovers, sometimes as the girl-mother of Amadis, ‘not before the world’ without fault,’ but always as she ‘before God unblamed,’ loved for good or ill, joy or grief, with the same reckless self-surrender, the same single-hearted truth, with life-long constancy and undismayed patience. They, indeed, know no other law but love’s, yet they are, at least in that one servitude, set free from all lesser yokes. While between them and their lovers grew up the ideal of that gentlest relationship of life—the relationship of the strong to the weak—of the worship to be laid at their feet, of the shield to be held over their head.

The idealisation of the Northerns implies a totally different conception. As one by one their heroines rise before us, the dominant impression stamped upon our imagination is of women strong to love, strong to suffer, and, above all, strong to avenge. The solitary figure of Hervor, daughter of Angantyr, as she passes alone through the death-fires, the dead around her, to seek the sword which lies in her father’s grave, that therewith she may revenge his death, is but a picture of the absolute fearlessness of body, of heart, and of soul, their ideal demanded. They must meet death with the courage of noble boys—as Swanhild faced the horses with eyes so shining that the king bade his servants blindfold her before they trampled her to death—they must inflict it, as Gudrun, even upon the children they have borne, with a steadfast ruthlessness surpassing courage.

Thus it is that in the greatest heroines of Northern invention, love at its height is made manifest chiefly in vengeance. Vengeance, as with Brynhild, in the Volsunga, for love betrayed; for slay herself for love as she does, it

is not until she has sent the Volsung to Valhalla before her. Vengeance, as with Gudrun in the *Nibelungenlied*, who, bereft of joy, made red the stones of Atli's hall with the blood of her brothers. So, too, in succeeding ages, Brynhild's revenge is faintly repeated in the *Laxdale Saga*; in Gisli the outlaw, Thordis, sister to Gisli who is slain, and wife to Thorgrim whom Gisli slew, is in turn the avenger of both. And in the semi-historical *Chronicle-Sagas* of the kings of Norway, no less than in the half-biographical *Sagas* of Icelandic tradition, amidst the fierce annals of kings and vikings; of brothers in lonely places slaying either the other with the bridles of the horses who return home masterless; of children nourished upon the hearts of wolves; of men without number burnt, tortured, and stung to death—amidst the records of riotous feasts, where 'Christ's health was drunk;' of savage horse-fights, and sombre legends of Lapland witchwomen, amongst all the wild scenes of carnage and revel, still again and again the same ideal of womanhood appears. Fair, wise beyond the wisdom of men, resentful of wrong, but where love bound them wholly loyal. Sigfrid the Haughty, whose hatred to Olaf lies behind that death scene on the Long Serpent; Thora, of Rimmol, fairest of women, faithful to Hakon, her faithless lover; Gyda, the beautiful bonder-girl, who taunted Harold Haarfager, the subduer of all Norway, with cowardice; the Lapland woman Gunhild, with her craft and cruelty and ambition, who wedded Harold's best-loved son—these are the women who pass before our imagination through the midnight twilights of the northern summers, or traverse the rocks and the ice in the winter dusk of sunless snow.

In Southern romance many a woman dies of love's sorrow and despair. Isoud on Tristram's body, Colombe and Pellinore's yellow-haired daughter upon the swords of their dead lovers; so died Elaine, like the *Blanchefloure* who loved Tristram—'qui de l'amour meurt, et ne peust de son amour trouver merci.' But the women of the North live; they outlive sorrow to avenge loss, and with them the measure of their love which is past is given by the measure of their hate which is present.

The severance of romantic idealisation which begins in the love-romance, in so far as the literature of the North has been made known to English readers, is continued in the romantic treatment of the spiritual and supernatural. The Christianisation of the supernatural, which in the South produced the romance of religion, had little place in the *Sagas*,

save in such miracle legends as those collected round the relics of Olaf the Saint, legends belonging rather to the ecclesiastical than the romantic school of imagination. Northern supernaturalism is vivid, brutal, and sombre. The climax of the story of Grettir's life and death hinges upon it. Early in the Saga he fights the Barrow-dweller, Karr the Old, and robs the dead of the silver and gold 'which were under the feet of him' as he sat upon his chair within the grave-mound. The episode of the haunting of Thorballstead serves for the turning point of the whole narrative. The scene is drawn with a strange, almost prosaic realism. Glam the Thrall, with his wolf-grey hair, has been murdered by an evil spirit. He, in his turn, has become Glam the Ghost, a ghost at once clumsy, ferocious and terrible. The picture of the dreary and lonely homestead with its frozen thatch, its battered walls, of the hall where the beams and the rafters are broken and displaced, where all night the light is kept burning, is complete in all its details. Horses and cattle have been torn to death. The shepherd is dead, the neatherd is dead, and the bonder's daughter too has fallen a victim to the savage visitant. Only the bonder himself remains—all else have fled—and Grettir his guest. No touch is lacking to enhance the dim horror, when at length in the moonlit darkness Glam breaks his way across the barred threshold, and Grettir wrestles with him. With Grettir the victory rests, yet not before the dying spirit has cursed the conqueror. Henceforth in the dark Grettir shall always see the vision of Glam's face as he sees it there in the moonlight, and henceforth the heart of Grettir the Strong will never serve him that he may be alone in the dark.

So also is it in the somewhat heavily monotonous record of Viga Glum. Underlying the story throughout, with its feuds and murders, its lawsuits and cattle-keeping and horse-fighting, is the whisper of that strain of Northern madness, the undertone of a dread more subtle than any known to the southlander; an undefined horror before which the dragons and monsters of Arthurian wastes lose all their terrors. Glam does not hold life, but life holds him. From the day when first 'a fit of laughter came upon him, and affected him in such a manner that he turned quite pale, and tears burst from his eyes,' as 'the appetite for killing' seized him, we know that Glum, indolent, sullen, silent, dreaming, savage, and farseeing, is predestined to live the bloodstained life of the wronged and the wronger.

This darker side of the supernatural, although in another fashion, found its expression in the Merlin legend. But if

the character of Merlin has some kinship with the character of Northern wizardry or Druidical magic, the primary conception of the romance rests on a different basis. A formal theory originating in the doctrines of religion lies at the root of the story. The idea is one of the most forcible if not the most curious of mediævalism. The Gospels had represented the picture of the world's redemption from the power of Satan by means of Christ's Incarnation. The inventor of the Merlin imagined to himself the possibility of a Satanic counterpart to the Divine Incarnation. He created a Messiah of Hell by whose instrumentality the world might be once again redeemed from God. But the subject was greater than its inventor, the sequel of the story does not in any measure correspond to the prelude. Tragic and sinister as, in many of his appearances, the figure of Merlin may be, whether bearing men down as he rides his great black horse through the battle, Pendragon casting out flames of fire as his hand upholds it (albeit, he would strike no man to wound him), or as a jeering country churl sitting by the wayside, or again as an old man, crooked, white bearded, black robed, clinging for support to his saddle-bow, the idea degenerates in the hands of the legend-makers into a mere tale of sorcery and enchantment. Baptized at birth by Master Blaise, the son of a devil is a personality spiritually crippled, crippled for good by his descent, crippled in evil by the action of grace. He is a devil with a conscience. He deceives and betrays an Igraine to the guilty love of Uther, but his soul 'is not acquitt of the sin.' Wise and impotent, the curse of his own foreknowledge overshadows his life. For him the illusions which make the world fair to look upon do not exist. His laughter, so often and so significantly recorded, is the mournful mockery which recognises everywhere and at all times the disparity between semblance and reality, between the show and the actuality. The spectacle of the incongruities of life, where the cares of men are so irrelevant to their needs, is ever before his eyes. Even as a child he watches the traffic of the market-place with derisive contempt.

‘ See you nought ?

That young man that has shoon bought
And strong leather to do them clout,
And grease to smear them all about ?
He weeneth to live them to wear :
But, by my soul, I dare well swear
His wretched life he shall forlet
Ere he come to his own gate.’

Nor may the merciful blindness of common men in their own case make him the dupe of any hope. When the end approaches and he sees Nimiane (Vivianne), fair and young and false, seated by the bright spring water amongst the forest trees, and, seeing, loves—he, the great master of deception, is the very prey of truth. Undeluded, he buys her caresses, while the phantom singers he has conjured up have as love-burden to their song:—

‘Voirement se commencent amours
En joye, et se finent en douleurs.’

And soon, under the flower-laden thorn-bush of the forest of Broceliande, his joy has indeed its dolorous ending; for albeit like Grettir in his strength, Merlin in his wisdom ‘most haps did foresee, yet might he do nought to meet ‘them.’

Other sorcerers bear Merlin fellowship in the pages of romance from the time of the early French romance, translated with variations in the English ‘*Lyfe of Virgilius*.’ Klinschor, Virgil’s grandson, ‘eine Pfaffe der wohl ‘zouber las,’ with his enchanted castle, plays a part in the *Parzival*; Blaise, Merlin’s master, in the *Book of Merlin*; Hypocras the physician in the *Graal*; Morgan le Fay in many Arthurian romances; Urganda the Enchantress in the *Amadis*. They are personalities varying the monotony of the narrow range of characters included in the legends of war and love, where the routine roll-call of knights and ladies, of kings and queens, is, as a general rule, only broken by the introduction of such fantastic deformities as Trone the Dwarf in *Ysaie le Triste*, or of the grotesquely pathetic figure of the Ape-Nurse of the little sons of Amyle, for whose death the great Charlemagne himself ‘getta maint ‘souple et alla dire, “Ha, Cinge, moult avois le cuer ‘sçavant; je sçay de vray que tu es mort de joye.”’

But it is especially in the legend of the Holy Graal that Southern romance embodied and idealised its instincts of the supernatural. Catholic Christianity in its sacramental system presented continually to the eyes of its worshippers the idea of the miraculous union of the two planes of existence, the material and the spiritual. It centralised the doctrine in its daily eucharistic rites; ‘le serviche si douce ‘et si piteus comme de la mort Jhesu Crist,’ as the old legend-writer expresses it. Catholic romanticism was quick to translate its faith into imagination. With an insatiable love of the marvellous, for which even the wonders of

Voragine's *Légende Dorée* were insufficient, it adapted the doctrinal scheme of the Church to serve the purposes of its inventive fantasy. Moreover it was a day when, to the lay mind, thought was mainly represented as action; ideas by personalities; and while the world accepted devoutly and obediently the sacramental theory, the romance-maker dramatised it, constructing a plot upon which he might fitly thread multitudinous incidents of consecrated magic. He created a new marvel, instituted an eighth sacrament 'por compaynie e por confort,' to many another knight besides Joseph the Arimathian. He chose for its symbols the Holy Dish as the vital source of bodily and spiritual refreshment, and the mystical spear, which wounded and healed and bled. Around these symbols there grew up the chronicle of an ideal chivalry, a spiritual city, reigned over by a divinely anointed dynasty—the 'Signourie' of the Graal, the 'greatest gentlemen of the world,' the blood-royal of God's grace, 'la haute lignie' of Arimathie, descendants of the good knight St. Joseph, and of the first Galahad his son. Each legend-maker by turn was free to choose that phase of the record it best pleased his fancy to remould or supplement. Thus Gawaine's story is interlinked with Parzival's, and the compiler of the *Morte* has used Galahad's quest as the antithesis to the quests of worldly adventure. The knights of the Graal are to fight for God. 'Good now,' said heathen Conor the king, as to his dying vision Good Friday's Calvary became apparent,

'It is a pity that He (Christ) did not appeal to a valiant high king, which would bring me in the shape of a hardy champion. . . . Bitter the slaughter by which there should be propitiated free relief. With Christ should my assistance be. . . . Beautiful the overthrowing I would give. Beautiful the combat I would wage for Christ, who is being defiled. . . . It crushes my heart to hear the voice of wailing for my God, and that His arm does not come to arrest the sorrow of death.'

The spirit of Conor the king was the spirit by which the knights of Sarras and Montsalvat and Corbonic were bound to unsheathe their swords and ride forth throughout the world as the avengers of God's wrongs and the defenders of His sanctuaries.

It was a conception, so far as literature is concerned, lying in the dubious borderland between romance and allegory, between the regions of true symbol and feigned history. It was at once more than the one and less than the other, belonging as it did to days when men found in such records, if not a truth, at least a possibility, days when the boundary

line of the 'might be' lay far beyond the horizons of the visible.

The early French romance, '*Li Livres du S. Graal*,' translated into English by Lonelich, appeals in the very beginning to this willing belief in the near vicinities of the miraculous to the commonplace of daily custom. To the author, a monk (as we read in the autobiographical prelude of the story), like Thomas the Apostle of little faith, Christ Himself appeared in a vision of Good Friday eve, and bestowed upon his servant '*un petit livret*.' And in this supplementary gospel, which seems to take up the story of St. Joseph much at the point where it was left in the 'false' gospel of Nicodemus, was written the history of the Graal, '*la joie de l'ame et la joie du cors*.' Then presently it appeared to the monk that in his lonely cell '*toutes les eles des oisiaux ki sont en l'air s'envolaissent par devant moi*.' It would seem that with that sound of flying wings, intermingled with the song-notes of multitudinous birds, the imagination of man, falling into a trance, beheld the world-old story of the passion of the soul, transfigured into the narrative of that high spiritual adventure of the knight-errantry of grace.

Here, as in the war-romances, endless battles are fought, but the old war-note of strife for strife's sake has lost something, if not all, of its relentless and brutal barbarities. Here, too, the loves of earth are loved, but the heart has taken the soul into partnership, and caught consecration from the spirit. And here religion is illuminated by fitful but persistent touches of tender human affections no austerities of dogmas could obliterate and no perversion of renunciations could annul. The sweetness and grace, the almost gay placidity of that young-hearted mysticism, the mysticism of emotion rather than of thought, is wedded to the strong joy in outward beauty no doctrines of the corruption of 'deathly flesh' had eradicated. As in the margins of the old missal-painters' manuscripts fair images decorate the sacred pages, so here picture after picture of earthly loveliness rises before the author's fancy. It is the sight of the Arimathian's feet, bare and wayworn with his long pilgrimage, but '*moult biaux et moult blans*,' which moves the heart of the pagan king to listen to his voice, for '*si l'en prist moult grant pites*.' Sarracinte, child-princess and queen, led by her mother to receive the baptismal rite in the old hermit's forest cell, although docile and obedient, does not accept the new faith without questioning. She said 'if Christ were fairer than her brother she would

‘worship Him,’ but the hermit she would not worship, for his beard affrighted her. Whereat the old man laughed. Yet the laughter is in no wise discordant with the silence of the ensuing vision, when to the child’s sight Christ is made visible, fairer indeed than the fairest of earth’s princes, with clear, burning eyes which draw Sarracinte’s child-soul straightway to his feet.

Thus it is throughout the narrative that things humanly and things divinely lovely are presented to our view. The horse of the Spirit Knight who rides to Evelack’s succour through the red battle is ‘as white as a lylve flower.’ Ships of burnished silver sail the seas; the sword which ‘will be ‘most cruel to him to whom it will be most debonaire’ is set in its marvellous rose-red sheath. In the little story of Prince Celidoyne, nine hands like snow for whiteness bear the seven years old child through the air in a fairy tale which might have been invented by a mother-angel amongst the angels for the delight of some heavenly nursery. Here, too, is the legend of the first Sir Launcelot, slandered and slain by reason of the love with which, all blamelessly, he loved that queen ‘whose hair so shone that she might ‘not hide it anywhere,’ and of the king’s daughter who sang so loud and sweetly on the seashore that a wounded knight, drifting in his boat, wrapped in a death sleep, heard, wakened, and was healed.

The parable of the world’s fall and redemption is found in a form of strangely picturesque beauty, where a rose-tree springs from a lily, and from the greatest rose of all its blossoms a man comes forth to slay the serpent, and gathers together all his brother and sister blossoms, faded or perished. And the wounded knight kissing that rose is healed of his hurt. And once again, in a final vision of the Holy Dish, as at the beginning of the book, so at the end, there is a ‘beating of birds’ wings as if all they in the world ‘had been there.’

After some such fashion, perfectly, or most often imperfectly, with manifold inconsistencies, romance strove after its own ideals. Its counsels of perfection far transcended the capacities of mankind. It made of courage a grotesque, of love an idolatry. It transgressed the bounds of worldly sanity, and became the jest of succeeding generations. It was in very truth a dream of man’s imagination. But it remains, like those other night dreams of which Novalis tells us, ‘eine Schutzwehr gegen die Regelmässigkeit und Gewöhnlichkeit des Lebens.’

ART. VI.—1. *The Irish Land Law and Land Purchase Acts, 1860 to 1891.* By RICHARD R. CHERRY. Second edition. Dublin: 1893.

2. *The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1896.* Edited by DUNBAR P. BARTON, Q.C., M.P., and RICHARD R. CHERRY, Q.C. Dublin: 1897.

THE Irish Land Question is always with us; either a Bill dealing with it is before Parliament or a committee or commission is investigating the subject; the statute book groans with ever new enactments; political libraries are choked with ever fresh reports, to which another is just about to be added; elaborate text-books are published, such as those at the head of this paper, of which that on the single Act of last year is more than half as voluminous as its predecessor, which covered a period of thirty-one years and included five principal Acts, as well as numerous amending and subsidiary measures. And yet neither the public nor even the politicians seem to be much the wiser; at all events no one ventures to assert that anything like a final settlement has been arrived at, or a sound basis laid down; indeed, it may be doubted whether, as regards the great bulk of Irish agricultural land (excluding, that is, what has been sold to tenants under the Purchase Acts), any real progress has been made towards such a result, at any rate by way of construction.

Nor can we expect much light on the larger and more fundamental issues from Sir Edward Fry's Commission, or much practical assistance in solving them from Mr. Gerald Balfour's Act of 1896. The vice of most recent inquiries and legislation on the subject is over these also, the latest of their kind, and this is almost inevitable as long as the lines of 1881 are slavishly adhered to; and both the new inquiry and the last Act are mainly concerned with the numberless details of the controversy between landlords and tenants arising out of the Act of 1881. The Act of 1896, as regards tenure, was mainly concerned (apart from matters of machinery) with the classes excluded from the Act of 1881, and the new Commission is to inquire into the *methods* of the Land Courts, not into the *principles* of the Land Acts. It is true that the Unionist party has the credit of having given practical, though limited, effect by the Ashbourne Act to the policy of assisting the tenants to purchase the fee simple of their farms, which had long been seen by clear-

sighted men to be the only final solution ; that Mr. Arthur Balfour's Land Purchase Act of 1891, though marred by over-ingenuity and complexity of detail, sought to effect a large developement of that policy ; and that Mr. Gerald Balfour's Act of 1896 removed many of the defects which experience had shown to exist in his brother's measure, and may be expected to yield results more commensurate with the labours of the Legislature. But all three Acts are based on the principle that no financial risk is to be put on the British taxpayer in the matter ; and this practically annuls the policy of purchase as one of universal or even general application, and throws us back on the new tenure created in 1881. It is then an impossible position for any Government or party to repudiate the principles of the Act of 1881, and to declare that the only alternative is the policy of purchase ; whilst at the same time it refuses either to go back on the principles of 1881 or to go forward and carry out the principles of its own Acts to their logical conclusion. This is an untenable position. If the Government think the principles of 1881 so hopelessly bad, and their own alternative policy capable of only limited application (of which latter conclusion we make no complaint), they should surely seek for a solution by modification of the mischievous or unsound principles of the Act of 1881, which affect not the landlords only, but the whole agricultural community, and even the tenants themselves, and which must otherwise continue to spread their poison through the greater part of the country, which *ex hypothesi* will remain outside the Purchase Acts. If, therefore, there was to be an inquiry, surely it should have been directed to this vital point, and should have preceded legislation. As it is we fear it will degenerate into the usual and interminable squabble between landlord and tenant as to the justice of the fair rents, and our only hope of any good result is that incidentally it may tend further to discredit in the eyes of the public the vicious system of recurring valuation of land by the State as between the two classes.

In saying this, however, we must do Mr. Gerald Balfour the justice to remember that he made a most laudable attempt to deal with some of these wider aspects of the question last year, for which, though unsuccessful from no fault of his own, he deserved more credit than he has received. Especially we regret the premature withdrawal of clause 30, which provided a semi-automatic system for revision of rent, and which, being a voluntary scheme, to be adopted only by

agreement between the two parties, could not possibly have done injustice to either, while such an experiment, if tried even on a small scale, might have prepared the way for some other solution of the kind. We shall have a word to say on this subject later on. Meantime we take this opportunity of expressing our entire dissent from the attacks made on the Chief Secretary by many of the Irish landlords. Indeed, some of these attacks have been so violent that we should use even stronger language of condemnation, did we not feel that some allowance must be made for men who are undoubtedly smarting under a sense of injustice, and who certainly have suffered from recent land legislation in a way never contemplated by Parliament. There is, however, neither sense nor justice in the venting of their resentment on the Chief Secretary, who has, under circumstances of great difficulty, displayed the most scrupulous desire for impartiality. Indeed, to a man of his philosophical temperament and rigid consistency nothing could be more foreign than the betrayal of his own friends and the intrigues with the Nationalist Party, which are insinuated not obscurely against him. One fair ground of complaint, and one only, the landlords seem to have as regards the Bill of last year, viz. the haste with which the measure was pressed through both Houses at the end of the session. Legislation, except on one or two points of minor importance, was not urgently needed; while the Bill failed, as we have indicated above, to grapple with the larger issues, and the little attempted in this way was dropped, as we have seen, in order to force the pace. From the very outset it would probably have been better to have postponed the big Bill for a year, and to have employed the interval in a comprehensive inquiry not only into the methods but the principles of Mr. Gladstone's Act. The belated resolve to push it through, merely because the Government had got into an *impasse* on the education question, and to redeem the session from the reproach of utter barrenness, was hardly worthy of a great party.

We hold then that, having regard to the radical nature of the Act of 1881, and the novelty of its principles, it is high time to consider how far it has carried out the intentions of its framers on the one hand, or justified the criticism of its opponents on the other—whether the principles so vehemently disputed sixteen years ago have been developed in practice, as was hoped or feared, and whether any modification of them is desirable and feasible. And though a thorough in-

vestigation—such as, unfortunately, is not entrusted to the new Commission—would, of course, have attained the end in view much more effectually, and would have, at any rate, afforded more ample material for arriving at a conclusion than any that is accessible to private persons, yet we believe that we can produce sufficient evidence to assist our readers very materially in forming an opinion on this most important subject.

We propose, then, to give a brief summary of the main changes in the Irish land law made in and since the year 1881, and to summarise also the extent of their operation; and then to consider the objects sought, the principles relied on, the success attained, and the further changes now desirable and possible.

We approach the latter inquiry influenced by no prejudice against Mr. Gladstone's Act of 1881. In July of that year, when it was still under discussion in the House of Commons, we wrote as follows :—

‘We see the full necessity of setting up for the time some authority to intervene or arbitrate between two sets of angry disputants. We have not merely to regulate the land trade, we have also to compose bitter strife.’

And looking back even in the light of all that has happened since, we still think that some such intervention was necessary; and this, as we then remarked, was Mr. Gladstone's ‘one really radical proposal.’ Regarding this as the main essential of the ‘state of transition’ to a new and better system, we then considered ‘the effect on the general welfare ‘of the Irish people rather than on the special interests of ‘particular classes,’ and it is in this spirit, which unfortunately is often sadly wanting in Ireland, that we now resume the discussion.

The want of adequate security for tenants' improvements, in a country where these (whether permanent or otherwise) were generally made by that class, had been distinctly recognised in the famous report of the Devon Commission in 1845 as the fatal blot on the system. And the Commission recommended, as the ‘single measure best calculated to ‘allay discontent and to promote substantial improvement ‘throughout the country,’ a system of registering improvements under which claims were to be settled by arbitration, and enforced, in case of ejection or raising of rent within thirty years, by the County Court. Conservative Bills were introduced dealing with the question by Lord Stanley the

same year, by Lord Lincoln in the next year (1846), and by Sir Joseph Napier in 1852; but all were abortive, while a Liberal Bill of Mr. Chichester Fortescue's in 1866 shared the same fate; and it was not till 1870 that Parliament seriously set itself to remedy this grievance, though its serious character had been thus authoritatively admitted for twenty-five years.

Two Acts, indeed, were passed in the year 1860, introduced by Mr. Cardwell, one of which was designed to carry out the recommendations of the Devon Commission with regard to tenants' improvements, the other being directed to secure the landlords' property and rights. Both were on the old contract and commercial lines of the Whig party; but while the latter, commonly known as 'Cardwell's Act,' became the effective basis of all dealings between landlord and tenant, the former so completely failed in its object as to attract, during all the debates of 1870, only a passing notice from one of his own colleagues,* as 'so wrapped up in swaddling 'clothes that it could not walk.'

The Act of 1870 at last recognised the tenants' claim to compensation for improvements. As regards those not enjoying tenant right under the Ulster or similar custom, its two main features were (1) to give them the right to recover such compensation on quitting their holdings, and (2) to give them also a claim to compensation for disturbance if ejected capriciously or for non-payment of an 'exorbitant 'rent.' Tenants under the Ulster or similar custom were held to be sufficiently protected in both respects by the legalisation of that custom which was the other main feature of the Act, though they had the option of claiming under the new provisions instead of relying on the 'custom.' The only provision, however, for registering improvements was permissive and hardly used, while there was no protection whatever to the sitting tenant against an increase of rent, such as the Devon Commission recommended. In fact, the Act of 1870 entirely failed to give effect to the one new principle which it sought tentatively and indirectly to introduce outside Ulster—viz. the spurious tenant right concealed under the term 'compensation for disturbance'—and aroused more expectations and claims than it satisfied. And even in Ulster the mere legalisation of the tenant-right custom proved insufficient to protect the sitting tenant

* Mr. Chichester Fortescue: *Hansard*, excix. 1437.

against 'unreasonable increases of rent,' and had sometimes 'even been prejudicial to the tenants.'*

The Act of 1881 was, at any rate, more candid and courageous. However opinions may differ about the soundness of its principles or the success with which these have been applied, the policy of its main features was, at any rate, clear and unmistakeable. With certain exceptions it frankly extended Ulster tenant right (which practically involved both 'fixity of tenure' and 'free sale') to the other three provinces, and for the whole island it set up a 'Land Court'—the Irish Land Commission—with large though ill-defined powers to fix 'fair rents' of agricultural holdings in case of dispute. Several classes of holdings were excluded, such as grazing farms of 50*l.* annual valuation and upwards, accommodation lands near towns commonly called 'town parks,' &c., while Mr. Gladstone steadily refused to admit existing leaseholders until the termination of their leases. Again, various reservations were made in the landlords' interest, such as (1) the 'right of pre-emption' at a price fixed by the Land Court on a sale of tenants' interest taking place; (2) and a shadowy right, still undefined, to the whole or part of the increased letting value due to the inherent capability of the soil when evoked by tenants' improvements. But neither the exclusions nor the reservations affected materially the broad general character of the Act, which is now recognised on all hands to have created a dual ownership of landlord and tenant in the land, with State intervention to decide the respective shares of the joint owners. Indeed, the landlord is practically reduced to the position of a mere rent-charger, the only rights of ownership left him (unless that to receive a variable and precarious rent can be so considered) being of the most shadowy description.

Passing over for the present the Act of 1885, commonly called the Ashbourne Act, which dealt only with purchase, we come to that of 1887, which altered the Act of 1881 in several important particulars. The chief of these were: Firstly, it admitted all leaseholders to the Land Court who would otherwise have enjoyed that right at the expiration of their leases, thus breaking down one of Mr. Gladstone's most cherished safeguards; secondly, it abolished the exclusion on account of subletting where trivial or made to labourers employed and required on the holding, while it modified in the tenants' favour the exclusion of 'town parks.'

* Kavanagh Separate Report, 'Bessborough' Commission, p. 55.

Last and not least, it invaded the sanctity of the fifteen years' statutory term for which 'fair rents' were fixed, and provided for an automatic reduction of these in proportion to the fall in prices of agricultural produce, thus destroying any vestige of stability in the system. Indeed, this startling departure from the principles of the Act of 1881, inconsistent as it was with much of the language that had been used by Unionist statesmen, has received, except from the Nationalist party, far less attention than it deserved.

Mr. Arthur Balfour's Act of 1891 was mainly concerned with purchase, to which we shall return by-and-bye. The constitution of the Land Commission was, however, then for the first time put on a permanent basis, the lay commissioners (originally appointed only for seven years) being given the same tenure as County Court judges, and the assistant commissioners considered necessary by the Lord-Lieutenant and the Treasury as a permanent staff, being made permanent civil servants. These latter, however, are only thirty-two out of a total of seventy-eight, and of the remaining forty-six three are still paid not by fixed salary but by the day*—obviously a most objectionable arrangement, which until last year prevailed much more largely, and which we trust Mr. Gerald Balfour intends entirely to abolish. This Act also marked a most important new departure in the appointment of the Congested Districts Board, which was designed, in defiance of the *laissez-faire* traditions so long in the ascendant, to foster the industries and generally promote the developement of the poorest and most backward parts of the country. But this hardly comes within the scope of our immediate subject. It is, however, worth noting, as it betokens the altered spirit in which British statesmen now approach Irish problems.

A short Act of the same year—Redemption of Rent (Ireland), 1891—gave relief to long leaseholders holding at 'full agricultural rents,' but not coming under the Act of 1887, by giving them the option of either having a fair rent fixed or of redeeming their rents at a price fixed by the Land Commission in case the landlord and tenant failed to agree. This Act applied only to a comparatively small class, almost entirely in Ulster, but deserves mention, as for the first time it recognised something akin to compulsory sale for other than public purposes, which has been demanded

* Commons Return, No. 244, 1897.

more widely and loudly in Ulster than in any of the other three provinces.

Lastly, we come to the Act of 1896, the provisions of which it is not easy to summarise, so numerous and complicated and, in many instances, so minute are its details; whilst being an amending Act only, it has no general principle of its own. This complexity is of course due in some degree to the difficulties of the subject, but also not a little to the evasion of many of those difficulties in the Act of 1881. We shall endeavour to indicate its salient points without attempting legal nicety.

First, definite concessions have been made to the tenants on a number of points, chiefly with regard to improvements or to exclusions. The former extend to the other provinces some of the advantages hitherto enjoyed by the Ulster tenants only, such as (1) the exemption from fair rent of improvements made (*a*) since 1850 (instead of since 1870), or (*b*) under a thirty-one years' lease; and (2) the presumption that improvements were made by the tenant, though the holding was held under a lease, or was over 100*l.* annual value, in both which cases the presumption under the Act of 1870, s. 5 (2) and (4), was the other way. The exclusions dealt with are rather modified than withdrawn, and mostly involve legal points which cannot be discussed here. The most important changes are: (1) the raising of the limit of annual value, which excludes grazing farms, from 50*l.* to 100*l.*, so as to include the larger tenants of this class; (2) the admission of joint tenants, to be found chiefly at the other end of the scale in the poorer districts of the West; (3) the further extension of the Act of 1881 in cases of trivial subletting, the effect of which, especially in the West, will be jealously watched in the best interests of the peasantry themselves; and (4) it narrows still further (by a clause, s. 6, bitterly opposed in the House of Lords) the definition by which 'town parks' are excluded under the Act of 1881, as amended by that of 1887. It will be observed that these changes, though distinct concessions to the tenants and important from their number when all taken together, deal with comparatively small points when considered singly.

Secondly, however, certain larger issues are now raised in a more definite form than before, though often discussed at great length both in the law courts and outside. Such are (1) the apportionment of the 'increased letting value' due to tenants' improvements, acting on the latent capacity of the soil, and (2) the legality of making any deduction from

the 'fair rent' on account of the 'occupation interest' of the tenant. Both these questions are involved in the schedule which the Act of 1896 required should be filled up, so as to show how the fair rent was arrived at. Unfortunately both are only incidentally raised, Parliament having again shrunk from dealing explicitly with these difficult questions, which must remain doubtful until tested by costly and tedious litigation. The former, indeed, does not arise in Ulster, where 'it is generally assumed, though there has been no 'definite decision to the effect, that . . . the tenant is 'entitled to the entire increased letting value caused by 'his improvements,'* and has been described by Judge Bewley, the head of the Land Commission, and others as an academic question, inasmuch as there is generally no surplus to be adjudged either to landlord or tenant, after allowing interest on the cost of the improvement. On the other hand, however, it is well known that certain forms of reclamation—as, for instance, of some cutaway turf bogs—return an ample surplus, after making such allowance. Again, the importance of the matter is evidenced by the care taken in the English Agricultural Holdings Acts to reserve to the landlord 'what is justly due to the inherent capabilities of 'the soil;' and though the Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression, in the final report of the majority recently issued, see no objection to the removal of this proviso,† this recommendation is expressly based on the consideration urged by Sir John Lawes that even if it were taken out of the Act the principle would have to be considered by every fair valuer.‡ The other matter—'occupation interest'—is vastly more important, such a claim being eminently practical and far from academic, and affecting every holding subject to the Act of 1881. The general belief in Ireland certainly is that expressed by Judge Bewley to Mr. Morley's Committee,§ that, whether consciously or unconsciously, most valuers and lay assistant commissioners do take this into account, though there is nothing in any Act prescribing it, nor any ruling of the courts on the subject. But it can hardly be doubted that if any definite decision were given in the tenants' favour on the point, a much wider and more liberal application of this principle would result, and having regard to the

* Barton and Cherry, p. 9.

† P. 102.

‡ P. 94.

§ Commons Report, 310 of 1894, 10,856.

shadowy nature of the claim, it would be impossible even to guess at the ultimate result.

One other point dealt with in last year's Act must be mentioned as illustrating the incidental mischief caused by dual ownership, viz. the right of 'resumption' by the landlord. This essential attribute of ownership was taken from the landlord for ever, except for certain strictly defined purposes and on payment to the tenant of the market value of the tenant right; and even this limited right was by s. 8 (3) denied to the landlord (except in certain cases of leaseholds) during the first statutory term, *i.e.* for fifteen years after the first fixing of a fair rent. A small concession is now made to the landlord by s. 2 of the Act of 1896 as regards resumption during the first statutory term; but it remains to be seen how far the Act of 1881 will, after the first statutory term, meet the necessities of such cases as new towns or new industries springing up. It is to be feared the blighting influence of dual ownership will still prevail, and that the satisfaction of the tenant-right claim will in many cases be prohibitive.

We have endeavoured to reduce the provisions of this last Land Act considered, and the technicalities introduced in their discussion, within the narrowest possible limits, but even so brief a recital is inevitably tedious. It may help, however, to bring out the fragmentary character of such legislation, and the legal subtleties involved, which it is to be feared in many instances are likely to raise more questions than are solved. On the other hand, many of the concessions made to the tenants seem intrinsically just, as well as expedient; while others, especially as regards exclusions, seem difficult to resist once the principles of 1881 are conceded. In fact, the defects of last year's measure are inherent in the system it sought to amend. The broad fact remains, however, that the Government were content to accept that system, and to make the best of it by further elaboration in the minutest detail; and though we admit that they have tried, and in the main successfully, to accomplish this with impartiality as between landlord and tenant, we cannot but regret that they have disregarded some of the larger issues which should determine the policy of land legislation. It is also a misfortune, even though the lines of 1881 were followed, that no approach was made towards a final settlement of the claims of the two classes to past as distinguished from future improvements, around which the bitterest controversy has raged, and the most bewildering

technicalities have gathered. This would have been simplification, not elaboration. Such a settlement, however, though quite practicable in itself, could only have been rendered possible by a disposition to compromise between the disputants, which was conspicuous by its absence. We shall be better able to judge how far time and trouble are advantageously expended on the elaboration of the system of 1881 when we come to consider how far that system can be relied upon as a permanent arrangement or one conducive to the public interest.

Coming now to the Purchase Acts, their provisions, happily for our readers, may be much more briefly summarised, containing, as they do, much less contentious matter and many fewer details requiring notice. To Mr. Bright belongs the credit of first obtaining Parliamentary recognition for the principle of promoting by Government loans the transfer of Irish land to the occupiers, by the clauses he persuaded Mr. Gladstone to introduce into the Disestablishment Act of 1869 and the Land Act of 1870. These authorised the advance to tenants of two-thirds of the purchase money, repayable, principal and interest, in thirty-five years at 5 per cent. Unluckily Mr. Bright's mastery of detail was not equal to his leader's, and Mr. Gladstone taking but little interest in the matter, the scheme was never worked out in a practical form. The Board of Works, to whom the administration was entrusted, was obviously not the body to create a new departure; and though the limit of advances was increased under the Act of 1881 to three-quarters of the purchase money, and the administration transferred to the new Land Commission then set up, little was accomplished until 1885. The 'Ashbourne' Act, passed that year, authorised the advance of the whole purchase money, and by extending the term of repayment from thirty-five to forty-nine years, made it possible to reduce the instalments of repayment from 5 to 4 per cent. On the other hand, in order to give the State some collateral security in lieu of the proportion of purchase money heretofore payable by the tenant, the vendor was required to leave in the hands of the Land Commission not less than one-fifth of the purchase money as a 'guarantee deposit.' This deposit was liable to make good any default on the part of the purchaser until the latter had repaid an equivalent part of the advance; meantime the vendor received interest on it. A sum of five millions was voted for the purpose, which being nearly exhausted in 1888—such was

the success of this simple and unpretentious measure—was increased in that year to ten millions. The whole sum was practically allotted when, in 1891, Mr. Arthur Balfour passed a more ambitious and elaborate Act, providing funds estimated to amount to thirty-three millions for land purchase. We need not explore the mysteries of its financial checks and safeguards—several of which were abolished by Mr. Gerald Balfour last year—its sinking fund, guarantee fund, reserve fund, &c. The main features to be noticed are (1) the introduction of a new form of collateral security for the advances to tenant purchasers, by the appropriation for that purpose of various grants from Imperial funds for Irish purposes, mainly educational and poor-law, the capital value of the whole being estimated, as stated above, at thirty-three millions; and (2) the payment of the vendor in ‘guaranteed’ $2\frac{3}{4}$ * per cent. land stock,’ instead of in cash. Both these arrangements are based on the principle alluded to before, viz. that the British taxpayer is to run no risk in the matter, and, as under the former one, the available amount is far below what would be required to buy out the landlords as a whole, the policy of purchase cannot be regarded as an alternative to that of Mr. Gladstone.

It remains to notice three important provisions of the Act of 1896 in regard to purchase. First, the terms of repayment are still further relaxed by an extension of the term, and the reduction of the instalments or ‘purchase annuity’ at the end of the first, second, and third decades successively by calculating the latter on the residue of principal remaining unpaid, the result being as follows in the case of a holding of 100*l.* a year rent sold at twenty years’ purchase :—

Period of Repayment.	Purchase Annuity.		
	£	s.	d.
First ten years	80	0	0
From eleventh to twentieth year . .	68	16	0
From twenty-first to thirtieth year .	59	4	0
From thirty-first to end of term, estimated at seventy years	51	4	0

after which all payments of course would cease. This obviously makes the process very much easier to the purchaser. But the vendor is not forgotten, the Land Commission being authorised at its discretion to dispense with the guarantee deposit hitherto required under the

* To be reduced after ten millions are issued to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. if a stock at the latter rate would be saleable at par.

Ashbourne and subsequent Acts, and which had proved in many instances an insuperable bar to sales. Both these arrangements, moreover, are retrospective to a certain extent. The third provision, though (unlike the other two) highly contentious, is in principle, we agree with Mr. Balfour, about the most important in the Act. By s. 40 the Land Judge, to whom is entrusted the administration of the Landed Estates Court, including not only the sale but the control of incumbered estates ordered by that court to be sold, is required to give the tenants of such estates the option of purchase at a price to be fixed by him 'after giving all parties, including the tenants, an opportunity of being heard, and considering the report [of the Land Commission as to the value] and any offers that may be made for the purchase of the estate.' The object of this clause is to put an end to the accumulation of bankrupt estates in the hands of a public authority, and to restore to the Landed Estates Court its original and primary function, not of managing, but of selling, such property. Mr. Gerald Balfour estimated the number of estates at over 1,200, and the rental at over 600,000*l.* Such a state of things (comparable only with that prevailing in 1849 before the passing of the Incumbered Estates Act, when over 1,000 estates, with a rental of 750,000*l.*, were in question) almost amounts to a public scandal, and certainly entails grave public mischief. A court of law cannot be a satisfactory landlord. The receiver's interest lies rather in the continuance of the deadlock, and in troublous times such estates are apt to become centres of mismanagement, agrarian disturbance, and disaffection. It would, indeed, be a happy consummation if they could be sold to the tenants without any sacrifice of the *bona fide* interests of incumbrancers and reversioners. And, despite the fears expressed in the House of Lords (which, however, many enlightened landlords do not share), these interests seem to be fairly safeguarded. Indeed, at the moment the doubt seems rather to be whether a deadlock will not result from the Land Commission declining to advance the amount at which the Land Judge offers the property to the tenants, even when the latter wish to avail themselves of the offer, if such amount exceeds the price 'at which,' according to its own report to him, 'the sale to the tenants can properly be made.'

The operation of the principal Acts can be briefly stated. First, the applications to the Land Commission to fix fair

rents for a first statutory term from the commencement of the Act up to June 30, 1897, have been 219,010, and those to the Civil Bill or 'County' Courts 37,565, making a total of 256,575. The total agricultural holdings, according to the census of 1891, are 486,865; but these include 18,243 not exceeding one acre, very few of which could ever be regarded as agricultural tenancies proper, and 43,678* peasant properties created under the different Purchase Acts, as detailed hereafter. Deducting all the latter and 16,000 of the former we get a nett total of 427,187 agricultural tenancies, of which, therefore, 60 per cent. have sought the protection of the courts. These applications have been disposed of as follows:—

Fair rents fixed	182,254
Dismissed†	9,014
Struck out†	38,675
Withdrawn	15,063
Undisposed of	11,569
Total	256,575

Cases are 'struck out' when the parties do not appear, and many, both of these applications and of those 'withdrawn,' are probably included in the 'agreements out of court.' Of these last there have been 126,635, making the total of Fair Rents fixed for a first statutory term 308,889, *i.e.* on 72 per cent. of the agricultural tenancies.

Some of the Nationalists on Mr. Morley's Committee of 1894 seemed to think the number of cases dealt with disappointing, and sought to show that the rents fixed by agreement out of court were unfair to the tenants, and that the number still remaining outside the operation of the Act (which latter, by the way, they very much over-estimated) were another proof of its inefficiency. But surely the inference is the other way. The test of a good law is rather the amount of litigation it prevents. The facilities for agreement out of court were amongst the best provisions of the Act of 1881, and the 126,635 cases thus settled (30 per cent. of the agricultural tenancies) are a

* In this figure the number of loans 'sanctioned' is taken instead of the number 'issued,' as on p. 417.

† The cases 'dismissed' and 'struck out' are not distinguished in the County Court returns; the figures for them have been divided in the same proportion as the Land Commission returns show.

most favourable feature in its working. Nor is it by any means proved that the reductions 'by agreement' were inadequate, though on a lower scale, the probability being that in the great majority of cases they were effected where good relations prevailed between landlord and tenant, and where the rents were presumably moderate. We believe also that a large proportion of those remaining outside the Act have been satisfied with their position, and trusted to their landlords' fair treatment, as of old. We have before us particulars of an estate of this kind, comprising eighty-three agricultural holdings subject to the Act of 1881. The property was revalued by the agent in 1882, his valuation being made the basis of an offer to each tenant, including leaseholders. In forty-six cases the tenants were satisfied to continue at the old rent and never went into court, nor were they required to sign agreements. In twenty-six cases the tenants accepted the reduction offered and signed agreements. The remaining eleven declined the landlords' offer and went into court.

Next as to the second statutory term. It was estimated, when Mr. Morley's abortive Bill of 1895 was under discussion, that 45,000 tenants would, by the following November, have a right to apply for the second fixing of a 'Fair Rent.' Up to June 30, 1897, 20,616 had so applied. Of these 6,364 have been disposed of as follows:—

Rents fixed	.	.	.	.	.	4,779
Dismissed *	.	.	.	.	.	111
Struck out **	.	.	.	.	.	1,333
Withdrawn	.	.	.	.	.	141
Total						6,364

leaving 14,252 undisposed of. These figures certainly do not justify the panic of last year, when the landlords feared a rush into court, stimulated by the high rate of the earlier reductions for a second statutory term. Moreover the rush, such as it was, seems already to have subsided, the applications having come in as follows:—

Up to June 30, 1896	.	.	.	.	801
From July 1 to December 31, 1896	.	.	.	.	14,214
From January 1 to June 30, 1897	.	.	.	.	5,601
Total					20,616

* See note on p. 414.

On the other hand the large number of cases undisposed of is unsatisfactory.

In addition to the 4,779 'Fair Rents' refixed by the courts, 1,494 have been refixed by agreement, making a total of 6,273. As will be seen in a moment, a considerable increase of sales to tenants has also taken place, which accounts for some abstentions; but after allowing for these the fact remains that not half those who were entitled to have their 'Fair Rents' refixed have as yet applied, which is perhaps a sign of freedom of contract returning.

The amount of reduction effected on the average can only be given up to March 31, 1897, and is summarised below:—*

FIRST STATUTORY TERM.

Number of cases	.	.	.	.	307,250
Former rent	.	.	.	.	£6,384,351
Judicial rent	.	.	.	.	£5,047,072
Percentage of reduction	.	.	.	.	20·9

The percentage varies thus:—

Land Commission	.	.	.	.	21·4
Civil Bill Courts	.	.	.	.	23·7
Agreements	.	.	.	.	17·6

SECOND STATUTORY TERM.

Number of cases	.	.	.	.	3,402
Original rent	.	.	.	.	£89,715
First judicial rent	.	.	.	.	£71,180
Second judicial rent	.	.	.	.	£52,635
Percentage of reduction:					
Below first judicial rent	.	.	.	.	26·0
Below original rent	.	.	.	.	41·3

These percentages vary thus:—

	Below	
	First Judicial Rent	Original Rent
Land Commission	27·0	41·9
Civil Bill Courts	28·4	42·4
Agreements	19·4	36·9

It remains only to give the results of the different Purchase Acts up to June 30, 1897:—

* Report of Irish Land Commission 1896-7 [C. 8,638].

	Loans Issued	
	Number	Amount
'Bright' Clauses of—		£
Church Act of 1869 . .	6,057	} *1,500,000
Land Act of 1870 . .	702	
Land Act of 1881 . .	731	
'Ashbourne' Acts of 1885 and 1888	25,342	9,984,959
'Balfour' Acts of 1891 and 1896	8,749	2,816,725
Total	41,581	13,541,238

The effect of the changes in the Act of 1896 is shown by the fact that the number of applications, which under the 'Ashbourne' Acts averaged 4,645 a year (the highest number being 6,195, in 1886-7), but which fell under the 'Balfour' Act of 1891 to about 2,600 a year, have been 2,888 for the six months ending June 30, 1897, which approaches very near the 'Ashbourne' record.

Returning now to the policy of 1881, the objects sought in Mr. Gladstone's Act would all fall under one of two heads—first, to encourage the developement of agriculture, and, secondly, to put an end to the social strife between landlord and tenant. And the main new principle relied on to attain these objects was the fixing of 'fair rents' by a court which should give security to the tenant and at the same time safeguard the just rights of the landlord. Mr. Gladstone 'admitted the principle was exceptional,' but claimed that it was 'limited to the necessities of the case'—'the intervention of the court need not be universal or 'perpetual.'† And he was as emphatic in expressing his desire to protect the landlord as to give security to the tenant:—

'No legislation, however liberal to the tenant, can be really satisfactory in all the relations of social life unless it is favourable to the joint interests of all the classes concerned; 'the ulterior tendency [of the Bill] in giving confidence, producing harmony between landlords and tenants, and in bringing about a larger developement of the pro-

* Estimated. The purchase money was 2,374,987*l.*, of which about two-thirds was advanced by the State.

† Hansard, vol. cclxiv. 154.

ductive powers of the soil, may repay the landlords for the incidental mischiefs of the Act two or three fold.*

The other main principles—free sale, and fixity of tenure—were not new, as both were practically involved in the Ulster custom, though they were of course new in the other three provinces to which they were now for the first time extended. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, to the end maintained that perpetuity and dual ownership were not conceded at all, and no doubt the subtle distinction he drew between them and his system exists on paper. On the whole, however, it must be admitted that he recognised the wider considerations brought into question by his policy, and the varied interests, individual and public, which were concerned. Whether he sufficiently took account of these in practice is another matter, to which we shall return later.

On the other hand the criticism of his opponents was directed almost entirely to the effect on the Irish landlords. This was only natural for a party principally composed of, or connected with, that class throughout the United Kingdom. The danger to the landlords of excessive reduction of rent was obvious and direct. The public mischief—the confusion to be anticipated from dual ownership, and the demoralising effect of the fixing of rent by the State—were more remote, and received comparatively little attention. The Duke of Argyll and Lord Lansdowne did, indeed, point them out, while admitting that some intervention of the State was necessary, but this statesmanlike attitude was not generally adopted; the controversy followed the old lines of Irish agrarian feud, and the democracy of Great Britain, ignoring the subtle distinctions and paper safeguards of their leader, jumped to the simple but fallacious conclusion that what was bad for the landlord must be good for the tenant. The amendments of the Opposition sought rather to limit the operation of the Act, by increasing the classes of holdings excluded, than by modifying the principle of State intervention or even restricting its action in the future, though this latter limitation was recognised in theory by Mr. Gladstone, and to a certain extent carried out by the exclusion of ‘future tenancies’ from the Land Court, and urged by him, as we have seen, in defence of the exceptional character of his measure. And, accordingly, as no clearly defined distinction in principle could be drawn in

* Hansard, vol. cclxiii. 1695, 1697.

the case of many of these exclusions, they have been constantly whittled away, as our summary shows, ever since.

Has this heroic measure, then, realised the expectations of its author? Or has it rather justified the fears of its opponents? It is quite conceivable, of course, that both questions might be answered with a modified affirmative. It would certainly not be easy for the impartial observer to answer either with a single monosyllable.

To begin with the latter first: The landlords have doubtless suffered severely, and in particular instances, we believe, most unjustly, from the reductions of the Land Court; but whether, on the average, those reductions have been excessive is another and a difficult question, on which, moreover, it would be improper to pronounce an opinion pending the inquiry of Sir Edward Fry's Commission. In view, however, of the serious fall in agricultural rents from purely economic causes even in grazing districts in Great Britain, which is disclosed by the final report of the Agricultural Depression Commission, most people on this side of the Channel will think that the *onus probandi* lies on the landlords as regards reduction of income pure and simple, though it is significant that as regards Wales the Commission reports, 'With these exceptions [on arable land in the 'north'] there have been few permanent reductions in the "Principality,"' and these as a rule not exceeding 10 to 15 per cent., 'although remissions and abatements from 10 to '20 per cent. have been more general;'* and the fair rents fixed by the Crofters Commission during the year 1895 on the expiration of the first septennial period were only on the average 8 per cent. below the first fair rents, and 33 per cent. † below the old rent, the corresponding figures for 1896 being 6 per cent. and 27 per cent.;‡ whereas the average reductions on second fixing of fair rents in Ireland have been, as stated above, 26·0 per cent. below the first fair rents, and 41·3 per cent. below the old rents. Apart, however, from any question as to the amount of reduction effected by the Land Courts, two or three points are to be noted. First, the almost universal opinion in Ireland seems to be that the decisions of the Land Court are most unequal, a point to which we shall return when considering the effect on agriculture and on the tenants. Again, the landlord has not only been mulcted in rent by an arbitrary authority,

* Final Report, [c. 8540] pp. 19, 23, 24.

† Ibid. [c. 8014] p. 37.

‡ Ibid. [c. 8452] p. 24.

but deprived of valuable rights, such as that of resumption, and of selecting his tenant, and has practically no remedy against deterioration, while the public inconvenience of dual ownership has made itself felt in the neighbourhood of almost every town and village. In these respects the apprehensions of the Opposition have certainly not been without justification.

What, then, about the expectations of its friends? Has it encouraged the developement of agriculture? Has it put an end to social strife? Here, again, we must distinguish. The agitation and disturbance which preceded and accompanied its passing are far enough removed to make it difficult even for those who lived through that troublous time to recall the surrounding circumstances, while too recent for the historian to sum up the whole case, though politicians may hazard conjectures as to what would have happened in Ireland if the Act had been rejected. But though it may, perhaps, be plausibly argued that things would in that case have been worse, even Mr. Gladstone himself could hardly maintain that 'harmony between 'landlords and tenants' had been produced or social peace restored. In so far as these results have been attained they are probably due rather to the rise of Mr. Arthur Balfour and the fall of Mr. Parnell, and principally to the latter cause. Again, as regards the encouragement of agricultural developement, what has been the success attained? This, indeed, is the kernel of the whole matter. The room for improvement in Irish agriculture in most districts is so great, the capabilities of the soil are so little developed, that, had the security given to the tenants been sufficient to call forth their full energies, Mr. Gladstone's prophecy might have been realised, and all the knotty problems solved at once, confidence between landlords and tenants restored, and even the capital value of the landlords' property increased, tenants' improvements being the best possible security for the rent. If it should appear that the new system has not stimulated improvements we shall at all events have some clue to guide us through the labyrinth.

Before, however, giving such evidence on this vital point as we have been able to collect, we must point out certain characteristics of the system, which, though commonplaces in Ireland, hardly seem to be fully realised in England. It is true the majority report of the Agricultural Depression Commission decisively rejects the policy of 'the three F's,'

but the reasons given are (1st) that the proposal is generally unpopular with the tenants, who ‘entertain a ‘wholesome dread of the unnecessary litigation which ‘“Land Courts” would create, and are of opinion that they ‘can make better bargains with their landlords for themselves than lawyers or Land Courts are likely to make for ‘them;’ and (2nd) that it would deter landlords from improving; * while three of the Commissioners—Mr. Clay,† Mr. Lambert,‡ and Mr. Channing§—in their separate reports, agree generally that the feeling in favour of judicial rents is increasing amongst the tenant farmers, and the last-named practically advocates the introduction of the Irish system in its entirety. Now, though we cannot at all concur in the last-named gentleman’s analysis of the evidence on the subject given to the Commission, and though, as pointed out by several of their^e sub-commissioners, the feeling is vague and the consequences imperfectly thought out, yet it is startling to find formal resolutions passed at farmers’ meetings in this country demanding State-fixing of rents, and the principle adopted in the majority report of the Welsh Land Commission. The expectation on which Lord Carrington and his co-signatories rely that ‘judicial’ rents would be purely beneficial if unaccompanied by free sale is certainly not borne out by Irish experience; nor does it seem possible to prevent money passing unless by some such device as the practice of ‘renunciation’ introduced in the Crofters Act; and no doubt, whatever its strength may now be, the feeling is growing in some districts. Vague yearnings after Utopian schemes have an awkward way sometimes of becoming formulated in Acts of Parliament, as was largely the case in Ireland eighteen years ago, when the ‘three F’s’ took hold of the popular mind without their consequences being clearly thought out; and if the tenant farmers of Great Britain came to think that Land Courts would give them better terms than they now generally obtain for themselves, the idea might well become popular enough to give trouble, unless some other arguments against it were forthcoming which would come home to the public generally, and even to the tenants themselves. Mr. Channing’s report, indeed, is too sentimental and weak, both in argument and in grasp of the facts, to produce any appreciable effect, but it is disquieting to notice how little attention is paid to one aspect of the matter even in the

* Pp. 116–7.

† P. 184.

‡ P. 215.

§ Pp. 338–43.

majority report, and that is the effect of State-fixing of rents in the long run upon the tenants themselves, and the question whether the system does really afford them that 'absolute security' which everyone desires to give, and which Mr. Channing assumes to be its chief recommendation. This is precisely where Irish experience seems to be instructive, and brings us back to the kernel of the Irish land question.

Let us glance, then, at some of these Irish commonplaces, so little apprehended over here. The vagueness of the popular demand has just been adverted to, but the formula evolved from the chaos by Parliament was in important respects not much more definite. For instance, on the cardinal question of the 'fair rent,' though the Bill (to Mr. Gladstone's credit be it remembered) originally contained a definition of the term, the House of Commons would none of it, and accordingly this new-fangled craft was launched without a compass on an unknown sea. Next to the vagueness of the measure the immensity of the task should be noted by those in England who talk airily of the establishment of a court disposing of the difficulty without the necessity for many cases coming before it. Here again Mr. Gladstone pointed out the danger when he argued against a compulsory law bringing every tenant in Ireland into court, 'under which weight any judicial authority you 'could create would break down,'* though he did not sufficiently guard against this danger in practice; for, as we have seen, more than half the tenants in Ireland have applied to the Land Courts, a proportion far exceeding general expectation, and seriously exceeding also the capacity of those courts adequately to deal with. In fact, but for the haste and want of care with which the work has been pushed through, and the objectionable appointment of temporary assistant-commissioners, paid by the day, the courts must certainly have broken down. Great indeed are the inherent difficulties of the task, as well as its magnitude. Everyone knows that the valuation of land, even 'as you 'find it,' requires great judgement, experience, and care; and the assessment of tenants' improvements under the Agricultural Holdings Act, where the permanent improvements are made by the landlord, is no easy matter. But the Land Court in Ireland has also to unravel claims as to permanent improvements several generations old, and the

* Hansard, cclx. p. 907.

lay Assistant-Commissioners have to draw largely on their imagination in distinguishing between inherent capacity and increased letting value, one of them even attempting to do this prospectively where no improvement had yet taken place.* And all this in the vast majority of cases without any accounts, vouchers, or other evidence worthy of the name. Are not these the elements of a nearly insoluble problem?

Then as to the methods adopted. Great stress was laid on the appointment by Parliament itself of the original three Commissioners who were named in the Act, as affording a valuable guarantee for efficient and just administration, though, as mentioned already, of the three only the judicial Commissioner had fixity of tenure. But the Commissioners were authorised to delegate all their vast powers, except as to appeals, to Assistant-Commissioners, of whom Parliament knew nothing, and who were not even selected by themselves, but by the Government of the day, and who, like the lay Commissioners, until 1891 held merely temporary appointments. On these sub-commissions accordingly devolved the duty of deciding most of the knotty points which Parliament had evaded, the 'parliamentary' triumvirate in turn shrinking from any attempt either to define a 'fair rent' or even to set up a standard of value by themselves fixing any rents in the first instance. One important power, however, they had over the Assistant-Commissioners, viz. the composition of the sub-commissions, and their allocation to the different districts. In exercising this right they seem to have deliberately arranged to send the Assistants to districts where they are strangers, and to shift them constantly from one district to another; in fact, Judge Bewley, the present head of the Commission, distinctly affirms the practice, defending it as giving them wider experience and tending to uniformity. This seems a strange argument, for though it may have some force as regards the legal Assistant-Commissioners, local experience is admittedly the first requisite for a valuer, while uniformity from time to time in the same district is infinitely more important in matters of valuation than uniformity between different districts. It is remarkable in this connexion that the valuers attached to the Civil Bill, or County Court, for the purposes of the Act, who are generally local and permanent, inspire such confidence in some counties that both parties accept

* Commons Report, No. 310 of 1894, questions 3938-45.

their decisions.* Another power, or rather responsibility, is conferred on the Land Commission by s. 50 (1) i., of the Act of 1881, which they do not seem to have exercised, viz. to 'make rules with respect to the qualifications and 'tenure of office of Assistant-Commissioners.' Indeed, this power is hard to reconcile with the appointment of the latter by the Government, which is distinctly provided by s. 43.

Imagine, then, an irresponsible semi-judicial tribunal, with large powers but few principles to guide it, acting through a number of scattered roving subordinates without local knowledge and mostly without permanent status, whom it does not select and over whom it has little or no control, and such a tribunal set to perform a task of absolute novelty and almost unexampled difficulty, and it is no wonder that both parties are dissatisfied. Nor can we adopt the comfortable explanation which Lord Kimberley put forward in the House of Lords on March 18 last (but which, for superficiality, would better suit the platform than the senate), that if both parties complain the decisions are probably just. As Lord Salisbury promptly pointed out some decisions may be unjust to the landlords and some to the tenants, and this is very much what we believe has happened; but, except to the compiler of averages—so often misleading in these matters—two wrongs do not make a right. And, considering all the difficulties, it is no reflection on either the character or the ability of the lay Assistant-Commissioners to draw such a conclusion. There are two tendencies which must affect, more or less, the minds of all valuers, however conscientious: one is the tendency to average, and the other the tendency to value things as they find them. The former has been expressed by an experienced valuer as the tendency to value land at 1*l.* an acre, and though this is, of course, a paradoxical way of putting it, we are all prone to take refuge in round figures. Another form of it to which Land Commissioners are specially liable is to reduce all rents by a certain percentage, while the process of 'splitting the difference,' naturally resorted to in any kind of arbitration, operates in the same direction. The other tendency is even laid down as a principle by many valuers who hold that it is their business only to report the facts as they find them, but not to draw the inferences or to call their imagination into play. And yet both these tendencies may obviously

* Commons Report, No. 310 of 1894, questions 9297, 9508-10, 11740-1.

lead to injustice in particular cases, even with the most conscientious valuers. The antecedent probability, therefore, is that men in the position and with the opportunities of the sub-commissioners must make many mistakes. At all events the almost universal opinion in Ireland is that such is the case, and points to just those errors which the two above-mentioned tendencies would produce. At every turn one is told 'the sub-commissioners take off a slice all round,' or 'the rack-renter comes off best;' or, again, 'the bad tenant gets the biggest reduction;' and sometimes 'the bad land is valued too high, and the good land too low;' or (worst of all) 'the good tenant is sure to be rented on his improvements.' Indeed, some of the sub-commissioners themselves dimly realise their own (or each other's) shortcomings,* though naturally most of them regard the system of which they are an essential part as eminently satisfactory.

We will give a few typical instances, suppressing names and places, as it would be invidious to attack individuals. We can, however, vouch for the accuracy of the facts and figures, the latter having been all obtained either at first hand or from Government returns.

First, here is an instance of a bad tenant getting an undue reduction. A, B, and C hold three farms, comprising a townland of good dairy land. Their rents, which were notoriously moderate, were simultaneously fixed by an independent local valuer in 1855, and were never raised in the prosperous 70's. A and B were industrious and improving, and have never gone into court. C was idle and negligent; he went into court, and his rent was reduced from 4*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* to 40*l.*

Next take two cases illustrating the treatment of good landlords and rack-renters. E and F own neighbouring properties of similar land poor in quality. E's lands were moderately let, being 24 per cent. above Griffith's valuation. F's were screwed up to 92 per cent. above 'Griffith's,' several having been raised three, four, and five times within twenty years. Their rents were simultaneously reduced by the same sub-commission as follows:—

	Percentage of Reduction	Percentage of 'Fair Rent' above Griffith's
E . .	19·5	2·8
F . .	33·6	27·9

* Commons Report, No. 310 of 1894, questions 6014-22, 6156-3, 6164-7, 9480-1, 11655-71.

Granting that E's rents were justly reduced to 2·8 above 'Griffith's,' F's must have been fixed 25 per cent. too high. The other is as follows:—G bought a poor property in the Landed Estates Court after 'the famine.' It was wretched land, reclaimed from bog and mountain by the tenants, many of whom were mere squatters, paying no rent at that time, but the property soon became known as one of the most rack-rented in that county. His rents were reduced 29 per cent., while H, one of the oldest established and best landlords in the whole of Ireland, had his rents of better land in the same county reduced at the same time by the same sub-commission 19 per cent., the average reduction for the whole county on that occasion being 22 per cent. 'Griffith's' valuation is not given in this case, as, owing to the inequalities in it as between different classes of land, it is not a trustworthy test, except for adjoining properties, like E's and F's.

Lastly, take this case of an improving tenant: An enterprising farmer bought for 1,600*l.* the tenant's interest in an Ulster farm of 67 statute acres in the year 1877—*i.e.* at the height of the prosperous times, and just before the great fall in prices which began in 1879. The rent was 100*l.*, or 30*s.* an acre. The farm was exhausted and in bad order, part of it, presumably not the worst, being sublet at 23*s.* an acre. He spent during the three years succeeding on:—

Thorough drainage	.	.	.	.	£195
Subsoiling	.	.	.	.	165
Reclamation	.	.	.	.	24
Fencing	.	.	.	.	96
Embanking river	.	.	.	.	20
Total	.	.	.	.	£500

He went into court in 1882, and the 'fair rent' fixed was 95*l.*, being a reduction of 5 per cent. On the same occasion several of the other tenants on the same property, some having few or no improvements to show, got reductions varying from 12½ to 25 per cent., and averaging 15 per cent. Can it be doubted that if he had kept his 500*l.* in his pocket he would have got a much larger reduction?

Nor let it be supposed by advocates of the application of the system to Great Britain that its shortcomings in Ireland have been due merely to 'partial and temporary difficulties,' as Mr. Channing seems to think, or to defects in procedure—to want of uniformity or of precise definitions, though no doubt these defects have existed, and still

exist more or less. For let it be noted that we have carefully given instances illustrating in each case the inequality of decisions given at the same time by the same sub-commission, which can only arise from some such general causes as the two tendencies remarked upon above, and from the other inherent difficulties of the task. Any student of the evidence given to Mr. Morley's Committee must see that the decisions of the courts are essentially those of the lay sub-commissioners, or court valuers, as the case may be, and that legal arguments or scientific definitions have little or nothing to say to the verdicts of these pseudo-legal tribunals. Indeed, it may be doubted whether even a definition of 'fair rent' would have helped very materially, and it is significant that there is no such definition in the Crofters Act either. No, the evil is deeper-seated than mere formulas or definitions can reach, and resides in the Socialistic principle of State intervention in fixing prices.

If, however, the system, as argued above, almost necessarily works so unfairly and gives such inadequate security for tenants' improvements, it must have produced a decided impression on the minds of the tenants, and such impression might be expected to manifest itself in some definite form. Is any such manifestation apparent? We do not, of course, mean of open or organised hostility to the Act. Where such a court has been established the natural (though most mischievous) result is that both parties seek to influence the court by organised criticism and agitation. Both complain not so much that the law is bad in itself, but that the administration of it is unjust to their side. And it is quite possible that even though conferring an immediate boon on the majority of tenants by reducing their rents, and thus earning popularity, it may be really injuring the class as a whole by setting up a false standard, discouraging industry, and teaching the farmers to rely on agitation instead, as so earnestly deprecated by Mr. Lecky in his 'Liberty and Democracy.'*

A better test, however, is to be found in the Returns of Land Improvement Loans by the Irish Commissioners of Public Works. Mr. Gladstone, though still hoping that the landlords would continue to improve after 1881, introduced clauses into his Bill enabling the tenants also to borrow from the Government for this purpose. The following tables show the result:—

* Vol. i. p. 150.

LAND IMPROVEMENT LOANS.

—	Years	Period	Average Amount Issued Annually
To owners	9 $\frac{1}{4}$	From January 1, 1861, to March 31, 1870 . .	£ 51,430
	9	From April 1, 1870, to March 31, 1879 . .	82,746
	9	From April 1, 1887, to March 31, 1896 *. .	33,422
To occupiers	9	From April 1, 1887, to March 31, 1896 *. .	40,649

Thus the loans to owners, which increased by over 50 per cent. after the Land Act of 1870, dwindled after 1881 from the higher level by 49,324*l.*, or 59·6 per cent., and this deficiency is not nearly made up by the 40,649*l.* lent to occupiers. Nor are the latest figures any more encouraging, those for 1895-6 being as follows:—

To owners		£38,565
To occupiers		37,093
Total		£75,658

And they become distinctly discouraging when examined year by year, for whereas the occupiers borrowed in the first four years—

1883-4	1884-5	1885-6	1886-7
£26,485	£78,184	£165,096	£164,637

the total has never reached 100,000*l.* since 1887-8, when it was 108,031*l.*, and the decline has been almost continuous ever since, last year's total being the lowest since 1883-4, when probably the facilities for obtaining loans were hardly understood. When it is remembered that the earlier years were characterised by agitation and disturbances, while the latter have been comparatively years of peace and good relations between landlord and tenant, what inference can be drawn from these figures but that the Land Courts have, at any rate, not encouraged the tenants to improve after the first flush of unexpected victory, and that their want of confidence has increased as the revision of rent at the close of the first statutory term drew near?

* The period between from 1879 to 1886 is omitted, as it included a large amount of loans for relief of distress on exceptionally favourable terms.

The nature of these improvements, and their distribution in different districts, seem also significant. In the first five years, out of a total of 542,433*l.* drainage absorbed 291,011*l.*, or 53 per cent., the remaining 251,422*l.* being for buildings. By a steady fall drainage has now come down to 4,817*l.* out of a total of 37,093*l.*, or less than 13 per cent. Now while buildings prove themselves and are easily valued, the cost, and still more the value, of drainage is difficult to estimate. The inference is natural that a prudent tenant might build with a re-valuation impending, where he would hesitate to drain. And yet of the two drainage in a country like Ireland is more important. Then as to distribution: it is notorious that the Ulster tenants are better farmers and more improving than those of Munster and Connaught. It is somewhat surprising, therefore, to find that of the 928,000*l.* for all Ireland since 1883 the former have only taken 119,000*l.*, against 394,000*l.* for Munster, while Connaught has taken 210,000*l.*, and Leinster 205,000*l.* Note also that 56,000*l.*, nearly half of the Ulster sum, went to Cavan and Donegal, the two most Catholic and Celtic counties of that province. Does it not look as if the impulsive Celts rushed in where the canny Scotch-Irish feared to tread? At all events it can hardly be a good sign that Ulster has hesitated to avail herself of facilities which English farmers, not fortunate enough to be tenants of a Duke of Bedford, might well envy.

These indications all seem to point to one conclusion, viz. that as a permanent system the periodic revaluations of the Act of 1881 are a costly* failure and a paralysing influence, which inspires confidence only in the breast of the idle or dishonest tenant that no penalty will attach to his shortcomings, and gives no sufficient security to his industrious neighbour. And this involves no general charge either of idleness or dishonesty against the Irish tenant farmers. Even the much more limited and carefully guarded Agricultural Holdings Act in this country has disclosed dangers of a similar kind; but when an authority like Mr. H. H. Scott speaks of the latter as 'an Act for rogues,'† or Mr. C. S. Read says, 'It pays a man

* The salaries of the present sub-commissioners alone amount to over 65,000*l.* a year, without counting their travelling expenses, or the additional office staff necessitated thereby, or the head commission with its normal staff. See Commons Return, No. 244 of 1897.

† [c. 7734], p. 91.

'better to leave his land foul and impoverished than it does 'to leave it clean and fertile,'* it is the system, not the class, that they indict. And happily there are some signs that the Irish tenants themselves are becoming aware of its defects. Such are the comparatively small number of applications for second statutory term, and the increasing applications to purchase, both noted above. Such, again, is the fact that of the 305 'owners' who applied during the year 1895-6 for Land Improvement Loans about one-third were new tenant purchasers, in addition to 38 of this class who for some technical reason applied as 'occupiers.'† We believe that, small as they are in themselves, these facts betoken a growing, if vague, disposition to regard the Act of 1881, not as final, but as transitional, a conclusion at which the best Irish opinion has long since arrived, and towards which we trust we have guided our readers.

As to the direction in which statesmen should now move, we fully realise the difficulties in deciding. It is clear, however, that no solution can be found by further elaboration of the procedure of 1881 or by patching up such a stop-gap. Something more durable must be sought, and two courses only seem open, both ending in occupying ownership. One is by universal compulsory purchase of the landlord's interest, the other is by a more gradual process, which would start by recognising dual ownership (*pace* Mr. Gladstone) as a practically existent fact, compensating the landlords for any valuable rights of which they have been deprived, and would eliminate by some means its most mischievous incident, the unsound system of periodical revaluation, and thus give the tenant the security of virtual ownership and prepare the way for the more complete and general transfer to the tenants as absolute owners. The longest way round is the shortest way home, and the difficulties in the way of a short cut by compulsory purchase seem insuperable at present, at all events. Difficulties there are also, no doubt, about any scheme of automatic variation of rent; in fact, a hard and fast mechanical arrangement, such as has been tried with more or less success in simple cases, such as wheat lands,‡ seems inapplicable to the mixed and varying Irish system. But two modifications

* Agricultural Depression Report, question 54988.

† [c. 8239], pp. 30, 33.

‡ See Lord Tollemache's sliding scale, *Edinburgh Review*, vol. clxxvii. p. 241.

of this rigid plan were suggested last year, which both seem to offer better hopes of a solution. One was Mr. Gerald Balfour's 'semi-automatic' clause, already mentioned, of which we can only now say—it is too complicated for discussion or even exposition here—that, starting from the fair rent already fixed as a basis, it seems to provide theoretically all the materials essential for the periodic revision of that rent without revaluation of the land so far as these can be laid down beforehand; but whether it would commend itself to practical men on each side is another matter which could only be ascertained by experience, and for this the opportunity was lost by the withdrawal of the clause—a step as unaccountable, in view of its voluntary nature, as it was regrettable. The other modified plan was that suggested independently by an English and an Irish peer—Lord Winchilsea and Lord Monteagle—during the House of Lords discussion. Like the Chief Secretary's plan, it took the 'fair rent' already fixed as a basis, but, unlike his, it left the periodic revision still in the hands of the Land Court, but restricted the latter to considering variations of prices or other matters outside the tenant's control, thus practically excluding any revaluation of the holding. This had the merit of simplicity and of involving the least possible change of existing arrangements, and would probably have been more intelligible to the 'practical man;' and though it was brought forward too late for thorough discussion last year, and cannot be gone into here, it seems well worth consideration, which, it is to be hoped, its twin authors will not fail to secure for it.

But we have no nostrum to put forward, no panacea to advertise. We are content if we can bring home to our readers the supreme importance of those broad principles which govern the agrarian situation in Ireland as in England, though in somewhat different form. The Duke of Bedford has taught the public, by an object lesson in his 'Story of a Great Agricultural Estate,' the importance of attracting all available capital and energy to the soil by restoring confidence, as the principal source of relief to agricultural depression. In England capital and energy may still be forthcoming from the landlord, and it would be criminal folly to neglect such a source and abandon the traditions and habits of generations. In Ireland we must rely on the occupier, and it is for our statesmen to see that here too ample confidence is afforded.

- ART. VII.—1. *Philip Gilbert Hamerton: an Autobiography* (1834–1858); and a *Memoir*, by his WIFE (1858–1894). London: 1897.
2. *Etchers and Etching*. By P. G. HAMERTON. New edition. London: 1876.
3. *Landscape*. By P. G. HAMERTON. London: 1885.
4. *A Painter's Camp*. By P. G. HAMERTON. Second edition. London: 1836.
5. *Thoughts about Art*. By P. G. HAMERTON. London: 1862.
6. *The Intellectual Life*. By P. G. HAMERTON. London: 1873.
7. *French and English: a Comparison*. By P. G. HAMERTON. London and New York: 1889.
8. *Round my House: Notes of Rural Life in France*. By P. G. HAMERTON. London: 1876.
9. *Modern Frenchmen: Five Biographies*. By P. G. HAMERTON. London: 1878.
10. *Wenderholme: a Story of Lancashire and Yorkshire*. By P. G. HAMERTON. New edition. Edinburgh and London: 1877.

IN the interesting and sympathetic biographical sketch of Rude, the sculptor, included in 'Modern Frenchmen,' the author emphasises, by placing it as the concluding sentence of the essay, Rude's own simply expressed philosophy of art, 'La grande chose pour un artiste, c'est de 'faire.' It is curious that, while Hamerton could recognise the truth of this so clearly in the case of another man, he himself seems to have failed in the ambition to be a painter, with which he started in life, in great measure from the inability to grasp and act on this principle in his own case. We say 'in great measure,' because probably his failure to attain success or fame as a painter was partly due to the fact that he had not a genius for art commensurate with his love of it; indeed, he himself says candidly in his 'Autobiography' that he had not genius, and had never pretended that he had; and that, whereas he had sometimes been represented as 'an unsuccessful painter, who took to 'writing because he had failed as an artist,' the exact truth was that a very moderate success either in literature or art would have been equally acceptable to him, as 'more

‘conducive to happiness than a greater success in some less ‘congenial occupation.’ Nevertheless it seems probable—and some of his artist friends evidently thought so—that he had quite as much innate gift for painting as a good many painters who succeed in making a fair reputation; and he commenced his studies in a manner both original and earnest, by building himself a hut in the middle of a Yorkshire moor, in order to be able to paint foreground detail deliberately under shelter, and to note the changes of landscape effect at all hours and in all weathers. Yet the artistic result from this was almost *nil*; no painting of his has, as far as we know, preserved any reputation, and in the first edition of ‘*Etchers and Etching*’ we remember thinking that the only weak points in the book were two or three etchings of his own inserted among the illustrations, and which, we observe, were withdrawn in the later edition.

The fact is that Philip Gilbert Hamerton was an instance of a class of mind which we come across from time to time in the annals of art, of literature, and even of politics, whose peculiar foible is that they are so taken up with perfecting the means that they are never able to reach the end; they are so solicitous and so exacting about going the right way to work, about the best materials and the best processes, and so on, that they never get to work at all. He tells with interest and sympathy, in ‘*Modern Frenchmen*,’ the story of Rude laying hold of an awkwardly shaped bit of marble, a superfluous piece which had been cut off the block supplied for a Government commission, and out of that producing the small work which first made him famous. But Hamerton, had he been a sculptor, could never have followed such an example; he would have wanted two or three blocks of marble of just the right size and shape—to fall back upon in case the first were a failure—before he would have persuaded himself to begin. This fidgetty temperament, as it may be called, in regard to the *matériel* for his artistic studies is apparent over and over again in Mrs. Hamerton’s biographical ‘*Memoir*,’ which displays an almost pathetic combination of devoted affection coupled with an evidently clear perception of her husband’s little peculiarities and weaknesses. Of the early days of their married life, speaking of the unexpected expense of their apparently very simple life in the Highlands, she writes—

‘Another very important item of expense lay in the different materials required for my husband’s work of various kinds, and of

which he ordered such quantities that their remnants are still to be found in his laboratory, as I write. Papers of all sorts of quality and size, for pen-and-ink, crayons, pastel, water-colour, etching, tracing; colours dry and moist, brushes, canvases, frames, boards, panels; also requisites for photography. It was one of my husband's lasting peculiarities that, in his desire to do a great quantity of work, and in the fear of running short of something, he always gave orders far exceeding what he could possibly use. He also invariably allowed himself, for the completion of any given work, an insufficiency of time, because he did not beforehand take into account the numerous corrections that he was sure to make, for he was constantly trying to do better.'

Two of the most characteristic incidents mentioned in the 'Memoir' illustrate his curious passion for arrangement of details, even before any of the central portion of the work had been attempted. One of his schemes, in the early days of his married life, was to paint a series of pictures illustrating the most remarkable characteristics of Highland scenery, which were to form a special exhibition of his own, under the title 'Pictures from the Highlands, by P. G. Hamerton.' 'Before a single one of these pictures was begun he had made the model of a die bearing this inscription, to be stamped on the frames of the pictures, as 'well as on the studies.' Later, after his migration to France, he had promised to paint two pictures for an American clergyman (Mr. Powers), who admired his writings very much, and wished to have a specimen of his art.

'It was very characteristic that he did not promise one only but two, and at a time when he was so overwhelmed with work that he hardly knew how to get through the most pressing; and still more characteristic is this other entry in the letter book: "February 7, 1871. Powers: Sending him measures of his pictures, so that he may get frames for them."'

The pictures were not finished or sent for years after, and only one of them was even begun when the measurements for the frames were sent.

Through the whole of the early part of the 'Memoir,' during the period when he was passionately struggling to be a painter, we see the same spectacle of incessant planning and devising for the best method of doing the work on which he had then set his heart, and of which the accomplishment was never arrived at. The task he had set himself, as he says in the last sentence of the 'Autobiography,' was 'to do what had never been done, to unite the colour and 'effect of Nature with the material accuracy of the photograph.' No, it never has been done, and it never will be done, by any

mortal hands. But all the paraphernalia for doing it were got together. Scenes were to be studied with the greatest minuteness on the spot; a cart was designed which would carry all the materials required—easel, canvas, colours, tent, and everything—to the required spot, only, perhaps, to find that persistent rain rendered all work impossible for a week. Special boats, too, must be designed to take all the things across the loch. ‘The love of boating was very strong in Gilbert, but the love of planning new boats *with improvements* was still stronger; in fact, he always had in his portfolio plans more or less advanced for some kind of boat.’ A much larger boat than he already possessed was to be planned, which would transport the whole painting camp to any part of the lake; and when his wife objected to the cost, he assured her that ‘it would be an economy *in the end*, by saving labour.’ So two carpenters were sent for from Greenock, and the boat commenced under his directions; but we hear nothing of the results. Building was another hobby; and when they got into their first French residence, at Sens, Hamerton at once discovered that even the larger rooms of the old house were too small for a studio, and the light was wrong.

‘But at the same time I believe he was not *really* sorry, because it gave him a plausible excuse for turning one of the barns into a capital studio. This outbuilding offered great and tempting advantages; it was isolated from the house, therefore silent and private; it might be lighted from the north, and was sufficiently spacious to allow a part to be divided off for a laboratory. Being greatly interested in architecture and building, my husband derived great pleasure from the execution of his own plans even in so small a matter. I vainly attempted to reconcile him to the idea of using one of the large rooms, standing in fear of the expense; but I could not help admitting that with his propensity for large canvases, which I deprecated all my life, a studio was indispensable; and after all, as it seemed almost certain that we should stay there a great many years, it was not of much importance, especially after having lived in terror of seeing him undertake the building of a tower, or the restoration of an old castle like Kilchurn—a dream that he often indulged, as numerous designs bear testimony.’

Mrs. Hamerton’s position, as an affectionate wife, anxious for her husband’s success and happiness, but unable to shut her eyes to the hopelessness of his schemes, must for some years have been a rather sad and embarrassing one. She appears to have been quite frank in her expression of opinion in regard to his work. When he brought her his laboured studies, in which he aimed, he said, at nothing less than topographical

truth, 'even to the measurement of mountain peaks, breadth 'of heather patches, and length of running streams,' to his great disappointment she could only say that if it were true it did not look so to her, since it produced none of the sensations of the actual scene. "You would like me to "exaggerate, then?" he asked. "Yes," I answered, "if "that is the way to make it *look* true," in which she showed a clearer insight into the philosophy of landscape-painting than her husband at that time, at all events, possessed.* When Hamerton, at a later period, relinquished colour for etching, the poor wife had to go through the same kind of disappointment as the spectator of his failures, arising again, in part, from his restless aiming at some imaginary perfection. The passage in which this is referred to is one of the most piquant pages of the 'Memoir.'

'Full of hope and trust in a final success, he turned from a spoilt plate to a fresh one without discouragement, always eager and relentless. His main fault, as I thought, was attempting too much finish and effect, and I used to tell him so. He acknowledged that I was right, and when taking up a new plate he used to say playfully, "Now, this is going to be a good etching; you don't believe it because you are a little sceptic, but you'll see—I mean not, to carry it far." Then before biting he showed it me with, "Look at it before it is spoilt." It was rarely spoilt in the biting, but by subsequent work. Many charming proofs I greatly admired. "Oh! this is only a sketch; you will see the improvement when I darken this mass." Then I begged hard that it should be left as it was, and I was met by arguments that I could not discuss. "The effect was not true so," "the lights were too strong," or "the darks too heavy," "but *very little* retouching was necessary," and it ended in the pretty sketch being destroyed after having been revarnished and rebitten two or three times. When it was no longer shown to me, I was aware of its fate.'

There is something very sad in this ardent struggle, on the part of a really gifted man, after what his genius or his temperament had evidently unfitted him to accomplish, this record of failure by the eye-witness who, above all others, would have wished for his success; nor should we have dwelt on this element in his life so much but for two reasons: first, that it is impossible to form a true conception of Hamerton's life and character

* It is curious to reflect, in relation to this little scene, that Hamerton was an enthusiastic admirer of Turner, whose works Mrs. Hamerton at first, with her French education in art, could neither understand nor care for; and yet it must be evident that, without knowing it, her perceptions were on the side of Turner, while her husband's practice was opposed to Turner's.

without taking account of this element in it; secondly, that there seems to be in it somewhat of a lesson for others in regard to artistic culture and training. In the 'Autobiography,' which, though recounting the early years of his life, was not written till about ten years before his death, he seems to have come to some conclusions as to the cause of his failure as a landscape painter, which probably embody at all events part of the truth. The influence of 'Modern Painters,' of which he bought the first volume in Manchester on March 22, 1853 (he registers the date as that of 'an important event'), was beneficial to him in two senses—in giving him a feeling for literary expression and in directing his attention to certain beauties and qualities in nature, but in regard to art he considered its influence was 'disastrous;' 'it tended directly to encourage the idea that 'art could be learned from nature, and that is an immense mistake. Nature does not teach art, nor anything resembling it; she only provides materials.' Had Hamerton come to this perception in his early life he would have saved himself much hard and disappointing wrestling with a problem he might have made something of, had he only grasped it in the right manner. In connexion with his own reflections in the 'Autobiography,' above quoted, attention should be called to the two admirable and interesting letters from his friend Mr. Peter Graham, included in Mrs. Hamerton's 'Memoir.' After saying in the first letter that he 'cannot imagine anyone to fail in landscape who has the 'high qualifications for it which you obviously have—a 'sensitively impressionable nature, a strong, loving admiration for whatever in heaven or earth is beautiful or grand, 'in form, colour, or effect,' and observing that 'the mechanical difficulties of our art must be to some extent 'overcome before our thoughts and intentions can be realised 'and our impressions conveyed to others,' Mr. Graham's second letter commences—

'Since receiving your last I have read, and with great pleasure, your "Painter's Camp in the Highlands." I am stronger than ever in the belief that it is merely from your never having devoted the necessary amount of *time to art in the right direction* that unqualified success has not been attained by you as an artist. I think it unfortunate that you "learned painting with a clever landscape painter." You probably far excelled him in sympathy with nature, power of observation, and all the gifts especially required for a landscape painter. What you really needed study under a figure painter, or better still at an academy, would have given you. Landscape nature is too complicated to be a good school to acquire the mastery over the mechanical difficulties in art.'

This is a piece of sterling good sense in regard to artistic education which is worth remembering, and which gives the true explanation, to a great extent at all events, of Hamerton's failure in landscape painting, in spite of the natural mental qualities which, as Mr. Graham observed in his first letter, he evidently possessed. He was like a man trying to produce poetry on the basis of intensity of feeling, with some perception of the picturesque in language, but without any grasp of literary form. And it is significant that his one novel, 'Wenderholme,' shows the same kind of failure, though perhaps not to the same extent. It was read with pleasure and interest by a good many people (chiefly, perhaps, those who had some acquaintance with the district and the social manners and character portrayed in it); and it is not without power of characterisation and description in detail, but it is totally deficient in what may be called the mechanism of novel-writing; there is no evolution of a plot; the various episodes seem butted together rather than connected into an artistic whole. Apparently there was much the same failure in his first attempt, at the age of nineteen, to write a critical essay, for he records in the 'Autobiography' his failure to get one or two articles accepted for the 'Westminster Review,' and the editor's reply to his inquiry as to why they were rejected. 'An article,' wrote the friendly editor, 'ought to be an organic whole, with a pre-arranged order and proportion among its parts; there ought to be a beginning, a middle, and an end,' a view of the matter which was quite a novelty to Hamerton at the time (as it remains, indeed, a novelty to many persons who have been writing all their lives); nor does the advice seem to have borne fruit by the time 'Wenderholme' was first published; though, had he produced another novel in his mature years, we should perhaps have seen a great difference in this respect.

All this struggle to become, first a painter, then an etcher, was not, however, entirely wasted, even according to that mundane reckoning of the value of human effort which counts only the returns which can be converted into cash or credit. In the influential position which Hamerton ultimately held as an art critic his acquired familiarity with the technical process of painting was of great advantage to him; and his persevering efforts to master the difficulties of etching, without any guidance whatever, enabled him at all events to write the most complete and useful book on etching in the language—one which came opportunely in time to form

a text book for the practice of an art just then coming into favour in this country—and even to suggest or invent important improvements in the processes and the implements of etching. But in other senses than this his wife, in spite of her evidently painful misgivings as to the method and ultimate success of his landscape studies, thought the time in the Highlands was not all lost.

‘It was without doubt the happiest time of our lives, for we have always turned back to it with deep regret. . . . Although we made no dissection of our happiness to know what it was made of, there was a powerful element in it which I discern clearly now; we were satisfied with ourselves, thinking we were fulfilling our duty to the best of our understanding; if we erred it was unconsciously. Since then we have not been so positive, and sometimes have questioned the wisdom of those days. But who can tell? . . . If my husband had not lived those four years of Highland life he would not have been the man he became, and his literary gift, though perhaps developed in some other way, would never have acquired the charm which influenced afterwards so many minds and hearts.’

And true it was that though all the labour in sketching and studying, and all the apparatus of art (like Mrs. Elton’s ‘apparatus of happiness’) that was put into requisition, produced no adequate result in the shape of pictures, the description of the painter’s life, as given in the ‘Camp in ‘the Highlands,’ at once interested every reader, and established its author’s literary reputation at all events. But there was more in the matter than mere literary reputation. It may be a question whether any of his writings will live, though most of them are full of interest, and those which dealt with art criticism exercised a considerable influence on contemporary thought about art. But the fact is that just as Hamerton’s books about painting were more interesting than his paintings, so Hamerton himself, as shown to us in the ‘Autobiography’ and the ‘Memoir,’ is more interesting than any of his books, and it is his own personal character rather than his works which calls for special commemoration, as that of a man in many ways quite exceptional; a man who, in Carlyle’s phrase, was ‘no ‘formula,’ who, with unusually keen and varied interests in life, had the independence to live all his life in his own original manner; who, essentially a gentleman in every sense of the word, refused to let his angles be ground down in the social mill, and kept his own individuality unimpaired; a man in the highest degree chivalrous and sensitive at the same time; an ‘æsthete,’ in one sense, of the most refined

perceptions, and yet one who could clearly see that there were interests in life deeper and more serious than those connected with art, and could rank (as we shall have occasion to notice) a deed of devotion and self-sacrifice higher than any achievement of genius. Such a combination of elements in a character is not common; we might add that it is especially not common among Englishmen. If Hamerton was an exceptional man he was more emphatically an exceptional Englishman; there was a certain foreign element about him which may perhaps partly have led to, partly have been fostered by, his choice of a wife of foreign race. The publication of the 'Autobiography' and the 'Memoir' is fully justified; it has interested us even more than Hamerton's own published works would have led us to expect. It is the record of a life and a character quite apart from ordinary experience.

Hamerton's 'Autobiography' was written at intervals during the latter portion of his life, but intended only for publication after his death, and, owing apparently to want of time, was not carried further than his twenty-fourth year; but, as this was the year of his marriage, Mrs. Hamerton was able, in her 'Memoir,' to carry on the biography from the point where her husband's record broke off, so that the two together form a complete life. The 'Autobiography' was undertaken from the feeling that he himself was the only person who knew enough about his history to give a truthful account of it, coupled with 'the dread of something after 'death' in the shape of an attempt at a biography by some one with inadequate materials. It is a most interesting document, both in regard to the feeling with which it is written and the nature of its contents. The calm manner in which the writer regarded the event of his own death, which must precede the publication of the writing, is characteristic.

'The notion of being a dead man is not entirely displeasing to me. If the dead are defenceless they have this compensating advantage, that nobody can inflict upon them any sensible injury; and in beginning a book which is not to see the light till I am lying comfortably in my grave, with six feet of earth above me to deaden the noises of the upper world, I feel quite a new kind of security, and write with a more complete freedom from anxiety about the quality of the work than has been usual at the beginning of other manuscripts.'

He might have had the same thought, also, which is expressed at the conclusion of Bacon's short and weighty essay: 'Death has this also, that it openeth the gate to

‘good fame, and extinguisheth envy: *extinctus amabitur idem.*’ We learn from the record enough of his parentage and the circumstances of his childhood to explain in a great measure the building up of his marked idiosyncrasy of character. Hamerton was born in 1834 at Shaw, a manufacturing town two miles from Oldham, his father being a young attorney who had come to Shaw ‘with little to recommend him except ‘a fine person, great physical strength, and fifteen quarters.’ His mother was Miss Anne Cocker, whose father owned a cotton mill in the neighbourhood, and of whom Hamerton had heard, though he had no personal recollection of him, as ‘a lively and vigorous old man, who enjoyed ‘life very heartily in his way.’ Both parents were possessed of strong individuality of character, which Miss Cocker evinced in an almost romantic manner, at the time when the match was strongly opposed by her father, by ostentatiously refusing partner after partner at a charity ball at Shaw, until Mr. Hamerton presented himself, ‘when she ‘rose immediately with a very gracious smile, which was ‘observed by all near enough to witness it,’ as her way of notifying that she chose to follow her own choice. Unable to obtain the parents’ consent, they resolved to marry without it, a resolution announced to the lady’s mother in a fine, straightforward letter, in the old-fashioned formal style, signed ‘John Hammerton,’ which was apparently the way the family then spelt their name. The marriage was a very happy one—for a year, when their son was born and the mother died, an event perhaps still more disastrous to the child’s father than to himself. John Hammerton was a remarkable character in his way; his figure is the most striking, and at the same time tragic, to which the ‘Autobiography’ introduces us. He had evidently great personal force and dignity of manner, insomuch that an old lady among his friends remarked that ‘when he walked through the main street of ‘Shaw it seemed as if all the town belonged to him.’ The objections to the marriage on the side of the Cocker family were that he had the reputation of dissolute habits, with how much truth at that time is not apparent, but the letter above alluded to rather confirms the idea in its closing sentence: ‘I have lost all inclination for the practice of ‘such follies as I have once fallen into, and I look to a ‘sober, steady married life as alone calculated to afford me ‘happiness.’ He was evidently just the kind of man who required such companionship to keep him straight, and the effect of the early loss of his wife was disastrous to him. Her

fortune being all left to him, he had no necessity to attend much to his profession, in which he had already displayed singular ability. He fled to society for distraction, for he had no literary tastes to relieve his solitude, and unfortunately 'there was no lively masculine society in the place where he lived that was not an incitement to constant drinking.' He was a man of great physical endowments, and had a kind of pride in being able to drink more than others without betraying any ill effects.

'A quarryman once told me that my father had appeared at the quarry at six o'clock in the morning looking quite fresh and hearty, when, taking up the heaviest sledge hammer he could find, he gaily challenged the men to try who could throw it furthest. None of them came near him, on which he turned and said with a laugh of satisfaction, "Not bad, that, for a man who drank thirty glasses of brandy the day before!" Whether he had ever approached such a formidable number I will not venture to say, but the incident exactly paints my father in his northern pride of strength, the fatal pride that believes itself able to resist poison because it has the muscles of an athlete.'

Thus he not only undermined a splendid constitution, but led to the exaggeration of his originally severe and uncompromising temper to an extent that made him the terror of his boy, who for some years was brought up by two maiden aunts, but at the age of nine was sent for to live with his father permanently. We can well believe the author when he says that the writing of that chapter in his history was so painful that the necessity of writing it had made him put off the composition of his 'Autobiography' from year to year. The picture of the father given in these two chapters is one of tragic interest, because in some ways it is impossible not to admire the man. He had some great qualities. He was a man of undaunted courage, a fearless rider (in which respect he trained his son, in his severe and rigorous way, to emulate him), and with 'an absolute hatred of anything like a lie or the shadow of a lie,' a feeling which his son evidently fully inherited. He had some sensible and practical ideas as to the education of his boy; compelled him to apply his mind to one thing at a time—'Take one of those books and read it steadily; don't potter and play with half a dozen' (a doctrine which the son perhaps did not sufficiently assimilate)—and he gave him money pretty freely, and exacted strict accounts of it, in order to familiarise him with the use of money. But he was a dreaded tyrant to the son and all the household, severe and authoritative when sober, and absolutely dangerous when

inflamed by brandy. He died, when his son was in his tenth year, of apoplexy, brought on mainly by a fit of rage with his poor boy, whom he accused of not reading the 'Times' correctly to him, and of making false excuses about it, the whole matter arising out of his own drink-disordered brain. The whole account is a mournful picture of what might have been a fine life ruined by intemperance, and one can well imagine that a boyhood spent under such influences may have had something to do in inducing the rather melancholy temperament which characterised Gilbert Hamerton throughout his life.

That Hamerton began at a very early age to feel an interest in what was beautiful both in nature and art is evident from the extracts from his journal written during a tour in Wales with his father and one of his aunts, when he was only eight years old, a tour made vivid in his recollection by the fact that it was the only occasion when his father treated him with any prolonged kindness, partly, no doubt, under the influence of the lady relative who accompanied them. His aunt encouraged him to record his impressions in writing. The journal was still in his possession at the time the 'Autobiography' was written, and the quotations from it show that it was, both in expression and ideas, a remarkably precocious work for a child of eight. The writing in the quotations given is like that of a grown-up person, which, Hamerton observes, may be accounted for by the fact that at that time he lived entirely with grown-up persons, having apparently no companions of his own age.* Among the points noticeable in this record are his great admiration for the suspension bridge at the Menai Straits, of which he notes, 'It is indeed wonderfully beautiful,' and the fact, on which the author himself comments, that at that early age he had a great interest in all beautiful materials. 'The kind of wood used for the suites of furniture' is invariably mentioned, as, for example, the chairs of solid 'ebony in the dining-room at Penrhyn Castle, the old oak in the dining-room at Trelacre, and the light oak in the drawing-room, the carved oak ceilings and pillars at Penrhyn, and the use of stone from St. Helens there,' &c. This observation on the part of the child, and which must

* It was, perhaps, partly owing to this early habit of associating only with his elders that, as a young man, as he notes in a subsequent page of the 'Autobiography,' he still preferred the society of older persons to those of his own years.

have been entirely spontaneous with him (for what we learn of his aunt and his father does not lead us to suppose that they would have any such perceptions), is very characteristic of Hamerton the man, and was, no doubt, a factor in his interest in architecture and in practical construction, which has been already referred to in a quotation from the 'Memoir;' and in fact some of his articles on French architecture in the 'Portfolio,' in after life, showed such clear critical insight into the art (in which he had never had any special training) as to bring him requests for contributions from the editors of two architectural periodicals, French and English. He remarks in connexion with this subject in the 'Autobiography,' 'The interest in materials 'is a special instinct, a kind of sympathy with Nature showing itself by appreciation of the different qualities of her 'products.' We should rather question the latter words; materials worked up into buildings or furniture are generally regarded from an artificial point of view, and many people are interested in them who are not much interested in nature; but that it is a 'special instinct' with some persons is perfectly true; some painters have it very strongly, and delight in painting certain substances and imitating their special beauty of colour, texture, and lustre. 'With me,' adds Hamerton, 'the interest is both artistic and utilitarian; all metals, woods, marbles, &c., are delightful to me 'in some way.' He records also, when he was at school at Doncaster at the age of eleven, his intense delight in the combination of the fine architecture and the sounds of the fine organ of the old parish church there. 'Even now the 'impression received in those early days still remains in my 'memory with considerable clearness and fidelity, and I 'believe that the habit of attending service in such a beautiful church was a powerful stimulus to an inborn passion 'for architecture.'

We can only touch lightly on a few of the incidents in the remainder of the 'Autobiography,' which forms an interesting picture of the developement of the boy's mind and tastes—a developement which, under a very desultory and unsatisfactory education, was due more to his own instincts than to external influences. In regard to athletic exercises Hamerton was rather anomalous in his disposition. A good horseman from early training, he became afterwards, by determined self-tuition, a very expert swimmer, after being nearly drowned in bathing in deep water with his comrades, under a persuasion of the truth of the mis-

chievous axiom that everyone can swim if he chooses and is not afraid. The love of boats and boating seems to have been inborn in him, and lasted all his life; and it was partly in order to feel safe in this pursuit that he took so much trouble to make himself at home in the water. On the other hand he always hated cricket, which was pure slavery to him from the beginning; 'a misfortune,' he observes, 'as not to love cricket is an isolation for an English boy.' Nor did he ever acquire in the least the national English love for field sports, and confesses that his ignorance of them 'has always made me feel rather a "muff" and a "duffer" in the society of country gentlemen,' to whom, indeed, the man who does not care for shooting or fishing appears as a kind of uncanny and unfathomable personage, who must have something not right about him. He delighted to escape from the cricket field, when possible, with a pocket volume of Scott's poems.

'The same volumes are in my study now, and simply to handle them is to bring back many sensations of long-past boyhood. Of all the influences that had sway over me in those days, and for long afterwards, the influence of Scott was by far the strongest. A boy cannot make a better choice. Scott has the immense advantage over dull authors of being almost always interesting, and the equally great advantage over many exciting authors that he never leaves an unhealthy feeling in the mind.'

It is worth while to note this sound and sensible opinion at a time when Scott is fashionably rated so far below his real merits. He gave a good deal of time to poetical composition also, both for his own pleasure and for school prizes; and a quotation from a poem which won him a prize at Burnley School in 1847 is certainly up to an unusually high literary standard for a boy in his thirteenth year.

A taste for mediæval lore and heraldry had its run, followed by difficulties in religious belief, at an age when boys seldom trouble themselves very seriously about the foundations of their faith, and which apparently left him for the rest of his life in the attitude of a reverential mind, with no fixed adherence to any special creed. All this time, beyond the interest in materials and in architecture, already alluded to, there was no evidence of that interest in art which was to be his leading passion in after life, a fact which is, perhaps, in itself an indication that there was something wanting for the success as a painter which he afterwards strove so hard for. There have probably been few great, or even successful, painters with whom the

passion for drawing, for its own sake, has not been a predominating influence from very early years. It was not until the age of nineteen that art began to be an absorbing study with Hamerton, and he commenced, among other things, a laborious system of writing lengthy notes on pictures in the National Gallery, and in every picture exhibition he visited. This was admirable training for an art critic, scarcely for a painter. The following entry from his account for the employment of his time, in 1853, gives a characteristic example of the varied nature of his tastes and occupations, coupled with that curious passion for precision of arrangement which he retained all through life :—

‘*Thursday, August 13, 1853.*—Determined to-day to study the copper Albert Dürer, 80 hours, having given 83 to the woodcuts. I have already given the copper 10½ hours, so that I have 69½ to devote to it yet. I shall also give 40 hours to Kreutzer’s violin studies, and have already practised them 24, which leaves 16. I shall now commence a course of poetical reading, beginning with 50 hours of Chaucer, and as I gave him 1½ last night it leaves me exactly 48½.’

Violin-playing, it will be seen, was also an ambition ; and in later life, in the midst of all his other occupations, he proposed to take up the violin again systematically, in order to play with his daughter (who evinced great talent as a pianist), though his wife warned him that nothing could be done with it without far more time than he could possibly give to it. Clearly the course marked out in the above quotation, though it might make a man a *dilettante*, could never make him an artist, and he soon began to perceive that he must give more time to the practical work of drawing and painting. He betook himself to Mr. Pettitt, who had once given him lessons in Keswick, and had now removed to London. Pettitt was something of a geologist, and taught him to draw ‘in a hard, clear, scientific ‘manner . . . I copied studies of cliffs that were entirely ‘conceived and executed in the scientific spirit.’ The entry is important, for probably this teaching influenced him in the direction of that desire for topographical accuracy which, as his wife told him, entirely failed in conveying to her the feeling of an actual scene which she was acquainted with. It was only later in life, when writing the ‘Autobiography,’ that he came to the conclusion that Pettitt was really ‘no ‘artist,’ and his art was a ‘high-class industry,’ a definition which is, perhaps, more widely applicable to a great deal that is done in painting than artists are very willing to believe. The influence of Ruskin, whom he saw something of shortly

afterwards in London, did not improve matters, and confirmed him—whether intentionally or not on the part of Mr. Ruskin—in the idea ‘that there was something essentially ‘meritorious in bestowing great labour on a work of art,’ and that minute accuracy of detail was an object in itself. It was with this idea engraven on his mind that he went into his studies from Nature on the Yorkshire moor and in his camp in the Highlands, with the result that has already been sufficiently commented on.

There is a great deal of human and social interest in the contents of the ‘Autobiography’ and the ‘Memoir,’ nowhere more than in what relates to Hamerton’s marriage, the manner in which it came about, and the circumstances connected with it. His acquaintance with his future wife’s family arose in the most accidental manner—from his being referred to them, by a mutual acquaintance in Paris, to tell him of a hotel where he would hear no English spoken (in order to improve his French). He was struck with the appearance and manner of the eldest daughter; but it was not till two or three years later, and after an intermediate love affair (not very serious), in which he was rejected, that the thought came to him suddenly one morning, ‘Why ‘should you remain lonely all your days? Eugénie Gindriez ‘would be an affectionate and faithful wife to you. She is ‘not rich, but you could work and fight your way.’ He wrote to a friend in Paris to ask if she were married or engaged, received a negative answer, went over, proposed, and was accepted, and married shortly after, and brought his young French wife, thoroughly Parisian in her culture and habits of life, and not speaking a word of English, straight home to his encampment on the desolate shore of Loch Awe, far away from civilisation, and even from the means of housekeeping of any such kind as she had been accustomed to. Reading between the lines of the ‘Memoir,’ it is easy to see that the poor little French bride, transported so suddenly to these inhospitable regions, had at first a good deal to bear with, even from the rather eccentric behaviour and tastes of the husband whom she loved. Her impressions of the new world she was brought into are interesting to read, as also her remarks on first acquaintance with English art in the London exhibitions. She had been educated in France in the admiration of such painters as Troyon, Corot, and Millet, and the English pre-Raphaelite works, then much in evidence, and by which her husband was much influenced, were a bewilderment to her. ‘I did not understand it,’ she

says, 'as art, and I received an impression, perfectly remembered to this day, and which I hardly hope to convey to others in words: it was for my eyes what unripe fruit is for the teeth'—an expression which, in fact, leaves little to be desired in the way of incisive meaning. Among Mrs. Hamerton's troubles (and her husband's also) was her cold reception by one of her husband's relatives (Aunt Susan), who seems to have shared something of her brother's imperious temper, and as a lady excessively proud, excessively English, and excessively Protestant, looked with great disfavour on her nephew's alliance with a French Catholic lady of no particular lineage. The matter is worth referring to on account of the touching little scene in which Aunt Susan's heart, which seems to have been all the while contending against her pride, gave way, and which forms one of the prettiest episodes in the 'Memoir.' The two aunts—the other of whom, Aunt Mary, was always Gilbert's most affectionate relative—were on a visit to the young couple, when Aunt Susan offered to help her young hostess in gathering strawberries.

'Never shall I forget the scene when we both rose from the strawberry beds, with our fragrant little baskets well filled. We turned towards the lake, whose soft hazy glamour matched that of the tender sky; the air was still, and there reigned a serene silence, as if a single sound might have desecrated the almost religious peace of earth and heaven; yet a smothered sob was heard as I found myself caught in a close embrace, my head laid upon a heaving bosom, my hair moist with warm tears, a broken voice murmuring, "My child, how I have wronged you! . . . and I love you so"—

a pathetic instance of the 'one touch of nature' breaking through the crust of conventional prejudice.

It was Aunt Susan's coldness in the first instance, however, which had one very important and perhaps beneficial effect on the lives of the Hamertons, in deciding him to take up his abode permanently in France, where his wife naturally, and he probably, led a happier life than they would have led in England, since there was so much in Hamerton's nature than was more akin to French than to English tastes and ideas. How well he understood his adopted country, and was understood and loved in it, there is evidence enough in 'French and English' and 'Round my House,' as well as in many passages of the *Memoirs*, though his reputation, in the wider or public sense, always remained an English one; in France he was a private gentleman, in England a well-known author; and the visitors who came out of the way

to see him, sometimes rather intrusively, on account of his reputation, were English and not French. The 'Painter's Camp' had established his position as a gifted and graphic writer, and however he might continue working at painting and etching for his own hope and pleasure, the *res angusta* (for affairs of property had not gone very prosperously) compelled him to give his principal efforts to the kind of work for which money was readily offered. He became art critic to the 'Saturday Review,' and in conjunction with Mr. Seeley (in whom he had the good fortune to meet with a publisher who was more than a mere business man, and who thoroughly appreciated his genius) he started the 'Portfolio,' an artistic magazine which was at once recognised, by all who were competent to form a judgement, as inaugurating something of a higher character in art criticism than had previously appeared in England; and how his articles in the 'Saturday Review' struck other eminent writers on art may be recognised in the letter to him by M. Véron, the editor of 'L'Art,' on guessing that Hamerton must be the author of a critique on his 'Esthétique' in the 'Saturday.'

'On me communique une revue très remarquable de la "Saturday Review" sur mon "Esthétique." Ce qui distingue cet article c'est une sérieuse connaissance du sujet et une puissance d'analyse des plus rares. Cela ne ressemble en rien à ces généralités vagues et flottantes dont se content la plupart des écrivains qui font de la critique dans la revue des journaux. Aussi ai-je éprouvé à être loué par un pareil homme une jouissance infiniment plus vive que celle qu'auraient pu me procurer des éloges beaucoup plus hyperboliques, mais moins compétents.

'Cet homme, je suppose que c'est vous,' &c.

His position as art critic of the 'Saturday,' while living in France, of course rendered periodical visits to London necessary, which were not always convenient, especially as his health was rather delicate and uncertain, and at one time his nerves were so much affected by railway travelling that he had to leave the train in the middle of a journey; and it was some time before he could, by gradual trials, habituate himself to bear it again. But the visits to London brought him into a large acquaintance among artists and men of letters, in addition to his considerable circle of friends of the same kind in Paris; and the position was important to him also in other respects, for it was for some time his only certain and fixed source of income, other literary gains being contingent and doubtful. He gained

another success when the fortunate idea occurred to Messrs. Macmillan of engaging him to write a book on 'Etching,' an art at that time very little understood—indeed, little cared for—by the art public in England, though there was just that degree of revival of interest in it which seemed to give an opening for a work on the subject. Whatever might be the success or non-success of Hamerton's own etchings as examples of art,* his steady application to mastering its technical difficulties had given him a special faculty for describing its method and criticising its productions, and enabled him even to invent one or two valuable improvements in its method and material. One of these was a white-coloured varnish, the use of which enables the etcher to see his lines dark against light, in a manner approaching the effect of the print, instead of seeing them, while the plate is in progress, as light against dark. His critical review of the special capabilities of etching in comparison with other forms of artistic production is very valuable and thoughtful, and throughout, we think, absolutely true. He lays down strongly the maxim that etching is not an art for high and elaborate finish, but for the expression of an artistic thought by a free line: 'what makes a good etching so peculiarly precious is that it gives us meaning severed as widely as possible from mere handicraft,' while to use etching for elaborately shaded and detailed work like line engraving is to throw away the true power and idiosyncrasy of the art, and to waste effort upon what will not, after all, be as effective in this particular way as an engraving, or as lasting, or as easy for multiple production. It is curious to find Hamerton, in this essay on what had become his favourite art, so entirely departing from his early principles and practice as to 'topographical accuracy,' and insisting on the danger of over-finish and the necessity of grasping the subject as a whole. Etching, as he says in another place, is a very good school for acquiring artistic abstraction and comprehensiveness; and he had learned the lesson from it himself. The book is, perhaps, more lengthy than necessary, and there is

* Some of his etchings must have been more successful than those published in the first edition of 'Etching and Etchers,' or those over which his wife lamented so feelingly, as they obtained recognition at the Royal Academy, according to a laconic epistle to his wife from London (1867). 'Un mot seulement pour te dire que toutes les huit *cœux-fortes* sont reçues à l'Académie et bien placées. Ces Académiciens commencent à devenir gentils.'

a little suspicion of the *précieux* in the elaborate manner in which different views of the art are grouped into different chapters, but the critical views enunciated are sound and the practical information very valuable, and it remains, so far, *the* book, in English, on the subject, and perhaps is likely to remain so for a good while.

In Hamerton's sumptuous work on 'Landscape' there is, perhaps, nothing of real instruction, for to those who are indifferent to and unacquainted with landscape art the book would probably be both unattractive and incomprehensible, and those who are not may perhaps say that they find nothing in it which they do not already know. But it is a charming piece of artistic literature (charming except in the ponderous size of the volume), with a clear yet picturesque literary style, and full of happy thoughts and observation on nature and art, which, if they impart no knowledge, awaken an answering sympathy in the reader. Among the best chapters in it are that on 'Lake Shores,' that on 'Navigable Rivers,' and that on 'Man's Work on Rivers,' a title suggesting in itself an original view of the subject. From this we may quote one very good bit of criticism, emphasising a point which is often overlooked in reference to the treatment of the architectural portion of bridges. He is comparing the Menai and Conway tubular bridges.

'The sphinxes at each entrance to the Britannia tubular bridge over the Menai Straits are a good example of the employment of sculpture ; indeed, the whole bridge is admirable as a work of art, though the art is very simple and severe. The long line of tube (which looks like a great beam) is fortunately broken by the piers of marble which are finished above the beam as towers, and the majesty that naturally belongs to a work of colossal size and weight is enhanced by the prudent use of some architectural adornment. The tubular bridge over the river Conway, near the castle, is less fortunate, because the neighbourhood of a great mediæval building led the architect of the bridge to adopt a castellated style for the entrances to the tubes, a style which might be more or less in harmony with the fortress, but would scarcely, in any other situation, have been chosen to accompany a bridge that was nothing but two parallel beams.'

It may be questioned, however, whether books of art criticism can ever secure a permanent place in literature. The fame of an art critic, though not for quite the same reasons, is in one respect rather like the fame of an actor ; it depends mainly on the verdict of his own generation. The point of view changes, and the criticism which was valid and to the point for one generation becomes either unnecessary or *passé* for the next one. If Ruskin survives, it will be in

virtue of his literary genius, not of his criticism. And of two of Hamerton's most charming books, 'Round my House' and 'French and English,' the same may be said. The latter is a really original effort in what may be called national criticism; there is a great deal of truth of observation on life and manners in it, and it has probably served in assisting Englishmen to form a more correct appreciation of the neighbours who are so near to them in a topographical sense, so far off in a social and domestic sense. But it is a book of the day only, and a generation or two will put it out of date. Probably the book of his which has the best chance of surviving is 'The Intellectual Life.' It deals with a subject of perennial interest—how to make the most of life, not in the sense of getting the most comfort or enjoyment (in the ordinary sense) from it, but in that of looking to its highest intellectual uses and possibilities. It is a book full of noble feeling, and containing much valuable suggestion. Its fault is that it is a little too lengthy and discursive; something of the terse and trenchant and concise style of Bacon's Essays would have had better promise of vitality. The preface, indeed, attains this kind of excellence. 'It is not erudition that makes the intellectual man, but a sort of virtue which delights in vigorous and beautiful thinking, just as moral virtue delights in vigorous and beautiful conduct. Intellectual living is not so much an accomplishment as a state or condition of the mind in which it seeks earnestly for the highest and purest truth.' The thought is as true as it is finely expressed.

This manner of intellectual life Hamerton achieved for himself; and though he was mainly known to his generation as an art critic, and his writings and opinions on art might in themselves have formed the text for a critical essay, we have preferred to dwell rather on his biography, from the feeling we have already expressed that he himself was of more interest than any of his books. He was an original nature, who chose to live his own life, bound by no conventional habits, and superior to any sordid or worldly aims. He had an innate contempt for everything mean, and an innate sympathy with all that was noble in human action and feeling. Of the former characteristic the 'Memoir' cites one or two instances; one when he was asked to write some catalogue notes for an important sale of works of art, and it was hinted clearly enough that any words of praise would be handsomely acknowledged. Mrs. Hamerton says, 'He resented the offer like a blow on the face, blushed crimson

‘with indignation, and almost staggered to the writing table; there he seized a post-card, and in large, clear, print-like letters threw back the insult with cutting ‘contempt.’ Of his sympathy with chivalrous conduct he left an interesting testimony in his comment (in ‘Modern Frenchmen’) on Regnault’s ever-memorable sacrifice of his youth and his genius and his fame to fight and die for his country in a lost cause. ‘What shall I say of this premature death, this sacrifice of life when it was promising all its richest and fairest gifts . . . ? Simply this, that such a death is better than the happiest and most prosperous life that the whole world can offer. It is better to die, like Regnault, slain in the flower of manhood, than to live, like Titian, to one’s hundredth year.’* Hamerton failed, it is true, in the path he first marked out for himself, and he failed perhaps in other efforts, through attempting more things than he had strength or time for; but his attempts were all in pursuit of excellence rather than of gain, the offspring of a keen and eager interest in every form of life and art. Let no such life be called a failure; it is rather one to be had in remembrance as an example, more particularly in a country and in a society where such an intellectual ordering of life is so little appreciated; where so many are content to regard the pursuit of gain or grouch as an adequate object of existence.

* By the phrase ‘like Titian’ (which does not quite sufficiently explain itself) he referred, no doubt, not to the mere fact of the longevity, but to Titian’s sacred care of himself and his own interests throughout his life.

- ART. VIII.—1. *Dawn of Civilisation*. Second Edition. By G. MASPERO. Edited by A. H. SAYCE, translated by M. L. McCLURE. London: 1896.
2. *History of Egypt*. 2 vols. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., Professor of Egyptology at University College, London. London: 1894-5.
3. *Egyptian Tales*. 2 vols. By the same author. London: 1895.
4. *Deir-el-Bahari*. By EDOUARD NAVILLE, D.C.L. Parts I. and II. Egypt Exploration Fund. London: 1895-7.
5. *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers*. By AMELIA B. EDWARDS. London: 1893.
6. *Baedeker's Upper Egypt*. Leipzig and London: 1892.
7. *Murray's Handbook. Lower and Upper Egypt*. Ninth Edition. London: 1896.

NO one should attempt, at any rate on a first visit to Egypt, to save time by railway travelling. One cannot journey into the past of some four thousand years ago in thirteen hours of noise and dust. Five days on the Nile post-boat give a more fitting preparation with their uninterrupted hours on a glassy water, through a landscape monotonous enough, but with a strange incomprehensible fascination of its own—a line of water, a line of mud bank, feathered here and there with palm trees, a narrow strip of cultivation, a line of men and animals—strange misshapen buffaloes and camels—in single file as in a Greek frieze, thrown up against a sky too bright to be blue. And so travelling one journeys out of the obscurer early period into the comparatively modern times of the Middle Empire. For the first day we are in the age of the pyramid builders. One leaves in the morning the sharp-pointed group of the Gîzeh pyramids, showing shadowlike in faint pearly colours of pink and blue behind the palm woods on the bank. At midday one is under the step-pyramid of Sakkarah, earliest of all; the Fifth Dynasty pyramid of Unas; the later Dâshur pyramids, where M. de Morgan's engineering skill has been rewarded by the discovery of the finest and most delicate jewelry in the world; and the day closes with sunset light behind the pyramid of Mêdûm, with its curious irregular-looking stages, the whole effect reminding one of St. Michael's Mount, where the Egyptian meets in death an earlier civilisation; for Petrie found two modes of burial

in this same pyramid—the mummied Egyptian, full furnished for his journey into immortal life, and the earlier inhabitant of the land, lying on his left side, with knees drawn up.

After Girgeh the scenery changes; the mud banks give way to hills on each side of the Nile. In some places these approach the river so nearly as to rise, a sheer wall, from the water's edge. The wearing of water, or some climatic condition, has graven on these strange marks like lines of hieroglyphics. They are honeycombed with graves; some with squarely made entrances, some mere rough holes where the grey herons sit.

With the memory of the pyramids, surrounded by great cemeteries behind one, in face of these cliffs with their tiers of tombs, one begins to realise the deep irony of the Israelites' taunt, 'Are there no graves in the land of Egypt?'

As one goes further south the colouring becomes more vivid; the hills are no longer tinted with pale pink and purple, but glow at evening with the colour and transparency of a sunset cloud, or like snow peaks with their rose light and aerial blue shadows. At last, where the hills, no longer flat-topped, but with sharp peaks and jagged outline, open out round a fertile plain deep in corn, one comes to Luxor. It is sunset when one arrives by the post-boat; the sky glows behind the Libyan hills, the water towards the west is a sheet of gold and crimson, the pylons and obelisks of Karnak rise black on the left. Under the hills on the west bank one can faintly trace the white terraces and colonnades of Deir-el-Bahari; the Colossi are no more than two misty points against the hill; the giant pillars of Luxor stand out against the purple sky where night rushes up from the east; and Thebes is reached.

Of the books mentioned at the head of the article Petrie's history is the latest and most complete yet published; it is of great value, as giving the principal monuments of each reign. The translations of 'Egyptian Tales,' also published by Professor Petrie, with explanatory notes, spread over a long period—from the earliest dynasties to Ptolemaic times—and throw much light on the life and thought of the Egyptians. Two articles by the same author give a more detailed account of the results of his Theban excavation.* Maspero's 'Dawn of Civilisation' combines, with a history

* Pharaoh with the Hard Heart, 'Century Magazine,' August 1896. Israel in Egypt, 'Contemporary Review,' May 1896.

of Egypt up to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, the most complete account of the conditions of life—natural, social, political—of customs and beliefs in ancient Egypt. M. Naville's two volumes on 'Deir-el-Bahari' give a detailed account of one of the most important temples. In Miss Edwards's 'Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers,' points of history, of art, of religion, of literature, and of discovery are treated in a popular manner. Murray's Handbook, of which a new edition was published last autumn, has been brought up to date, containing results of last year's excavations, with maps and plans. Of these latter Baedeker's has also an excellent collection.

Roughly speaking, the city on the west bank is the City of the Dead. The Libyan hills are honeycombed with tombs of royal and private persons, the temples are funerary temples. There, possibly, was the great Lake of the Dead, and the inhabitants were mainly priests, or those occupied in embalming. There were, indeed, two palaces—that of Amenhotep III. and that of Rameses III.*—but the dwelling-part of the city was mainly on the east bank; and here were the temples dedicated to the gods, Luxor, and Karnak, with its subsidiary temples where the great triad of Thebes were honoured: Amen, the hidden one; Mut, the mother; and their son Khonsu.

Historically, the interest centres on one of the most fascinating periods of Egyptian history—the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties—the period which lies between the entrance of the Israelites into Egypt (which took place in the time of the Hyksos between the Fifteenth and the Seventeenth Dynasty) and their exodus, which occurred in the middle of the Nineteenth. There are remains of an earlier time—a Sixth Dynasty tomb has been lately discovered by Mr. P. E. Newberry, there are traces of the work of the Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Dynasties. And there is much building of a later period, notably, temples of the Twentieth Dynasty; interesting records, some lately discovered, of the Ethiopian reigns; much Ptolemaic work. But the main interest of Thebes

* Unless we are to accept the theory that this latter was a 'Migdol' (see 'Church Quarterly Review,' July 1897, 'Maspero's *Mêlées des Peuples* and the S.P.C.K.'). But surely to say that *Medînet Hâbû* was a Migdol involves a misunderstanding both of the passage in Maspero and of the buildings, which include two funerary temples, one of which is fronted by the tower in question.

centres on the Amenhoteps, Hatasu, the Thothmes; Seti with his son and grandson, Rameses the Great and Merenptah.

It is difficult for one who has not visited Thebes to realise the beauty of the natural setting of the temples. The beauty of the country, the exhilarating atmosphere, the 'everlasting wash of air,' all give to one's memories of the place a strange glamour. Thebes, with its golden limestone mountains, the broad flowing river, its deep standing corn, and herds of divers animals pasturing together; in its morning freshness, with the scent of beanfields on the air; at sunset, when the water glows with so metallic a lustre that one scarcely believes that the swallows can dip in it, or the pied kingfisher plunge through its surface; by moonlight, when the buildings take that unearthly rose-tint seen only in moonlight in the South—under all its changing aspects, Thebes has always 'the glory and the freshness of a dream.'

The best general view of those temples which are still standing on the west bank is obtained from a point in front of the Colossi. To the left, which is here the South, is the group formed by the two temples of Medînet Hâbû and the palace of Rameses III.; on the right, where the cornlands meet the strip of desert below the Libyan Hills, is the Ramesseum, the ruin of its pylons looking like a heap of tumbled stones. Further to the right a spur runs down to the little temple of Qurneh, the 'Temple of Millions of Years,' built by Seti I. In the angle which this offshoot makes with the hills lies Deir-el-Bahari, its white limestone colonnades thrown up against the golden limestone of the hill. There is still one other temple standing—the little Ptolemaic temple of Deir-el-Medîneh—out of sight from here in a fold of the hill behind the Ramesseum.

But what is now standing is only a part of the ancient buildings of Thebes. The Colossi, which appear to be a monument by themselves, were only the great figures by the gateway of a temple; and Professor Petrie's excavations last year were concerned with seven temples demolished down to the foundations, which lie round the Ramesseum in a desert tract, where carved figures and hewn stones lying on the sand indicated the site of some buildings.

The principal excavations on the west bank of late years have been those of the Government, under M. Daressy, at Medînet Hâbû, in the winters of 1894-95, 1895-96; Professor Petrie, at the Ramesseum in the winter of 1895-96;

and that of the Egypt Exploration Fund, begun under M. Naville in 1893, and continued up to the present season, when the work passed, for architectural repair, under the superintendence of Mr. Somers Clarke.

M. Daressy's we might call a restoration of Medînet Hâbû; Professor Petrie's an excavation for the purposes of research; while M. Naville's work has not only been rewarded by many interesting finds, notably that of a foundation deposit of Hatasu's reign, a beautiful sycamore coffin, and models of boats and houses from an Eleventh Dynasty tomb, but has given back to the world a temple which, though ruined in some parts, unfinished in others, is, perhaps, the most beautiful, certainly the most original in Egypt, and the earliest of those now standing in the plain of Thebes.

'The general plan is that of a series of three great terraces or platforms, rising one higher than another up the slope of the ground, until the last is backed against the vertical cliffs of the mountain. An axial stairway led from terrace to terrace. Along the front of each terrace the platform was carried on the top of a cloister or colonnade. The upper terrace is headed by a row of chambers, the middle one of which is carried deep into the rock, and lined with sculptured slabs. Other chambers, and an altar in a courtyard, lie on either side of the upper terrace.'

This plan, unique among the temples of Egypt, 'to some extent may have been suggested,' to the architect, M. Naville writes, 'by the nature of the site at his disposal, by the huge steps in which the rock of the foundation descends to the plain. . . . Our excavations have proved that the lowest platform was treated as the garden, or rather the orchard, of the temple, and that the trees planted in it were artificially watered.'*

The stump of a palm tree remains still to witness to this garden of the temple.

A striking feature of the temple, besides its terraced rise, is the Greek-looking colonnade at the north side of the middle platform, for there is one of the chief, though not the earliest, instances of the proto-Doric column. Those of Beni Hassan are earlier by nearly a thousand years.

These columns are sixteen-sided, and the abacus rests directly on the column without the intervention of a capital. The colonnade was never finished, and had been, the excavators found, divided into compartments for embalmers. Chopped straw for stuffing the mummies, pots of nitre, and fragments of papyri were found there.

The excavation of this colonnade, the north-western half

* Egypt Exploration Fund Report, 1895-96.

of the middle colonnade, the Anubis shrine with its hall and chambers, and the remains of an ebony shrine, interesting inasmuch as only one other wooden shrine has been preserved, form the subject of M. Naville's second volume.

The first volume is concerned with the altar-court and the north-western hall of offerings. The altar-court is of peculiar interest, as in no other Egyptian temple has the high altar been preserved. This altar is in itself a striking object, made of the same white limestone as the temple, measuring about 16 feet by 13, and standing 5 feet from the ground. A flight of ten steps enabled the priest to ascend, not for the purpose of sacrifice, M. Naville tells us—sacrifice was carried on elsewhere, probably outside the temple—but for placing on it offerings to Ra-Harmakhis, the sun god, at his rising, to whom, in conjunction with Amen, this part of the temple was dedicated.

In the walls of this court are several niches, formerly closed by bolted wooden doors; of the largest of these, the Thothmes chapel, two very beautiful coloured plates are given in the first volume. The object of these niches, which formerly held, in all probability, a portrait statue of Queen Hatshepsut, we can discuss later. The principle of decoration is the same in all :—

‘the most important representation is that on the end wall, where a king, or more often the queen in the guise of man, is seen standing in the presence of one or two deities. On the side walls the individual to whom the niche is dedicated is seen seated before an altar, and offerings are presented to him by a priest.’

Apart from their signification, these paintings are also interesting as giving faithful portraits of the family of Hatasu. The figure of the queen herself has been in most cases effaced, but we have in the chapel of Thothmes a portrait of her father, Thothmes I., of her mother, Aahmes, and of her grandmother, Senseneb.

But the great historical interest of the temple, through which it is best known to the world at large, lies in the sculptures of the expedition to Punt. Punt, or Somaliland, as it is now supposed to be, was, according to Professor Petrie, in all probability the home of the Egyptian race. They would be thus ‘a kindred race to the Phœnicians, or ‘Pun race, whose furthest and latest great colony in the Mediterranean was known as Punic.’

The chief points of the expedition are well known and described at some length in M. Naville's Introductory Memoir. The products of the land—its piles of frankincense,

the ivory, the ebony from which the shrine was made, the trees in pots for the garden of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari, the monkeys which Hatasu, as Solomon, desired, the long-horned cattle which lasted in Egypt from the time of Hatasu till the present century, when they perished from cattle plague—are all familiar.

The inhabitants of the land of Punt are no less interesting; the chief with his terribly fat wife, the lady Aty, his sons and daughters. In the '95-'96 excavation some new carvings belonging to the sculpture were discovered; from these it was found that the Punites lived in wattled huts much like beehives, raised on piles, and ascended by ladders; other stones showed cocoa-nut trees on which monkeys are climbing.

The execution of all these sculptures, and indeed of almost all the sculpture of the temple, is wonderfully perfect. The relief is not high; the colouring has lasted unusually well and combines, as only Egyptian artists know how, great brilliancy of colour with harmonious effect. The details, the very hieroglyphic signs, have a charming finish; the claws and feathers of the birds are carefully traced, the horned viper has his back neatly dappled. In the Punt sculptures the fish both of the Nile and of the sea are accurately drawn, though proportionate size is hardly more consulted than in the familiar Noah's ark.

The defacement of the temple in various ways has been a matter of speculation. M. Naville attributes it mainly to two subsequent Pharaohs, Thothmes III. and Akhenaten. In the first excavation of the temple it was not indeed at once discovered that Hatshepsut had been the founder of it. In many inscriptions the name of her successor has been substituted for her own. Further observation, however, showed that the personal pronouns in the inscriptions were feminine and that the name of the king was cut in deeper relief than the rest of the writing. Such usurpation is not uncommon among the Egyptian kings, but it seemed that something more than the desire for fame, some personal animus, must have led to the systematic erasure of the queen's name and figure throughout the temple. The reason will be found in the history of the succession.

Thothmes I., the father of Hatasu, had two wives, Aahmes and Mutnefert; both according to Petrie his half-sisters, daughters of Amenhotep I. Such marriages were common among the Egyptians, as sovereignty descended through the female line. Aahmes alone was royal by the mother's side,

Hatshepsut was the child of Aahmes, Thothmes II. of Mutnefert. Thothmes I., towards the end of his reign, associated Hatasu with himself as co-regent. The reason of this Professor Petrie thus explains:—

‘ This document ’ (the record of Hatasu’s co-regency) ‘ is almost more than an association of Hatshepsut with the king : it prays Amen to give the sovereignty to the daughter as it had been given to the father, making almost an abdication. This suggests that it must have been at the end of the life of the king, when he felt no longer able to rule. The reason of placing the daughter in power rather than the son is seen in the ages. Hatshepsut was probably twenty-four, and doubtless showed already her vast abilities ; while Tahutmes II. was probably not more than seventeen, and was of no great strength. He was not married to his sister at the time of this inscription. So it appears that on failing health the king placed the power in the hands of his eldest child, who had the sole right to it by the female inheritance ; and then, just a few weeks before his death, married Tahutmes II. to her, perhaps to insure his receiving some respect for his position if not for his character.’

Thothmes II. died early while Thothmes III. was still a boy. The exact relationship of Thothmes III. to Hatshepsut is not clear. It was at first supposed that he was the son of Thothmes I. and therefore the queen’s younger brother : but it appears more probable that he was the son of Thothmes II. by another wife. In any case it is certain that the mother of Thothmes III. was not herself royal, so that he had no claim through her to the throne.

On the other hand Hatasu, whose royal succession was clear, had no son, but only two daughters ; Neferu-ra, who died young, and Meryt-ra, whom she eventually married to Thothmes III. This marriage would establish the claim of Thothmes III. to the throne, and in the meantime Hatasu associated her nephew with her as co-regent.

She did not thereby earn his gratitude ; on the contrary he cherished a deep and undying grudge against her. A man of extraordinary energy and power, he bitterly resented the division of the sovereignty. He so systematically erased both her face and her name, that he nearly succeeded in effacing her memory.

We can well believe that Hatasu’s was a character to inspire admiration rather than affection. Thothmes III. was in that nearness of position which dwarfs admiration, and there is a spite about his revenge which makes one believe that he would not be too careful about the justice of his grudge.

The very face of Hatshepsut is hardly womanly ; it accords

only too well with the beard-case and the dress of a king which she affected, if not in real life, at any rate in her portraits. The god Amen seems scarcely to have fulfilled his promise that the daughter of Thothmes I. should be of an 'appearance above the gods.' One sees that Hatasu must be great, may be admirable, but can hardly be loveable.

But if, like Queen Elizabeth, Hatshepsut was not beloved of her relations, she had the same power of drawing to herself great men. Of such a man, Senmut, the architect of her temple, we have abundant record. He was a man of the people, for 'his ancestors were not found in writing,' and truly his statues give no very high-bred features; his is an ugly, capable, complacent face. It is interesting to note the difference between the specialist of to-day and the glorified jack-of-all-trades of three or four thousand years ago. The many-sidedness of Michael Angelo was nothing compared to that of Senmut. The queen's architect, who himself superintended the quarrying and carving of the queen's obelisks, was tutor to the queen's daughter Neferu-ra, 'that brilliant and beautiful girl,' as Professor Petrie calls her; he was keeper of the temple of Amen; keeper of the granaries of Amen; royal seal-bearer; keeper of the palace; keeper of the heart of the Queen [to which title Petrie compares 'keeper of the king's conscience' or Lord Chancellor]; priest of Aahmes; keeper of the queen's cattle, of which one is called, in a scene at Deir-el-Bahari—it is an interesting and homely touch—'her great favourite the red.' The Berlin statue of Senmut was the only one known until lately, though there are other records of him; but a small private excavation last year yielded a fine kneeling statue of him, 'presented by favour of the queen,' from which we find that he was architect of other temples besides Deir-el-Bahari, that of Mut among the number; that he was overseer of the fields of Amen, overseer of his garden, chief over his slaves, 'guiding all the handicrafts,' and superintendent of priests.

Great queens make great men, and truly there is an attraction about such greatness as Hatasu's, the greatness of a spirit lifted above the average of human kind.

Thus she writes of the great obelisks, her chief memorial at Karnak, one of which is still standing:—

'I was sitting in the palace, I was thinking of my Creator, when my heart urged me to make for him two obelisks of electrum whose points reach unto the sky, in the noble hall of columns which is between the two great pylons of the King Aa-kheper-ka-ra. Behold,

my heart led me to consider what men would say. Oh, ye who see my monument in the course of years, and converse of what I have done, beware of saying, "I know not, I know not, why these things were done" . . . Verily the two great obelisks that my majesty has wrought with electrum, they are for my father Amen, to the end that my name should remain established in this temple for ever and ever. They are of a single stone of hard granite without any joining or division in them. My majesty commanded to work for them in the fifteenth year, the first day of Mekhir, till the sixteenth year and the last day of Mesori, making seven months since the ordering of it in the quarry.'

A relief of the transportation of obelisks is one of the most interesting finds of late years at Deir-el-Bahari. The stones on which it is cut were discovered when the Coptic tower was pulled down in 1895, and Madame Naville traced and arranged the scenes. It is a unique presentation, and we know at last how an obelisk was transported. Hatasu's were brought down the river from the quarry—probably at high Nile—on a raft-like boat, flat-bottomed, and strong enough to carry the pair lying side by side. This raft was 'towed down by three parallel groups of ten tugs, each group 'being connected with the barge by a thick cable.'*

And the rest of the Acts of Hatasu and the granite chambers that she built have their record written in stone. Can we add that she slept with her fathers? Her tomb is still unknown. Probabilities point, according to Professor Petrie, to its being in that side valley which runs up close to the cliff behind her temple.

Thothmes III. was set free by the death of the queen to begin his independent reign in his thirty-first year. It is perhaps the greatest reign in Egyptian history. Into his campaigns in Palestine and Syria we cannot enter. One unique and beautiful record of them is that part of the temple of Karnak called 'the garden of Thothmes,' where the artist has portrayed in slight relief the flowers and fruits found on the foreign expeditions of the king. It is the prettiest, most artistic production: a clump or two of pomegranates irregularly scattered on the walls, marsh-flowers with water-birds walking among them, bushes delicately traced.

But the great feature of the reign of Thothmes is found, not in his monuments, but in the change brought about in Egypt by the introduction of a civilised foreign element. Previous intercourse had taken place between Egypt and less civilised nations, but the wars with Syria now brought

* Egypt Exploration Fund Report, 1895-6.

the country into contact with a nation more civilised than itself. Petrie mentions the coats of mail, the gilded chariots, the gold and silver vases taken from the Syrians and copied in Egypt; and the multitude of slaves imported, many of whom belonged to the higher classes. Hence came the foreign artist and workman, and hence came too that alteration in the Egyptian type of face which is illustrated so strikingly in Professor Petrie's *History of Egypt*, by a comparison of a relief of the face of Usertesen of the Twelfth Dynasty and a photograph of the head of Zey of the Eighteenth.

But the connexion of Syria and Egypt was not wholly that of conquered and conqueror. The alliance with Syria through the marriage of Amenhotep III. had, as we shall see later, as much effect on the history of Egypt as the new element had on its arts.

Amenhotep III., who followed two Pharaohs of less importance, was a great builder. His funeral temple at Thebes, of which the 'Colossi of the Plain' alone remain, must have been a building of magnificent proportions:

'These stood before the entrance, and far behind them stretched courts and halls, the beauty and size of which we can imagine from the contemporary temple of Luxor. Most brilliant statuary adorned the structure, and an avenue of immense jackals—the sacred animal of the god of the dead—led up to the entrance, like the rams, each guarding a statue of the king, in the avenues of Karnak.'

These Colossi, statues of the king with the queen standing at his side, are not indeed the largest monolithic statues known; that at the Ramesseum is said to be larger still, and the statue at Tanis, perhaps, the greatest of all. The Colossi of the Plain before they were discrowned stood about 70 feet with the pedestal. The statues, that is to say, could just be placed between the floor and the vaulting of Winchester Cathedral. They are so gigantic that it is difficult to conceive that even the destruction of 'Memnon' was a voluntary work. There seems no reason to doubt the often attested story of the voice at dawn, or to ascribe it to a priestly trick. The explanation now accepted is that the stone, wet with dew, sang when the rays of the sun touched it, much as a basin, whose surface is slightly cracked, sings when hot water is poured on it. The pious rebuilding of the Romans stopped such vibration of the stone, and the plaint of Memnon to his mother Aurora ceased.

The extraordinary romance of these figures, so majestic

in attitude that their complete defacement hardly strikes on one at first, is an old theme, yet can scarcely be comprehended by one who has not seen them looking out towards the east—*μακρόθυμοι* like the patriarchs of old—with their background of the Libyan hills, and the temples of Thebes, and the green corn or the fertilising flood about their feet.

The marriage of Amenhotep, as we have said, was an event of great importance. Alliances with Syria had already taken place.

Thothmes III., says Petrie, 'had taken the sons of the chiefs to be educated in Egypt; and as the Egyptian kings married Syrian princesses, it is most probable that the sons of the Syrian chiefs were married to Egyptians at the close of their education.'

And Professor Petrie concludes from a study of the physiognomy of Queen Thy on the one hand, and of her titles on the other, that she was the daughter of a north Syrian prince and an Egyptian princess. Thus, the object of Amenhotep in marrying Thy would probably be to secure the right of their son to the throne, and to conclude an important alliance with a Syrian people.

There is an extraordinary attraction about the face of Thy; with a curiously prominent chin and slightly receding forehead she cannot, perhaps, be called beautiful; but there is something sweet and wise about the mouth, something at the same time playful and tenacious about the face. One can well imagine that Thy would not openly lead, but would influence; that she might be *dévôte*, a fanatic even, but not a politician, and her influence with her husband and her son Akhenaten must have been decisive.

Thy was an Aten-worshipper; she worshipped not the sun god, Ra, but the 'aten,' the disc of the sun. Professor Petrie gives a most interesting defence of this religion; he calls it a 'more refined and really philosophical worship' than the Egyptian; the worship 'of the radiant energy of the sun, of the sun as sustaining all life by his beams.' This cult was not wholly new in Egypt; but at Heliopolis, which alone had received it, it had endured in a somewhat modified form, and it is well known how bitterly it was opposed in Thebes.

Thy had not been married more than a year before her religion had so far affected her husband that he ordered a lake to be made for the 'great royal wife Thy,' and the boat that he sailed on it he called after her god, 'Aten-neferu'—the beauties of Aten; but when her son, Akhen-

aten, came to the throne, the influence of the queen was felt in full force. In the fourth year of his reign he married Nefertiti, a Syrian princess. The wife, of the same race and religion as Thy, added her influence to that of the mother, and in the sixth year of his reign, when he was probably about eighteen years old, he became avowedly an Aten-worshipper, and an enemy to the old religion of Egypt. From henceforward his work at Thebes is that of an iconoclast. In the temple of Hatshepsut, in the temple of Luxor, built by his father, indeed wherever he found it he religiously erased the name of Amen.

Thy's character and history form a strange contrast to that of Hatasu; the one, masculine, commanding, carried out great works in her lifetime, and her name is hated, and her memory rooted out by her successor, her nephew, the husband of her daughter. The other, essentially feminine, does little in her own name, but her influence as wife and mother affects through the reigns of her husband and son the destinies of Egypt.

Of the Ramesseum, the funerary temple of that Rameses whom, as Professor Petrie says, 'we take at his own 'vainglorious estimation and call the Great,' there is little that is new to be said. Recent history reveals his usurpation rather than his acts. The enormous though mutilated statue, the reliefs of the war against the Hittites, including his single-handed combat celebrated in the epic of Pentaur on the walls of Karnak and the pylons of Luxor, are all well known. One scene among the reliefs must be mentioned in which Rameses, going up into the temple, is attended by twenty-three of his hundred sons. Of these the thirteenth is his successor, Merenptah.

It was the temple of Merenptah which yielded the most interesting result of Professor Petrie's excavation in the spring of 1896. The temple itself, like the Ramesseum, was built out of the materials of former structures. The splendid temple of Amenhotep III. was used simply as a quarry. The materials were roughly used, the sphinxes and jackals were broken up and laid head to tail to form a foundation, and it was on the unused side of a stele, polished and engraved by Amenhotep, religiously edited by Akhenaten, re-engraved by Seti I., that the now famous inscription of Merenptah was found, in which for the first time on Egyptian monuments the name of Israel is mentioned.

When Merenptah came to the throne, his father, 'sunk 'in his fatuous pride into a mere despot,' had not only lost

his hold on all the foreign conquests of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but had suffered Egypt itself to become the prey of the invader. In the first four years of his reign Merenptah devoted himself to the careful consolidation of his power in Egypt, but in the fifth year, being warned in a dream by Ptah, his patron divinity, he prepared himself against foreign invasion, with such success that an attack attempted in the spring of the year was repelled with a force which secured the tranquillity of Egypt. It is this which the great tablet celebrates. Most vivid are the touches in which this security is pictured.

‘And the people babbled, “Come and walk afar on the road, for there is no fear in the hearts of men.” The garrisoned forts are abandoned; the walls are thrown open; the messengers leap over the battlements of the wall, and cool themselves from the sun until the guards awake; the police lie in slumbers on their beats; the Bedawin of the marshes desire to pasture the herds, abandoning the cattle raids; no marauders cross the flood of the river; there is no shout of the sentinel in the night, “Stop! behold thou one comes, one comes in the name of others (with the wrong watchword); be good enough to go.”’

But it is in the last lines of the proclamation that the greatest historical interest is found. The triumphs of Merenptah are enumerated, and the inscription ends, ‘the people of Ysiraal is spoiled, it hath no seed.’

Professor Petrie decides that the first and most attractive interpretation of this can hardly be the correct one. From the mention of Israel in connexion with Syria, and from a comparison of the Book of Judges with the date of the last Ramesside invasion—under Rameses III.—it appears that this defeat of Israel must have occurred in Canaan after the Exodus, which Petrie puts also in the reign of Merenptah, but before the entrance of the whole nation into the Promised Land. Thus the theory to which Professor Petrie inclines is that of a divided Israel. That all Israel had not gone down into Egypt, or that some had re-entered Canaan before the close of the forty years’ wandering, and were there destroyed by Merenptah, is on the whole the more probable explanation of the inscription.

To agree with Professor Petrie’s judgement of the ‘Pharaoh with the hard heart’ archæological sympathies must be more developed than moral.

‘According to his own lights, Merenptah may well claim a high position: he rescued his country from a great danger, and restored its position for a while in its course of decline. “My country—right or wrong,” was his principle, and a far better one than that of most

ancient rulers, while he did not, any more than his contemporaries, potter about with any talk of "blood guiltiness." If he found it needful for the State to repress a tribe, he may well have done it without any fear of reports being prejudicial to him.'

But much the same defence might be made for the Sultan of Turkey or the Khalifa; they do not 'potter about' with any talk of blood guiltiness' when they find it necessary to repress a tribe or a nation. Professor Petrie treats far more seriously his lack of ancestral piety, and consequent destruction of archæological interest, in which respect he falls below the standard of his race and time.

'The worst blot on his character was his ruthless destruction of the works of his predecessors. No doubt, in such a time of distress, it would be difficult to supply workmen for public monuments; but his utter disregard for everything that went before him outdoes even his orgulous father, and is painfully in contrast to the careful restorations made by his artistic grandfather, Seti I. Not content with taking what he wanted, he further defaced what he could not use, and all over Egypt the statues of the kings may be seen with his name rudely cut over their inscriptions, or battered with a hammer on the exquisitely polished surfaces of the other monarchs.'

But with all his power and his faults it is an interesting personality, and the wonderfully preserved head now in the museum at Gizeh is worth much study. The head is in grey granite, the pupils of the eyes and eyelashes being painted black, the lips and the space between eye and eyebrow coloured red, and the wig, necklace, and beard-case decorated in blue and yellow. The head is bent a little forward, the heavy receding brow has something almost animal about it, the lips are thick and the eyes a little prominent; but the nose is fine and aquiline, the moulding of chin and jaw strikingly handsome. The Pharaoh of the Exodus has a strange intensity of expression about the face; it is handsome but unpleasing, powerful and unscrupulous.

Important among Professor Petrie's other finds in this locality are foundation deposits of Siptah, the last king of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and Tausert, his hitherto unknown queen. With Rameses III., first king of the Twentieth Dynasty, we pass on to the third great excavation of late years on the west bank of the Nile.

Though personal interest in the founder is more in abeyance than in the temples of Hatasu, Thothmes, and Merenptah, or even in the destructions of Akhenaten, yet from an æsthetic point of view the temple of Medînet Hâbû is perhaps inferior to none; and the French excavation has

restored to it much of its ancient impressiveness. Formerly half buried under the ruins of a Coptic village, the levelling of the ground in front of the gateway tower has given it dignity by increased height, and shown up as prominent features the porters' lodges, which were hardly noticed before. From this point one looks up through a wonderful vista of gateways and courts. The mounds of earth between the tower and the pylons of the temple itself have been cleared away, discovering on one side the little temple unseen before of Ameneritis, wife of Piankhi II., and on the other hand, in all its simplicity and completeness, the small Eighteenth Dynasty temple before mentioned. One's only regret is that the levelling of these mounds has now made it impossible to climb to the chamber over the gateway, where one can study the pastimes of the Egyptian king, as he is portrayed in the reliefs, playing draughts with the ladies of his court.

This clearing has added much to the beauty of the great colonnaded courts, with their Osiride pillars and round campaniform columns. The effect of the deeply incised lines of hieroglyphics and figures on walls and columns, particularly deeply cut here, give to the Egyptian temple that softness of broken line which the stress of climate gives to buildings in other countries. Much colouring, too, is left at *Medînet Hâbû*. Sitting in the colonnaded courts one may look up and see, against the intense blue of the sky, the blue of some broken roofing or the lower edge of an architrave, which need be as little ashamed as any earthly blue to show itself against the background of the blue celestial. The uncovering of the small sacred lake, the clearing of the battlemented wall of the precinct, make it possible to realise the Egyptian temple, or group of temples, as an establishment. The excavation has not been unrewarded by the discovery of smaller objects of interest, most important among which was a store of bronze Osiride figures.

In passing from the west to the east bank of the Nile we come to temples with a different object and history. Whereas on the west bank

'the king began a temple with the intention of completing it himself, and these temples were monuments raised by the king to his own glory and his own memory, the great temples on the right bank of the Nile,' says M. Naville, 'are in the first place buildings erected for the worship of the local deity, and are the work of many generations.'*

* Introductory Memoir, *Deir-el-Bahari*, by Ed. Naville.

The setting of the temple of Luxor is very different to that of the temples on the west side. The temple stands so near the river that on quiet evenings the length of its colonnade, with its fourteen huge campaniform pillars, and the cloistered court of lotiform pillars, are reflected in the Nile. The southern end, the sanctuary and its surrounding chambers, the great court and the colonnade, were built by Amenhotep III. At the further end of the colonnade comes the court of Rameses II., with a statue of himself between each pair of pillars. The axis of this court is not in the same line as the rest of the temple, but takes a more easterly direction. The reason of this was thought to be that the temple, standing so near to the Nile, followed the course of the river as it then was; but a more probable explanation has been suggested by M. Daressy, who has excavated there of late years—namely, that the twist was intended to bring the temple into line with the sphinx avenue running from it to the temple of Khonsu at Karnak.

In front of the court, again, Rameses built pylons, fronted by a row of colossal statues, and raised two obelisks of red granite, one of which is still *in situ*, while the other now stands in Paris in the Place de la Concorde. The complete excavation is not yet possible, for a mosque of the patron saint of Luxor, Abu-el-Haggag, stands over one corner of the court. The level of the roadway leading into it is halfway up the pylons. To remove this would make it necessary to rebuild the pylons, which are in a very unsafe condition; but the work would no doubt be rewarding if the Government department possessed sufficient funds for the purpose. M. Daressy's excavation uncovered a very life-like and complete statue in red granite of Rameses II. in the hieratic attitude. With his arms by his side and one foot advanced, he seems to be stepping out into the court from his niche between the columns. An accidental fall of rubbish from the higher ground on which the mosque stands, aided by the parasol of an enterprising lady, has uncovered the face of another statue adjacent and similar to this one, the rest of which is still buried. The front of Luxor temple, seldom visited, as the way to it is hidden by the Arab village, has a wonderful picturesqueness. The western pylon is trenched to the bottom, showing the great statues of the king; those in front of the eastern pylon are still buried to the shoulders. The roadway between the pylons leads to the mosque; over it pass the Arab men to daily prayer, the sheikhs to adjudge

a quarrel, suspected men to be sworn at the shrine of the saint. Behind cluster the earth-coloured houses of sun-dried bricks, and beside the obelisk are placed the yellow cane seats of some Arab sellers of sweetmeats. It is a strange mingling of modern with ancient life, and so much does Egyptian tradition still linger, that the ancient procession of the sacred bark pictured on the walls of the temple is still held in Luxor now in honour of Abu-el-Haggag, when once a year a small fishing-boat is carried through the village, and charcoal burned on the truck which bears it in place of the incense offered by priest or king.

The sphinx avenue from Luxor to Karnak has in part mouldered away and in part been covered. Where the road emerges from the village a few mouldered bases may be seen; and one strikes again into the avenue, here in better preservation, on entering the palm groves which lead to the temple of Karnak. The limits of this paper would not suffice to treat in detail of Karnak, with its multiplicity of courts and pylons, its subsidiary temples and avenues of sphinxes, the history of its building stretching over two thousand years. The whole forms so complicated a study that one has, above all things, need of such a plan as Baedeker supplies.

The temple of Amen, which itself contains two smaller temples in its great court, stands in a precinct which measures about one-third of a mile each way; the actual building, independent of the detached pylons, is more than a quarter of a mile in length, or about three times the length of Milan Cathedral. Inside this precinct lie also the Sacred Lake, the temple of Khonsu—itsself about the size of a small English cathedral—built by Rameses III., and against it the Ptolemaic temple of Ap, now used as a storehouse for antiquities, besides other less considerable temples in a more ruinous condition. On the north of this precinct lies another establishment of temples, chief among which was the temple of Mentu, faced by an avenue of sphinxes some 400 feet long. To the south again, connected with the Great Temple first by a series of pylons and then by a sphinx avenue, lies the temple of Mut, encompassed on three sides by a horseshoe lake, on whose banks are seen the ruins of two smaller temples.

The Government excavation of late years has been directed to the clearance of the western part of Karnak. The soil in the hypostyle hall, built chiefly by Seti I., has

been lowered some twelve feet, showing the columns in new and more dignified proportion. The hypostyle hall is in itself a great proof that the Egyptians had no inkling of the true theory of the arch. The number of pillars is immensely greater than is needed to support the roof, too great for architectural dignity: there is no grand transverse view of columns; each way one looks, unless it be straight down a lane of pillars, some six or eight of them block the view. The pylon at the end of this hall has been strengthened. It is a question, however, whether such strengthening will last any length of time, as the stone is much disintegrated from the action of the salts which the water, rising through the soil at flood time, deposits on it. It was to remedy this that M. de Morgan attempted to drain the Sacred Lake at Karnak, hoping to find its direct communication with the Nile, and through this to let in a supply of fresh water which should be turned through the temple, to wash it free from salt. Unfortunately it was not found possible completely to drain the lake; the fact of such an inlet was established as the lake refilled itself, but the inlet could not be found.

Beyond the hypostyle hall the great outer court, with one of its little temples, has been cleared, and some statues, two or three large stelæ, and several fine sphinxes were found. But the most interesting discovery was of the quay of the temple in front of the great pylon, on which is recorded the rise of the Nile in various reigns.

The ram-headed sphinxes have been repaired by M. Legrain, Inspector of Antiquities in the district, under whom the excavation has been carried on. Some might question the advisability, even from an æsthetic point of view, of so thoroughly repairing, almost restoring them; but it is impossible to deny that the quay, with its sloping ways on either side, leading down to the ancient level of the water; its obelisks, its rows of closely ranged sphinxes leading up to it; the whole backed by the immense mass of the ruined pylons, is a wonderfully imposing sight.

But far more is learnt of the life and thought of the Egyptian from the tomb than from the temple. The glorification of the king, the highly coloured narration of his valour and victories, was, as we have seen, the theme of his temple reliefs. But the tomb gives us the truth of ordinary life and the honest belief of the people.

As we stand opposite the east face of the Libyan cliff, it seems to be pierced with rows of colossal sand-martins' nests. More closely observed, these are seen to be the square

doorways of tombs—tombs of private persons. Round a spur of the hill to the south are the Tombs of the Queens, and over the ridge of the hill to the north lie the Tombs of the Kings. All the lower slopes of the hills, the ground behind the temple of Qûrnch, the sand mounds over which one rides to Deir-el-Bahari, gape with holes, where one may look down and see the carved jamb of a doorway, or fragments of painted and sculptured stone. Many of these were never fine tombs, others are too much defaced for interest; but many of them, both private and royal, are worth much study. Some of the finest are guarded by a gate; but many of the ‘eternal habitations’ of the Egyptian are now the habitations of the Arab.

However desecrated they have been by the hand of the spoiler, the Tombs of the Kings are at least free from this pressure of modern life into the habitations of the dead. The Kings no longer lie in the sepulchres they had hewn out of the rock. Their mummies, unrolled, so as to show the face with its parched blackened skin, are exposed to any irreverent and ignorant sightseer in the Museum at Gizeh, but a visit to their tombs helps one to form some idea of the secrecy and solitude they desired. The road winds for some three-quarters of an hour round the golden limestone bluffs of an absolutely arid valley, screened even from the City of the Dead by an offshoot of the hills. At last, under a wall of rock, some mounds are seen, each guarded now by a wooden door. That door opened, one descends, as in a fairy story, down galleries hewn in the solid rock, decorated with strange fantastic pictures, through pillared chambers, and at the last comes a shaft—the mummy pit, at the bottom of which rested the body of the King of Egypt.

The tourist, who comes and goes like a flash, ‘doing’ the regulation three temples and five tombs in a day; the lingering Arab hawker, waiting for his lawful prey at the door of the tomb, his stock-in-trade twisted in his turban, do not seem to disturb the quiet of the place, where there is no other sign of life than the slow-wheeling Egyptian vulture showing black and white against the sky.

Different as the tombs appear, they are in reality only adaptations of the same plan. The Egyptian tomb possesses essentially two parts—the real sepulchral chamber where the mummy rests, and the funeral chapel; these parts may be expanded, multiplied, and connected by shaft or gallery.

The inquiry into the reason why these parts are essential

leads us to the fundamental question of the Egyptian belief in immortality—to the theory of Egyptian metaphysics; without this we can neither understand the arrangement of the tombs, their principle of decoration, nor their prominence in daily life. ‘The Egyptian conceived of man as a ‘composite being consisting of at least six parts.’ These parts are disunited by death, and immortal life is only attained by their reunion. All alike are not essentially immortal, and during the period preceding this reunion it is necessary that the perishable parts should be preserved.

‘The Body,’ Miss Edwards says, ‘lay inert in the ‘depth of the tomb; the Soul performed a perilous journey ‘through the demon-haunted Valley of Shades; the Intelligence, freed from mortal encumbrance, wandered through ‘space; the Name, the Shadow, and the Heart awaited ‘the arrival of the Soul when its pilgrimage should be ‘accomplished; and the Ka dwelt with the mummy in the ‘sepulchre.’ It is with this Ka that we have to deal, for the tomb is constructed not only with reference to the dead body, but also to meet the needs of the Ka. The Ka is the constant dweller in the tomb, the Ba or soul merely an occasional visitor, shown in Egyptian art, flying down the mummy shaft as a bird, human-headed and armed.

But what is the Ka? On this point Egyptologists are not agreed. Miss Edwards would translate it the ‘Life,’ Wiedemann the ‘Personality,’ Maspero the ‘Double—the ‘living and coloured projection of the human figure . . . ‘reproducing in minutest detail the complete image of the ‘object or person to whom it belonged.’ But though its exact meaning is obscure, its needs at any rate are expressed with an admirable clearness:

‘Oh ye who live upon the earth!

Ye who come hither and are servants of the gods!

Oh, say these words.

‘Grant thousands of loaves, thousands of jars of wine, thousands of jars of beer, thousands of beeves, thousands of geese, to the Ka of the Royal Friend Pepi-na, Superintendent of the Royal Household, and Superior of the Priests of the Pyramid of King Pepi!’

So runs a Sixth Dynasty tablet given by Miss Edwards. With such demands for food she connects the beseeching upheld arms and open hands, which is the hieroglyph sign for Ka.

The Ka requires food, and in early times the food provided for it was in part actual material food, for there were

animal sacrifices, as among many primitive nations, at the tomb. These were renewed periodically by all pious survivors, personally or by provision of priests for the purpose, a custom strangely resembling foundations for masses for the dead. Such sacrifices were not mere ritual; food appears to be absolutely necessary to preserve the Ka alive while it exists in separation from the body. The Ka has a right to claim such support; it will revenge itself as a 'revenant' if it is not accorded, and can inflict madness or even death on the impious.

It appears sometimes to exceed its rights in this respect. Maspero gives an amusing instance of an Egyptian who prosecutes at law his wife's Ka for haunting him without reason. It does not appear how the penalty was to be exacted if he won his case. But the pious survivor must at last die; even foundations for priestly sacrifice may become extinct; how then is the Ka to be insured against starvation? It can be kept alive in two ways—by modelled or painted food, and by prayers for food. The mere repetition of such a prayer as that quoted above sufficed, Miss Edwards tells us, 'to insure a supply of ideal beeves 'and geese, ideal jars of wine and beer, ideal onions 'and cucumbers for the nourishment of the hungry Ka.'

A more simple method was that of painting on the sides of the tombs images of such food as the Ka required, or burying with it such minute models of eatables as Petrie found last year in his excavations round the Ramesseum—blue porcelain images, about an inch long, of the thigh of an ox or the head of a calf.

But the mysterious Ka who could be fed equally well on thousands of oxen and geese, on prayers, and on blue porcelain, had also other requirements, the first of which was a body. In the body provided for the Ka Miss Edwards finds the origin of the portrait sculpture of the Egyptians; for the ideal Ka statue is that in which the Ka would feel most at home—the most faithful possible reproduction of the body in which it dwelt in life. Thus, as Miss Edwards says, 'if the man was ugly the statue must also be ugly. If 'he had any personal defect, the statue must faithfully 'reproduce it;' and she instances the Sixth Dynasty statue of Nemhotep, a dwarf, of which an excellent illustration gives us full assurance that the artist has not erred with a view to flattery. In the strange obscurity out of which Egyptian art sprang, full grown and complete, to sink through centuries into gradual decadence, this power

of portrait sculpture appears to have been in its greatest perfection. We find no developement of art leading up to 'the wooden man of Boulak'—a statue too well known to need description, of the most realistic kind, evidently a faithful portrait, and so true to type that the Arab workmen who found it pronounced it at once 'the Sheikh of the village.' No less does one feel that the sculptor of the statues of General Rahotep and Princess Nefert, his wife, has seized the very spirit as well as faithfully portrayed the features of his subjects, the one showing the ability of the self-made man, the other exhibiting an aristocratic ugliness, the small forehead and the keen eyes showing intelligent perception rather than creative power. The relation of the Ka to these statues must be clearly realised.

'The statues,' says Maspero, 'were not mere images, devoid of consciousness. . . . when the double of a man was attached to the effigy of his earthly body . . . a real living person was created and was introduced into the tomb. So strong was this conviction that the belief has lived on through two changes of religion until the present day. The double still haunts the statues with which he was associated in the past, . . . and one can only be protected from him by breaking, at the moment of discovery, the perfect statues which the vault contains.'

For the vault contains more than one statue. Since it is absolutely necessary that the Ka should possess a body, to provide it with one only would be to run a considerable risk. Some accident might occur to a single statue, and the Ka be left bodiless. To provide against such contingencies a number of Ka statues were usually made and walled up in a niche in the tomb. Seventeen such statues of Kaphra, for instance, were found in the wall of the temple of the Sphinx.

Yet this is not the last of the needs of the Ka. The demand for food and for a body only leads to the demand for a dwelling. The home of the Ka is primarily the tomb, which, indeed, is called the 'dwelling-house of the Ka;' and more especially the outer chamber or chambers of the tomb, in which the offerings of food were placed—the funerary chapel.

This part of the tomb, consecrated to the use of the Ka, not the mere receptacle of the body, contains that which Maspero characterises as 'the essential part of the chapel 'or tomb'—namely, the stele, which 'perpetuated the 'name and genealogy of the deceased, and gave him a civil 'status, without which he could not have preserved his

‘personality in the world beyond; the nameless dead, like a living man without a name, was reckoned as non-existing.’ On the stele, also, were represented pictures of offerings, and prayers for their renewal.

The idea of the tomb as the dwelling-house of the Ka gives us, moreover, a clue as to one of its methods of decoration; as the Ka prefers the body in which it is most at home, so also it prefers to dwell among the scenes which are most familiar.

We shall take as an instance the tomb of Sen-nefer, in the district known as Abd-el-Qârneh. On entering, a steep and rather winding stair leads downward to the pillared chamber. The roof of the chamber is irregularly hewn out of the solid rock, and all over it creeps a vine, painted on the stuccoed surface. On each of the four sides of the four rock-hewn pillars is a painting of Sen-nefer sitting in an arbour, his wife standing in front of him and offering him food and drink. The Ka of Sen-nefer might have a worse fate than inhabiting this chamber, with its roof made to resemble as nearly as possible the arbour in which it is evident Sen-nefer loved to sit. For, as we must remember, to the Ka, which can satisfy its vast appetite on suggestion of food, a painted vine is not merely the representation of, but in the shadow land it is a veritable and substantial vine.

These private tombs, with their scenes of private life, are, perhaps, more fascinating, if less instructive, than are those of the greater public officials, or of those of the Pharaohs themselves.

Yet such a tomb as that of the well-known Rekh-ma-ra, ‘vizier’ of Thothmes III., is interesting, not only because of its historic value—its procession of foreign chiefs with their well-marked racial types and their appropriate offerings—but still more perhaps for its pictures of Egyptian arts and crafts, its sphinx and statue-making, its brick-making and carpentry. Interesting it is, too, to note the arrangement of Rekh-ma-ra’s pleasure grounds, with its piece of ornamental water, and the queer perspective of surrounding trees lying out like the fringe of a carpet all round it.

In the study of the kings’ Tombs we must remember that we are dealing with a Ka of a different nature. The divine right of kings has its deepest significance in the Egyptian theory—the king is a son of the gods, and the Ka of the king, as Maspero tells us, is a double of the god Horus—for the gods too have Kas—a divine spark, so to speak,

given off from the god. To the king's Ka alone belongs the distinction of a separate name, that enclosed in the 'Ka banner,' as it has been called. In two of the Theban temples we have representations of the royal Ka. Hatasu at Deir-el-Bahari, and Amenhotep III. at Luxor, carve in their temples scenes celebrating their divine birth and direct descent from Amen. In one scene at Deir-el-Bahari the god Khnum is seen moulding, and Heqt inspiring, not one child but two, exactly resembling each other; and in another the queen mother holding the child in her arms is faced by figures of divine nurses each holding a Ka of Hatshepsut. In one group as many as twelve doubles are represented. No human being, M. Naville tells us, can have more than fourteen.

Here we come to the final difficulty in an interpretation of the Ka. To say that Hatshepsut had twelve personalities conveys nothing to us; to say that she had twelve lives has no meaning except in the sense that a cat has nine; and though the conception of the Ka may be allied to that of a 'doppelgänger,' the word 'double' is plainly absurd in a case where there are twelve Kas.

Leaving this unsolved question we must return to the tomb. If royalty and divinity are thus conjoined, we must expect to find in the tombs of the kings something more than scenes of earthly life, though these too have their places in most interesting pictures of feasts, of dancing and musical entertainments, and, in the political sphere, of representations of foreign and tributary nations.

In the story of Sanehat, when the death of the king is mentioned, it is said that he 'flew up to heaven and joined 'the sun's disc, the follower of the god met his maker,' and the message sent to his heir was that a 'hawk had 'soared with his followers.'

In the tomb of Seti I., finest of the Tombs of the Kings, a prevailing subject is the journey of Ra and his triumphs over his serpent enemy, the power of darkness; battles and triumphs in which the souls of his faithful followers take part with him. The galleries and stairways leading down to the chambers where the king is portrayed offering to the gods, or Ra receives the homage of the lower world, are decorated with strange reptile forms, huge twining snakes, and serpents walking on human legs.

The connexion, fully discussed by Maspero, between this Solar doctrine of immortality and the Osirian doctrines is not capable of a perfectly definite statement; the diffi-

culty here, as in all questions of Egyptian religion, being the fundamental one of dealing with a combination of independent religions imperfectly assimilated.

The Egyptian idea of the tomb is, as we have said, that it is the dwelling-house of the Ka; but it is in no sense its prison. The Ka is no more confined to its tomb than a person in ordinary life is confined to his dwelling.

Thus in the story of Ahura it is implied of necessity, as Professor Petrie gives it in his restoration of the lost beginning of the story, that the Ka of Ahura, though she is buried at Koptos, dwells in the tomb of her husband, Nanefer-ka-ptah, at Memphis.

And as the Ka is not confined to its dwelling-house, so, too, it may possess more than one house—not only the tomb with its funerary chapel, but the great funeral temple itself, is its abode.

Thus, then, we come to realise the meaning of much in the plan and history of the Egyptian temple which has seemed obscure. The great statues of the builder are bodies for the Ka to dwell in. The niches in Hatasu's temple, with their portrait statues and carved tables of offerings, are chambers, bodies, and supplies of food for her Ka and the Kas of her family; and the systematic erasure by Thothmes III. of her Ka arms, which form a line of decoration in one of the chapels, we dimly perceive to be the deepest part of his revenge—an attempt not only to blot out the memory of the queen in this world, but to annihilate her very personality in the next. But to follow up the religious questions involved in the arrangement and decoration of the tombs and temples would lead us far beyond the limits of our present subject. We can only here touch upon the impression gained from them of Egyptian life and character.

There is a wonderful double charm about Egyptian life; it has the twofold quality of enduring youth. In spite of the intermixture of race, the type of face and character, the habits, the very implements, of the ancient Egyptian still hold their own in the Egypt of to-day. Compare the illustration given by Maspero of the head of a Theban mummy and of the fellah of Upper Egypt. *Rameses II.* may any day be seen meekly mopping the decks of a post-boat, or guiding the course of a felucca.

The whole prosperity of Upper Egypt depends at this moment on the working of the Shadoof, and paintings of it may be seen on the walls of tombs. Mr. Floyer has

shown in an interesting paper in the 'Athenæum' that the Saklieh, for all its Persian name, has to this day a special dial of its own to time the watches of the oxen, making them longer or shorter according to the time of year and the depth of the water; and that these working periods are called by Pharonic names. The palm baskets in which boys now carry away earth from an excavation or embankment are like those ancient ones which Professor Petrie exhibited this year at University College.

Not less enduring are the habits of life and type of character. In the story of the 'Peasant and the Workman,' the peasant, to find cause against his enemy, forces him to ride into his standing corn by covering the path with his clothes. The simple cunning of the device was quaintly paralleled last winter by a fellah who had extended his field of corn over a well-used path, not for the sake of the strip of ground thus gained, but for the more profitable purpose of extorting damages from the passers-by, who must now trample on his crop.

Ceremonies have a strange vitality. The procession of the sacred boat has already been mentioned; and it is difficult not to connect with the sacrifice of the paschal lamb that ceremony of house-warming to which even Europeans in Egypt submit, of smearing the blood of a sheep, killed for this purpose, on the doorposts and threshold of the finished house. The very magic elements of the tales are those which appear in all true fairy stories from India to England. The idea of the child who is shut up in a tower to protect it from a prophesied fate is not original to the 'Sleeping Beauty,' since it appears in the story of the 'Doomed Prince.' Surely there is some connexion between the Hathors who prophesy fates at the birth, and the fairy godmother whose gifts are fates. In the same way the king who shuts up his daughter in a tower, and makes her hand the reward of athletic feats, and the stranger who wins her are as much familiar elements of stories as the oppressed younger brother Bata, so superior in character and fortunes to the elder, who reappears in German legend under the name of 'Boots.'

One is inclined to re-echo the worn-out truism that there is nothing new when one finds that Rameses was manicured; that Egyptian girls played with jointed dolls and doll's furniture; the boys with marbles and tops; and the babies had toy-animals on wheels.

It is in great part the child-element in Egyptian life and

character which keeps it eternally modern. The very conventionality has a freshness about it. The king who excuses his plan of marrying his son and daughter to commoners, children of his officers, on the ground that 'it is often so done in our family;' and who laughs with his daughter when she chaffs him about it, has a boy's feeling of the proprieties. They overlay but do not permeate his human nature. There is a vivid human reality about the characters we come across, typically shown in Na-nefer-ka-ptah's speech when he thinks of committing suicide. He is urged thereto, not by his own sorrow for the death of his wife and his child Merab (heart's darling we might translate it), but by the impossibility of presenting himself before his father to say 'I have taken your children to the Thebaid, and killed them, while I remained alive, and I have come to Memphis still alive.'

There is a fulness of life and youth about the Egyptians which renders even ludicrous the conception of them as a monotonous people under the shadow of the grave. The prominence of the idea of death appears to come rather from the love of life; so intense a desire for life cannot be bounded by the grave; even comedy has its place in the paintings on the walls of the tombs.

One cannot deny that there is a darker side to the picture. Every picture of the victories of kings shows a train of captives with their arms tied behind their backs; the sills of Rameses' palace windows at Medînet Hâbû are supported by such figures. Maspero gives a terrible account of the lives of captives forced to labour on public works or till the Pharaohs' fields; so much did such labour shorten their lives that freemen were impressed by the *corvée* to fill up their ranks. Well may the Israelites have groaned under such Egyptian bondage. The artisan life, of which a description is quoted by Maspero, is evidently a life of overpowering labour, in which idleness was penalised.

Yet granting all this darker side, how does Egypt compare among other nations of old time—even nations of modern time? We have not the worst features of slavery. There is no delight in pain, as at gladiatorial shows; the slave is not a chattel, the master not irresponsible. There is an elasticity of spirit in the oppressed, an Irish humour in the men who will not pay their dues until they have been sufficiently beaten. If the lower classes are oppressed by overmuch labour, there is no justified idleness for the rich; they own the duties of protection, the obligations of the

feudal lord ; they have a duty and delight in wisdom. Moses, as the son of Pharaoh's daughter, is taught all the wisdom of the Egyptians ; Na-nefer-ka-ptah, priest and king's son, will do ' nothing on earth but read the writings that are in ' the catacombs of the kings, and the tablets of the House ' of Life.' The vaunted self-praise of the feudal lord is not so much in riches or honours as in the fact that he was ' the ' staff of the aged, the foster-father of the children, the ' counsellor of the unfortunate, the refuge in which those ' who suffer from the cold in Thebes may warm themselves, ' the bread of the afflicted which never failed in the cities of ' the south.' In times of scarcity such a man vaunts that he relieves the destitute, and in times of plenty absorbs no unearned increment. ' If there were high Niles, the possessors of lands became rich in all things, for I did not ' raise the rate of the tax upon the fields.' There are none of the worst and most desperate elements of caste and class distinction. The parents of Senmut, Hatasu's favourite, ' are not named in writing.'

Thus, with all its careless cruelty, its hard bondage, its severe discipline, we have still to remember that we are dealing with a nation which upholds a standard of equal justice, and a standard of mercy, which believes in the duty of the rich towards the poor, the helpless, the slave ; whose religion teaches that each man must appear before the judgement-seat of a righteous God, and plead not alone that he has performed his duties of divine worship, ' not curtail- ' ing the sacred revenue,' but that ' he has not oppressed ' the poor nor caused the slave to be ill-treated of his ' master.'

ART. IX.—1. *A History of Our Own Times, from 1880 to the Diamond Jubilee.* By JUSTIN MCCARTHY, M.P., author of 'A History of the Four Georges' &c. London : 1897.

2. *Essays in Liberalism.* By SIX OXFORD MEN. London, Paris, and Melbourne : 1897.

THE two books whose names we have placed at the head of this article deserve to be considered together. Both have been published during the present year, and the authors of both of them in fact deal with the political situation of the present day. Mr. Justin McCarthy, a respected member of Parliament of ripe experience, who has long since made his mark in the world of letters, recounts the events of the latest seventeen years of his life, in order to form the concluding volume of his 'History of Our Own Times,' the first and second volumes of which were published in 1878. His age, his experience, his subject, concentrate his thoughts upon the immediate Past as leading up to the Present. Young Oxford, as naturally, whilst discoursing of the past and present, has its eye constantly on the Future. Each work is, of course, written from the party standpoint ; is, in short, the production of political advocacy, and not the well-balanced result of a rigid searching after truth. Mr. Justin McCarthy, as a distinguished leader of Irish Nationalists, whilst evidently striving hard and doing his best to be fair at least to the motives of his political opponents, has given us an interesting summary of recent events as they strike the man who was once the trusted lieutenant of Mr. Parnell, and who has since led the more numerous section of his former followers. Our Oxonians also virtually announce themselves as advocates, holding a brief for orthodox Liberalism, displaying at once appropriate contempt for modern 'Toryism' (by which they mean the policy since 1886 of the Unionist party), and hatred and terror of 'Socialism,' and of those disloyal traitors to 'Liberalism' who form the Independent Labour party. We are by no means inclined to depreciate the usefulness of such books on the ground that they are not judicial in temper or in tone. By the keenness and the fence of advocacy on the one side and the other, the great court of public opinion is informed and enlightened. No sort of attempt is made either by the historian or the essayists to see things from the standpoint of an impartial observer. They wear,

so to speak, almost ostentatiously, the wig and gown. Thus the public have due notice that it is listening not to the dry witnesses of truth, but to the ability and eloquence of advocates, who are capable of throwing much light upon the facts and of doing much good work so long as their auditors remember the wide gulf that separates advocacy from testimony.

'From 1880 to the Diamond Jubilee' covers a period of more than half a generation; no long space, it is true, in the history of a nation, yet long enough to render very apparent some of the developements of our political growth. It is not merely that time has removed from the political stage the most prominent statesmen of seventeen years ago. In 1880 Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville led in the two Houses of Parliament a party which greatly predominated in the country, as well as in the House of Commons, which was strongly supported by educated public opinion, and which had behind it the hearty backing of the principal newspapers in Great Britain. Lord Beaconsfield and Sir Stafford Northcote were then leading a dispirited minority, whilst Mr. Parnell commanded the allegiance of a small but devoted band, which boasted its absolute independence of British parties, and which sought in the interests of Irish nationality to make impossible the government of the kingdom by the single Parliament which since 1801 had represented the whole people. In 1897 we have new men; but it is not the change of men alone that renders important this last chapter of contemporary history. Great has been the change in the composition, in the character, in the objects of our political parties. The whole tone of the public mind on several important subjects has undergone much modification. Party names outlive the old distinctions which once gave them meaning, and serve to conceal the change in the relation of each of them to the country at large. Men may very possibly call themselves Unionists and Home Rulers long after the project of establishing a separate National Irish Parliament and Government has ceased to be a part of practical politics. So the words Whig and Tory, Liberal and Radical, bear at different times very different meanings. When in 1879 and 1880 the great speeches of Mr. Gladstone rallied to the Liberal party the overwhelming majority of the people, reform, retrenchment, and in foreign affairs support to the Concert of Europe, were the three great topics on which he enlarged, as against the extravagant, anti-democratic, and 'Jingo' sentiments attributed to his

opponents. Mr. McCarthy's History reminds us how impossible it has been of late years to find in such topics a dividing line between the great parties. It would be difficult to state very precisely the present position of the Liberal party on any one of them; but it would be more than difficult—it would be impossible—to identify with the principles of old Toryism a modern Unionist party which in the counties has substituted representative and democratic local government for the privileged rule of the squires, which has established the London County Council, has made education free, which has greatly enlarged in Ireland the scope of the Land Act of 1881, and which has just staggered its Radical opponents by the thoroughness of its treatment of the long vexed subject of employers' liability.

Liberalism, Conservatism and Irish Nationalism have largely changed their standpoints since, in 1880, Mr. Gladstone achieved his last great majority, or, since five years later, he made in vain his last almost despairing appeal to British Liberals to render his party independent of the support of Irish Home Rulers. There is no blame to be attached to a party for the developement or change of views made necessary by the changed conditions of the time. There can be, in a growing country such as ours, no stereotyping of political or party creeds. He must, indeed, be a bigoted Tory, or a bigoted Radical (and we have known specimens of both), who would insist that modern Conservatism should adhere to the principles of old Toryism. On the other hand, no wise man thinks that because before 1886 Liberal statesmanship universally repudiated the project of restoring an Irish Parliament, present-day Liberals are not entirely at liberty to urge that modern conditions and the experience of three generations convince them that the interests of the United Kingdom require the virtual repeal of the Irish Act of Union, and the revival of a system of two, three, or more Parliaments within the British Islands. The party theory of the platform, that one party is and has always been right, and that the other party is and has always been wrong, greatly interferes with the popular discussion of the merits of any policy whatever. It was, for instance, a few years ago thought a telling argument for Home Rule that it had now become part of the Liberal programme, and that every great policy which in the past had been advocated by the Liberal party, however much opposed at first, had always ultimately been accepted by the people, thus making the popular test and approval of a policy turn, not on its

intrinsic merits, not on its conformity to the general sentiments, not on its meeting the special exigencies of the time, but simply and solely on the party label which was attached to it!

Is it possible for any man to write adequately the history of his own times? If history is to be worthy of the name, it must be something more than a mere record of events, a mere collection of annals. It must investigate causes and consequences. It must distinguish between the steady stream and tendency of things and those temporary eddies which for a short time often conceal its real course. Every man is conscious of a certain gap in his knowledge of past events. He has learned from books the history at least of his own country down to the generation immediately preceding his own. Since he ceased to be a boy, his own experience has made him the spectator of 'the making of 'history.' But between the limits where his reading ends and his experience begins lies a region of which his knowledge is necessarily far more vague. If anyone, says Mr. McCarthy in his preface, wishes to learn something of the facts about the reign of Queen Elizabeth or Anne or George III., or the first Reform Bill, he knows the names of standard works to which he can refer. But if he would acquire accurate knowledge of his own times, there are only the 'interminable files of newspapers' to consult. It was his desire to supply this want which induced Mr. McCarthy to write the History whose fifth volume, beginning with the year 1880, brings us down to the so-called Diamond Jubilee of last June.

The historian in the present instance has himself been a prominent actor on the political stage throughout the whole of the period of which he writes in this volume—a period of much bitter controversy and sometimes of intense excitement—and he is fully entitled to the praise of having in these pages dealt gently with his political opponents, and shown willingness in general to attribute to them honesty of purpose, however strongly he may condemn their actions. But this very amiability of disposition often prevents his painting in true colours the real history of an unamiable time. It may be pleasanter to let bygones be bygones, to reflect that our public men on every side were all and always moved by the highest patriotism, and to regret in passing that unhappy misunderstandings for a time caused them to mistake, and even to be unfair to, each other. But this is to give no true picture of the very recent past, in which

violence and bad blood played unfortunately no inconsiderable part. In the days of 'Buckshot' Forster, of the 'Red Earl,' and of 'Brutal Balfour,' popular passion was violently excited in Ireland against three statesmen, each of whom was a humane and kind-hearted man labouring his hardest, in the interest, as he believed, of the Irish people. The calm judgement of history should surely tell us whether these statesmen were in truth the mean and cruel tyrants whom the Irish popular leaders held up to the scorn of their ignorant and credulous countrymen. We know, and the historian knows, how baseless and wicked were the charges brought against these men, and against the Liberal and Unionist Ministries, whose policy they represented; and we cannot but regret that on this occasion history passes no condemnation on the miserable enlisting of falsehood and slander in the supposed interest of party, utterly regardless of the race-hatred it was fanning between the British and Irish peoples. Mr. McCarthy labours under the singular impression that in the contest between the Parnellites and their political opponents all the slander was on one side. Did not Mr. Bright once speak of some of the former as 'rebels'? Mr. McCarthy on behalf of his friends naturally resents the charge, but in the interests of truth he should have mentioned that the three English judges found as a fact upon the evidence that several of the Nationalist members of Parliament *had* joined in a conspiracy to bring about the *complete separation* of Ireland from Great Britain. According to British and American ideas those who advocate *complete separation* of this sort are truly styled 'rebels,' however genuine their patriotism or lofty their motives may be.*

Mr. Balfour's administration of the Irish Office, 1887-1891, was assuredly no unimportant episode of 'our own time.' His success, where others had failed, was a turning-point in the history of the Home Rule controversy. During that

* 'In our judgement the charge against the respondents collectively of having conspired to bring about total separation is not established; but we find that some of them, together with Mr. Davitt, established and joined in the Land League organisation with the intention, by its means, to bring about the absolute independence of Ireland as a separate nation. We think this has been established against the following amongst the respondents: Mr. Davitt, Mr. W. Harris, Mr. Dillon, Mr. W. O'Brien, Mr. W. Redmond, Mr. J. O'Connor, Mr. Joseph Condon, and Mr. J. J. O'Kelly.'—'Report of Special Commission.'

period two facts were established, and made patent to the British and Irish public. First, that under the Parliament of the United Kingdom law and order could be maintained in Ireland; secondly, that that Parliament, whilst refusing to break up the Union, was ready and fully competent to redress Irish grievances, and to pass remedial measures of the widest scope in the interests of the poorest classes of the Irish people. Mr. Balfour ruled wisely and courageously with a firm hand in the face of an opposition almost unexampled in its bitterness and in the favour with which it seemed to regard actual lawlessness. The attempt was made to hold him up to the popular execration which had fallen upon Mr. Forster, Lord Spencer, and Sir George Trevelyan. The attempt failed, and when he left Ireland Mr. Balfour left it at peace, and with returning prosperity, and he acquired for himself no small share of popularity with the Irish people.

Mr. McCarthy omits to mention that any remedial measures were passed for Ireland by Lord Salisbury's first Unionist Government, which is treated as a mere administration of oppression. Mr. Balfour's rule is described in fourteen lines, which run as follows:—

'Mr. Arthur Balfour was a man undoubtedly of great capacity, and if he did not succeed as Irish Chief Secretary, it may be said of him, as of his predecessor (Sir Michael Hicks Beach), that it was only because success was absolutely impossible to a member of a Tory Government endeavouring to administer the affairs of Ireland. The utmost any minister employing Tory measures could do in Ireland was to turn the Government there into an armed camp, and keep order by the mere force of military and police. Even that much no Tory Government had yet succeeded in doing. No fault must be found with Sir Michael Hicks Beach or Mr. Balfour, because neither could achieve the impossible.'

Is this the final verdict of history upon the most successful Irish Secretaryship, Liberal or Tory, of the last seventeen years?

It is certainly curious, considering the active part played in Parliament by our historian, that he should have touched so very lightly, or entirely omitted, all reference to many of the most important matters that have engaged the attention of the House of Commons. It seems unfair to connect Mr. Forster exclusively with a policy of coercion, without saying a word of his responsibility for the mighty change in the law in favour of Irish tenants brought about during his reign at the Irish Office. The Land Act of 1881 introduced

into the United Kingdom, for better or worse, an entirely new principle of legislation. The reader for whom Mr. McCarthy writes has himself no clear recollection of those days; and he expects to find in the History some account of what this great measure did, or was intended to do; of the reasons alleged in its favour; of the principal arguments brought against it. Why life-long Liberals like the Duke of Argyll and Lord Lansdowne declined to support it; why, on the other hand, Lord Hartington, with the bulk of the Moderate Liberal party, held with Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster; why the Irish Nationalist members gave it the cold shoulder; why the House of Lords passed the Bill; and whether the Act has, or has not, answered the expectations of those who framed it. We are not told that the measure established Rent Courts; that it introduced the three F's; or that any attempt was made to convert Irish tenant-farmers into owners of the land they tilled. On page 93 is the sole mention of the most important of all Mr. Gladstone's Acts of Parliament for Ireland. The whole passage is as follows:—

'In the meantime (1881) Mr. Gladstone had brought in a new Land Bill for Ireland. It was a distinct improvement on the measure of 1870; but then ten years and more had gone by, and the new Bill, in the opinion of the Irish Nationalists, was not equal to the occasion and the demand. Most of the Irish Nationalist members abstained accordingly from voting on the second reading of the Bill. The Bill was passed into law; but that it was not adequate to the needs of the country is amply proved by the fact that every succeeding Government, Liberal or Tory, has expanded and amended it.'

And so the History hurries on to the Kilmainham treaty and the murders of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke.

'We cannot recollect any time,' writes Mr. McCarthy, 'in which the effort at legislation was more *barren of results* and more bitter in the struggle than that which was illustrated by the history of Parliament from 1880 to 1883.' (P. 150.)

Thus the Act of 1881 is not described at all, and is only incidentally alluded to as an inadequate little measure in which Irishmen took no interest!

Many pages, on the other hand, are devoted to the Bradlaugh controversy which wasted so much of the time of Parliament in 1880-85. Doubtless at the time a great many excellent but not very wise people thought that the foundations of religion would be shaken, and the nation would commit a great sin, by allowing an avowed atheist to take his seat in the House of Commons. In spite of Mr. Gladstone's great

majority, he was again and again beaten on this question, the Opposition being always strengthened by the support of many Irish Nationalist votes. The controversy, no doubt, gave rise to some interesting 'scenes,' such as provincial papers delight to describe. It saw the birth of the Fourth Party; it served the purpose admirably of blocking the way for legislation by the Government. But surely in the year 1897 a paragraph is enough to remind us of one of the most foolish and barren controversies that ever wasted the time of the House of Commons.

It is, no doubt, one of the great difficulties in the way of the contemporary writer of history that time has not yet brought into full prominence the real importance of events. The incidents of the moment may be exciting, may call forth at the time an extraordinary amount of popular interest, yet when looked back upon from a distance, and in cold blood, they will often appear as of far less consequence than many a matter which in its own day has attracted less interest. The statesman, we have been told by the poet, should have a heart and mind strong

'to maintain

The Day against the Moment, and the Year
Against the Day.'

It should surely be easier for the historian to take long views and large ones, than for the politician engaged in the fray to bear in mind the real importance of political controversies, not merely on the fortunes of this or that party or statesman of the day, but on the welfare of generations as they come and go.

Throughout the last seventeen years the democratic sentiment that numbers constitute the only foundation upon which to build authority has prevailed more and more with every party in the State. Great has been the extension given, by Conservative as well as by Liberal Ministries, to the application of this once exclusively Radical principle. The representative system and the rule of majorities have been accepted as the basis of local as well as of national government. Yet at the same time there seems to be growing up a certain want of respect for, if not actual distrust of, the bodies so created, and a certain want of interest on the part of the public in the ever-recurring elections which the system necessitates. Parliamentary, Town Council, County Council, Parish, School Board, elections seem to be always pending. The largest of our local bodies, the London County Council,

deserves, perhaps, far more respect and popularity than it has obtained; and it is a question whether the House of Commons itself really enjoys greater esteem and favour with the public than in less democratic days. Every observer of American institutions has noticed the rigid limits by which popular representatives in that country are restrained from acting in a manner opposed to the public interest. And with us the popular applause which rewarded the House of Lords for rejecting in 1894 the far-reaching measure passed by the House of Commons was a striking comment upon the failure of the latter assembly on one great occasion truly to represent the people.

Nothing is more essential to the future of this country than that representative bodies should stand high in public opinion, and that they should be constituted of the best possible material. It would be disastrous indeed if ever the day came when the men who enjoyed most respect among their fellows stood aside from local and Imperial politics. Few men have had better opportunities of studying the House of Commons than Mr. McCarthy, for years from the independent standpoint of the Press Gallery and for the last seventeen from within the House itself. And we should have welcomed some account of the changes (if any) in the composition and character of that assembly since first he became acquainted with it. There have been unhappy scenes in that House of late years to which no reference whatever has been made in the History; and stringent regulations have had to be passed for the conduct of debate, which only unfortunate necessity could justify. The tendency seems to be for the House of Commons to become far more than formerly the servant of the executive, which has appropriated almost all the time of the House for its own purposes. Legislation becomes more and more the function of the Cabinet, and consequently is framed in private, rather than by public discussion in Parliament. In short, the growing tendency is to regard a general election as chiefly important because it affords an indirect method for the popular election of a minister or cabinet. The ministry is considered to have a mandate directly from the country. And the House of Commons seems to be looked upon merely as the machinery for the election by the people of the executive of its choice. If the House of Commons is to retain its old reputation in the face of the country, it will be because it shows itself to be much more than machinery of this kind. It must prove that it is

no mere servant of the executive, that it is itself the nation in miniature, and that its floor remains the great arena of independent discussion and debate.

Another remarkable feature of latter-day politics has been the outbreak of what we may call 'particularist' sentiment amongst the different 'nationalities' which constitute the people of the United Kingdom. Before 1880, though a small Repeal or Home Rule party no doubt existed both in Ireland and in the House of Commons, no one for a moment contemplated the possible breakdown of the general party system by the upgrowth of Nationalistic groups. The same great party divisions ran through the whole country; and electors in England, Scotland, Wales, and for the most part in Ireland also, ranged themselves on similar grounds under the same party flags and the same party leaders.

Mr. Parnell's policy was, of course, to create an Irish party entirely independent of British electoral sentiments. He and his following indignantly repudiated any kind of allegiance to, or alliance with, the Liberal party; and at the general election of 1885 they threw their whole weight on to the Conservative side. It has been too little noticed that the immediate effect of the Parnellite policy, combined with the last Reform Act, was the extinction of the *Irish Liberal* party in the House of Commons. For the first time since the Irish Union, no Irish representative was returned to Parliament who looked upon the Whig or Liberal leader as his chief. The Irish representation in 1885 became divided between a large body of Home Rulers, devoted to Mr. Parnell, and a small body of Conservatives, who made common cause with the Conservatives of Great Britain. Since 1886 an attempt has been made, without as yet any great success, to carry out a similar 'particularist' policy in Scotland, where the progress of the movement upon Irish lines has been much hindered by the fact that many of the leaders of the Liberal party, such as Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Morley, Mr. Campbell Bannerman, Mr. Bryce, and others, happened to be Scotch members, and therefore could hardly be expected to help to organise a purely Scotch party which would boast its independence of external Liberalism. In Wales, the Nationalist movement, though in itself utterly absurd, has made more way. Let its friends beware of introducing eminent Liberals into the Principality! The presence of Sir William Harcourt on the Marches bodes little good to the independent politics of that gallant little people. In

England, fortunately, the 'particularist' sentiment has found no foothold at all.*

Now is this Nationalist or Particularist movement founded on the real necessities and actual conditions of our time? If so, doubtless something will come of it. For our own part we do not believe that outside Ireland the movement is a genuine one. Local sentiment, local patriotism, has been played upon both in Scotland and in Wales, in order to bring support to the great Liberal party, which aspires to govern the United Kingdom. The reasons for evoking the sentiment were the very opposite of those which induced Mr. Parnell to weld his countrymen into that solid phalanx which has played such a great part in recent Parliaments. The real object of the 'Home Rule for Scotland' and of the 'Home Rule for Wales' cry was to make Scotchmen and Welshmen think it patriotic to be 'good Liberals' in the strictest party sense.

In Ireland the movement deserves much more consideration; and had it not been founded, in part at least, upon a very general sentiment, it would not have lasted so long. But has it proved a success? Does the trial that has been made of an independent Irish party—a third party—in the House of Commons lead us to expect its continuance? We greatly doubt it. What was Mr. Parnell's parliamentary plan of campaign? It was to unite into a solid party the Nationalist Irish members, for the purpose of obstructing the business of the United Kingdom, and so to bring Parliament itself to its knees. It was his avowed object to extort Home Rule by rendering impossible the working of the parliamentary machine. We believe that tactics such as these have been defeated once for all. Mr. Parnell exercised singular authority over his countrymen. It is unlikely that another Mr. Parnell will soon arise to wield, as he wielded, the weapon he himself had forged. But it was in Mr. Parnell's own hand that the instrument was broken. In his troubles his colleagues and his countrymen at first rallied to him. He was re-elected their leader. But a section of

* It may be further noticed as a distinction between the Irish and Scotch Home Rule movements, that the most eminent Scotch members who favour the latter are, like Mr. Morley and Mr. Asquith, Englishmen, without any personal interest in, or special acquaintance with, Scotch affairs. Neither in Scotland nor in Wales have Home Rule members any fixed determination (like the Parnellites) not to take office. Indeed, Scotch and Welsh seats will soon be at a premium with English candidates who expect office, and cannot find seats at home.

the *English* Liberal party would have no more of him as an ally, and Mr. Gladstone shared their views. If ever there was a question which concerned the independence of the Irish parliamentary party, it was surely the question of its own leadership! English Liberalism prevailed. Mr. Parnell was dismissed; and where since has been that strong third party, independent alike of Liberals and Tories, which it was his great boast to have created? The strong independent party is no more. Obstruction of the old sort has been defeated and discredited. The Parliament of the United Kingdom is still a working machine. In short, the whole experiment has failed, and the future of the House of Commons, as well as the prospects of the Liberal party, largely depend upon what is to follow this failure.

No wise man, whether Irish or English, can wish to see the present anarchic condition of Irish representation endure. Indeed, it seems impossible that it should endure. Surely it is time to recognise that 'it is all up with' Parnellism as a parliamentary system of warfare. Mr. McCarthy very naturally repudiates attacks upon the loyalty of the party of which he is an ornament. British Liberals and Irish Home Rulers have now for years made common cause upon the question of the government of Ireland. Is there any longer any reason why Irish members should not join with their British allies in drawing up the next scheme 'to amend the provisions for the government' of that part of the United Kingdom? Undoubtedly, according to sound constitutional principles, Mr. Parnell ought, as a cabinet colleague of Mr. Gladstone, to have shared the responsibility of the English statesman for the first Home Rule Bill. But Mr. Parnell's power and popularity, amongst Irishmen at home and in America, rested upon a peculiar basis. He could not, without forfeiting his position as Irish leader, become a servant of the Crown—at least, that we imagine was his own view, and that of his chief colleagues; and it is certain that neither he nor they could have accepted office without bringing to a close those tactics of balancing one British party against the other on which they rested their hopes. But at the present day the situation is entirely changed. Mr. Justin McCarthy protests the thorough loyalty to the Crown of himself and his colleagues. They resent, with English Liberals, every imputation of a leaning towards a Separatist policy. The project of balancing one party against the other has been wrecked by the march of events. Surely, long before another 'History of Our Own Times' records

the lapse of another seventeen years, a final blow will have been given to the forming of parliamentary groups based upon what one of the Oxford essayists calls 'Secondary Nationalities.' In accordance with patent facts, common sense and old constitutional theory will have reasserted themselves, and once more a Liberal party will have arisen in Ireland neither ashamed nor unwilling to make common cause in one political party with Englishmen and Scotchmen for the promotion of the same great ends.

Next in importance to the general movement towards the democratising of our institutions, and to the tendency (temporary, as we believe it) to introduce the 'secondary nationality' as the basis of our parliamentary and party organisation, comes probably the novel treatment of the land question. An entirely new departure in land law reform has been taken since 1880, and taken on the initiation at least of the Liberal party. Up to that time the views of advanced Liberals on the subject had been those of Mr. John Stuart Mill and Mr. Bright, and they were ably and persistently advocated, with full party authority, by writers such as the late Mr. Joseph Kay, in the very orthodox publications of the Cobden Club. Abolish the law of primogeniture as both impolitic and unjust; free the land from the restrictions of entail and settlement; make the legal presumptions as to improvements &c. in favour of the tenant, and then leave land to the ordinary dealing and free contract by which men regulate the other business transactions of their lives. This, if not a revolutionary programme, was one founded on definite principles. In the trumpery Rabbits Bill of 1880 free contract became, for the first time, a word of reproach amongst Liberals, and in the following year, a time of storm and stress in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone formally broke with the old political economy and induced Parliament to accept, as the great basis of the land system of that part of the kingdom, the periodic State valuation of rents. Introduced by the Liberal party, the system has been widely extended by the Conservatives, and legislation founded on a similar principle has been introduced into the Scottish Highlands. We discuss elsewhere the working in Ireland of the new system, and we need do no more than point out here that the rents fixed by the State for fifteen years had to be revised at the end of five, and that no Irishman to-day, to whatever party or class he may belong, believes that under the present system unamended the business of the land can flourish.

The Oxford essayists are right to endeavour to found their party on definite political principles. They declare in their preface that 'their essays are dictated by the conviction that there has been of late too much neglect of principle, that the party is lost in detail, and that it is useless to put before the country long programmes and minute schemes of particular legislation.' The writers had been drawn together by the debates of the Oxford Union Society, in which body it would appear that during the past half-dozen years a considerable change of sentiment has become apparent. It seems that a few years ago 'undergraduate Oxford tended to become Tory or Socialist;' but since then, owing in part to the personal influence, the ability, and eloquence of Mr. Hilaire Belloc, late scholar of Balliol, and author of the first and principal essay of the collection, the socialistic plague has been arrested, and the editors are able to testify to the rise in recent years of 'an extraordinarily strong Liberal movement which has absorbed, with one or two remarkable exceptions, most of those who care for political discussions or debates.'* Outside undergraduate Oxford, however, the health of the Liberal party, as Mr. Belloc admits, is less satisfactory, and his diagnosis of the disease that afflicts it deserves careful consideration. In old days, he tells us, the minds of Liberals were filled 'with a certain civic ideal upon which all their public action was based.' It was held with deep and enthusiastic conviction.

'It was applicable to all conditions of the State because it dealt with the most fundamental definitions of civic rights and civic duties. . . . That ideal now stands in the greatest peril. . . . The need of maintaining the central idea, already sufficiently obscured by a mass of irrelevant excursions, is now hardly mentioned; its most important positive applications are avoided in a debate that is lapsing into mere criticism, and that criticism largely personal. Conviction itself has been a great deal more than shaken by a spirit of compromise which is no longer the statesmanlike desire to preserve unity between slightly varying parts, but has become a blind attempt to find something in common between highly differing and even antagonistic interests. For compromise—which, used as a side-method, is a condition of political success—becomes, when it is raised to the dignity of a main principle, the immediate cause of disintegration and failure.

'There is in the defeat of Liberalism this yet graver symptom. The party has refused or been unable to say what solution it proposed for the new problems which new conditions have produced.'

* Preface, *Essays in Liberalism*.

Then comes the prescription. Liberals must revert to the old civic ideal.

'The party must keep clearly before itself and before the electorate the principles that gave it its name and the inheritance of which it is the warden. If the party forgets the basis of its political history, neglects the opportunities of action, or attempts to abandon some fundamental attitude in politics at the bidding of a material interest, it will disappear.'

There is, in short, in the Liberal party a lack of conviction, a lack of enthusiasm, and an inability to lead; but these deficiencies may all be cured by an enthusiastic return to first principles. In order to explain what these are the essayist, in the first instance, undertakes the easier task of telling us what they are not. 'We have, alien to us, probably antagonistic to us, a dream of mere conquest apart from honour, and of the glory of mere empire, separate from self-respecting power.' In short, 'we' are not Jingoës.

'There is, again, opposed to us a theory in economics and politics directly the contrary of our own, cutting at the root of our most obvious principles; and it is growing daily. It involves an attack upon personal production, personal accumulation, and consequent personal possession—a theory which makes the individual and all the individual virtues of small account, and desires to emphasise rather the vague qualities of a State.'

Thus 'we' are not Socialists. In both respects Oxford Liberals have taken up a strong position. The worst of it is that in the party point of view it is hardly a very secure one against rival 'Tory' statesmanship. Mr. Chamberlain, for instance—nay, Lord Salisbury himself—could hardly be restrained from sharing the enthusiasm of Mr. Belloc and his friends for such admirable principles.

To fight with success against such formidable foes as Jingoism and Socialism, 'who are, after all, only two of the parties most prominent among the many political opponents of Liberalism,' Young Oxford sees the necessity of calling to the aid of the Liberals 'some clear and abstract principle clearly understood and continually applied.' Liberal leaders of the past rested their whole conduct on a very simple theory, and to this theory modern Liberals must recur, and all will be well. It is fair to give the theory in the actual words of the essayist: 'Generally speaking, it was of this nature—that no association, especially no association of a political kind, had a right to command the obedience of

'its members unless those members each had a part in the 'government of that which they were to obey.' Even in industrial and religious affairs a similar principle, if not laid down, was it seems regarded by old Liberals with great sympathy. 'Arbitrary government, mere assertion of right 'in the place of proof, these were the objects of their special 'and continual attack.' But this conception rested upon another old Liberal idea, and again we quote Mr. Belloc's words :—

'There ran through the Liberal projects a corresponding definition of the citizen as a political unit. And it was a definition of what should be much more than of what was—an ideal far more than an assertion of existing fact. But every attempt to make the actual citizen approach more nearly to that ideal, every attempt which might make his material, and above all his moral, conditions suited to such a developement, every political movement which was likely to produce that ideal by the mere fact of pre-supposing it, was befriended and ultimately adopted by the Liberal party.'

The ideal citizen of a free State was to be in the enjoyment of economic and political independence, 'the individual 'possessor and producer of wealth.' He was to exercise the virtue of self-restraint.

'He was, again, to be so self-respecting a member of a society, which depended upon his consent (and which only demanded his obedience on condition that he helped to frame the law), that he might be counted on not to give his vote upon a general issue for purposes lower than those of the common good.'

These conceptions of the State and of the citizen were the moving springs, we are told, of the statesmen who carried Reform, who abolished the Corn Laws, and 'who crowned 'the effort of the century with the recognition of claims 'to self-government in the secondary nationalities of the 'Empire.'

We hope we shall not come under the reproach of Mr. Belloc, along 'with the vulgar ignorant of English history, 'who call un-English propositions so abstract,' for endeavouring to make out in what practical fashion he proposes that the Liberal party should apply its principles and realise its conceptions. Home Rule, we are told, is founded on them. Why then did the 'Early Fathers' of the Liberal party, to whose enthusiasm we are invited to recur, invariably repudiate it? 'The stimulating discussions of the Palmerston and Russell 'Clubs' appear to bring Young Oxford into direct hostility not only to the principles of Palmerston and Russell, but to those of Cobden and of Bright. Democratic measures of

representative reform may truly be regarded as a carrying out to some extent of Mr. Belloc's propositions. But then, as we have seen, democratic reform has not of late years been a monopoly of the Liberal party. And at the present moment how do the propositions serve us in any degree on that subject as a party test? Does the Liberal party and does Mr. Belloc frankly apply the principle that all voters should be equal and that all citizens should be voters? Obedience is claimed from all citizens; all citizens then should be asked to frame the law. This is the conception, but for the moment let us be vulgar and practical. Is the Liberal party in favour of the enfranchisement of women? Is it in favour of equal electoral districts, so that an equal number of electors, whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland, may have equal representation in the House of Commons? 'One man one vote,' for which a good word is said, is a sad come-down in practice from those principles for which Liberal enthusiasm is claimed. '*Every* man one vote'—or, rather, '*every person* one vote'—and 'equal electorate districts,' are the true translations into practice of Mr. Belloc's theory; but that is a policy which no Liberal statesman publicly advocates.

We learn that in the late attack upon the House of Lords Liberals were very foolish to allow what seem to most Englishmen the merits of the case to come into the controversy at all. The Early Fathers would have concentrated their whole attention on

'the abstract right of the House of Lords to pose as a referendum. They would, and they would justly, have excluded as irrelevant all arguments based upon the circumstance that for the moment the will of the House of Lords jumped with the will of the nation; they would have insisted upon the point of view that authority for action must first be shown before the action, good or bad, can be approved of.'

This language hardly strikes us, we confess, as breathing the spirit of Lord Grey, Lord Palmerston, or Lord Russell. Liberals should have enthusiastically denounced 'the iniquity 'of the veto power,' keeping out of all entanglements about the merits, and they should have been ready with some constructive scheme of reform to offer as a substitute, which party discipline would have been sufficient to carry through, whatever the nature of the scheme might be. It is not in this fashion that great constitutional reforms have hitherto been accomplished by Englishmen.

With regard to the land, Young Oxford is partial to the creation of a peasant proprietary, and, in order to produce

it, would abolish the old restrictions of settlement and entail and the law as to primogeniture, would cheapen land transfer, and would leave it to the general desire for land amongst the people and to free trade between vendors and purchasers to recreate the old class of yeomen. To be able to sell his land in small portions for a good price, without leaving a large proportion of its price in the hands of middlemen, is a less terrifying prospect to the ordinary landlord than Mr. Belloc supposes. Much remains to be done in the direction desired, though a good deal has already been accomplished in that direction. At the present time, if there is little traffic in the land market, it is not because vendors are unable to sell, but because purchasers are unwilling to buy. Surely some notice should have been taken of the very considerable scale upon which in Ireland, at the expense of the credit of the United Kingdom, many thousand peasant proprietors have been created—a policy advocated originally by Mr. John Stuart Mill and Mr. Bright, and of late years owing its principal extension to Lord Ashbourne and Mr. Balfour. Whether, with perfect freedom of trade in land, a peasant proprietary would grow up in England is extremely doubtful. Soil, climate, inclination of the people and their economic condition have to be considered. We feel pretty sure, however, that no political party in the State views with jealous eyes the prospect of restoring a yeoman class to our English counties; and in the meantime Liberals will no doubt help Conservatives to diminish those heavy burdens upon the land which necessarily lessen the desire of the poor man to possess it.

On the whole, we cannot think that the object of the Oxford essayists has been attained. That object appears to be to enunciate a set of conceptions or principles which should distinguish Liberals as forming a political party from other parties in the State. Now it is eminently satisfactory to be told that the younger generation of Liberals founds its faith on the independence of the individual citizen; that its leanings are against what has been called grandmotherly legislation; that it deprecates all attacks upon the system of private ownership of land or goods; that it is strongly for Free-trade; that it detests the 'Jingo' spirit as much as it despises the want of spirit of the 'Little Englander.' It thinks the principle of graduation for the purposes of taxation right enough if not carried so far as to discourage a healthy spirit of thrift and accumulation. It is in favour of Home Rule, of course; but it thinks that question is not at present 'a burning one.'

It has, indeed, so much sympathy with 'nationality' that we much doubt whether even British nationality—the nationality of the United Kingdom—will be sacrificed with its complete approval in order to build up one or more 'secondary nationalities' out of its fragments. If the essayists are determined, as they say, to make Ireland 'a nation,' it is evidently to be very 'secondary' indeed—rather what elsewhere would be called 'a province' or 'a state.' In the essay on 'Liberalism and Labour' we find much orthodox doctrine on the gulf that separates the Liberal and the Socialistic view of the Labour problem. Mr. Asquith in 1893–4, it seems, exactly hit the Liberal mark in his speeches on the Employers' Liability Bill of that year; and we are not at all sure that recent events have not shown the 'Tory Government' to be too 'advanced' in this subject for the Liberal principles of our Oxford essayists. Those principles would certainly *seem* to condemn as illiberal the proposed Eight Hours Miners Bill; but this is not done specifically, and at times Liberal doctrine is run so very fine that we had ourselves better avoid the danger of making an unauthorised application of it. We gather that they hold the House of Lords to be without authority even to delay measures in order to make sure that they are supported by the approval of the electorate; but they look for some substitute—we suspect, to the doctrinaire notion of a popular referendum. About disestablishment we hear nothing at all, nor about pensions for the aged poor or for members of Parliament, nor of the sacredness of national economy. The Local Veto Bill of Sir William Harcourt apparently did no violence to Liberal doctrines, but Liberals, we are told, did not argue it before the electorate with any zeal, or with much comprehension of its merits.* A Liberal statesman, in reply to Mr. Justin McCarthy, when asked if that measure might not have been postponed for five years, said, 'Yes, for five-and-twenty years; and by that time we should probably find that we 'did not need any such measure at all.'† Thus the Local Veto Bill, it is hardly unfair to say, may go into the same category as Home Rule and Disestablishment—as not a 'burning question.' It is not, we know, the object of the essays to declare for or against particular bills, but to describe the general doctrine out of which specific measures should spring. Nevertheless that 'vulgar' creature the

* Essays in Liberalism, p. 106.

† History of Our Own Times, p. 390.

practical man wishes to know what all these fine-spun doctrines come to; and it is out of consideration for his point of view, rather than from any desire of controversy with the essayists, that we occasionally condescend upon particulars.

Indeed, in many respects we have no controversy to wage with the principles professed. With the essayists we are for Free-trade; with them we believe in the institution of private property; we are not, we trust, either Jingo or Little Englander in sympathy.* We wish for free trade in land, and we should welcome the resurrection of a yeoman class and a peasant proprietary, and only hope the new owners would not, like their *confrères* in other countries, make Free-trade impossible. But do not our essayists see that what they historically and correctly call 'Liberal principles' have spread, in the present day, far beyond the somewhat narrow limits of the party to which they choose to confine the old name; and hence that it is impossible any longer to make a *real* division in party politics out of doctrines which are in great measure common ground? However painful it may be to us to believe, for instance, that a Tory may be a Free-trader—nay, may be sometimes a Democrat—and be actually willing to free land from entail and settlement, we are forced to recognise facts 'as 'chiels that winna ding;' for without doubt (to use Lord Nelson's phrase) 'such things are!' The essayists are in search of a creed. Now, before and since St. Athanasius, creeds have been framed quite as much for the purpose of excluding heretics as of including true believers. Upon whom does the Oxford anathema fall? The most terrible consequences may result from any want of precision in defining doctrine. The wrong people may be saved! We have to distinguish, for instance, in foreign politics between Lord Salisbury and Lord Rosebery, in domestic politics between Sir Matthew White Ridley and Mr. Campbell Bannerman, between Sir Michael Hicks Beach and Mr. Fowler. The Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain are, of course, far worse than if they had been merely born wicked—nothing can save *them*; but really when we think only of doctrine, there is a danger lest the rank and file of the

* It is interesting to observe that whilst the essayists rightly re-monstrate against the constant 'vituperation of Manchesterianism,' now so common, one of them advocates the introduction of military conscription. Poor Mr. Cobden! (Essays in Liberalism, p. 159.)

Unionist party should in matter of orthodoxy run the true Church itself very close.

Our Oxford friends are behind the age. You cannot again create the old battlegrounds of the past and give new life to the old war cries. The democratic wave has swept not over one only but over both parties in the State; and it is no longer possible for any great political combination to entrench itself behind privilege, and to rely as its main strength on class prejudice. The talk about Protection is unreal. For the moment there is *no* burning question; Home Rule having burnt itself out. But this will not last, and it remains for the present predominating party in a quiet time to forward practical, useful work, of which there is much to be done in every direction.

In this barren time English Liberal statesmen are doing their very best to fan Scotch and Welsh 'particularism' into a flame. But they are many generations too late. Scottish patriotism will always cheer at the moment what sounds like the exaltation of Scottish sentiment. That the English have nothing whatever to do with Scottish affairs involves, of course, the counter proposition that Scotsmen have nothing to do with English affairs. All this talk may come easily enough to English candidates on Scotch platforms. Nevertheless, it will be no easy task to convince the average Scotsman, at this time of day, that it is of no importance to him or to Scotland how England is governed! He has no intention of being cut off politically from taking concern in the chief domestic concerns of Great Britain, or of allowing his country to be relegated, in fact, amidst a shower of fine phrases about Scottish nationality, to the condition of a province. When, once more, some strong political feeling stirs the heart of the British people, it will be seen how little depth there is in all this passing platform talk.

For the most part we have little fault to find with the Oxford principles. The strong party feelings of the essayists, no doubt, have led them into occasional exaggerations and absurdities; * but, apart from these, there is much, both of

* Thus Mr. Phillimore, in his essay on 'Liberalism in Outward Relations,' writes as follows:—'The Conservative Party have foreseen the possibility of a public opinion being cast and trained to bear on external questions; and probably no other cause (excepting the adaptive appetite of place-hunting) has been more efficient for the incorporation of clipped Liberalism in the Tory programme than

high tone and good sense, in their disquisitions. The 'principles,' indeed, do not serve as a *party* creed to distinguish it from other parties; nor will they serve as a compass by which to steer the ship of State through political storms, whether foreign or domestic. The deepest political difference to which they refer turns on the Socialistic ideal, and here they are on the side of the vast majority of Conservatives, against the Socialists. The Independent Labour Party gets less than justice at their hands. Indeed, occasionally the essayists are almost over-anxious to keep exact step with those High Priests of Liberalism, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Morley. Where they are least orthodox they are most interesting; and we cannot help rather regretting it, if at the Oxford Union the political battle is no longer joined frankly on the merits and demerits of Socialism, but on a field selected with a skill and care which would have done credit to the party Whips.

No one can foresee what will be the dividing line between the Parties of the Future. The present disorganised and fragmentary condition of the Opposition cannot last for ever. But it will not recover either strength or credit by the mere appeal to old watchwords which have had their day. The essayists think too much of old party names, too little of the history of our own times. We are, however, happy to find that there is nothing in this last announcement of 'Liberal' doctrine to prevent the 'Liberal Party' from cordially co-operating in practical work with their Unionist opponents.

the hope that by fully distracting the people with local government and parochial concerns they will be able still to prey securely on the direction of foreign policy, that choice last preserve for administration practised as a sport.' (Essay in Liberalism, p. 139.)

- ART. X.—1. *German Social Democracy.* By BERTRAND RUSSELL. London: 1896.
2. *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe.* By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL. 2 vols. London: 1896.
3. *Handbuch der Verfassung und Verwaltung.* Von GRAF HUE DE GRAIS. Berlin: 1892.
4. *Konservatives Handbuch.* Berlin: 1894.
5. *Politisches A B C Buch.* Von EUGEN RICHTER. Berlin: 1896.
6. *Mittheilungen aus der Verwaltung der directen Steuern im preussischen Staate.* Berlin: 1896.

IN an unguarded moment one of the leaders of the Conservative party in Prussia once exclaimed in angry protest against certain liberal tendencies of which the Crown was then suspected: 'Yes, the King is absolute, so long as he does what we want.' In like manner Prince Bismarck on one occasion tersely summed up his own view of parliamentary institutions in Germany: 'They are excellent and most useful, so long as there is a strong minister to bend them to his will.'

These two utterances contain in a nutshell the clue to the real significance of the strange internal struggle of which the recent rejection by so docile an assembly as the Prussian Diet of the Government Bill for the Amendment of the Law of Association marks a new and, to all appearances, exceptionally acute phase. Although only a faint and perplexing echo of this struggle from time to time reaches the outer world in the fierce controversies of the German press, in the proceedings of the Imperial Diet or of the Prussian Legislature, in the sudden dismissal of a minister, or in some other equally abrupt manifestation of the Emperor's frame of mind, the issues which it involves for the future of Germany, and, perhaps, even for the peace of the world, are sufficiently momentous to deserve closer attention. The struggle itself is by no means a new one. It has been going on intermittently, and more or less openly, ever since the foundation of the new German Empire at Versailles, and in a different shape even long before that. The first great outburst of German national patriotism in the Wars of Liberation of 1813-14, sterilised by the long gloom of subsequent reaction under the Metternich régime, the revolutionary convulsions of 1848-49, the refusal of the King

of Prussia to accept the Imperial crown from the democratic hands of the Frankfort Parliament, the humiliation of Olmütz, the four years' constitutional conflict between Bismarck and the Prussian Diet which preceded the overthrow of Austria and the unification of Germany under the military hegemony of Prussia, were only so many incidents in the same struggle which is still being waged in a modified form between mediæval and modern Germany, between the stern, masterful spirit of military feudalism and monarchical absolutism and the modern conceptions of liberty, individual rights, equality before the law and representative Government.

The statesmanship of Bismarck and the strategy of Moltke seemed for a time to have reasserted the supremacy of the former with the triumph of Prussia. But the triumph was more apparent than real. The strong arm of Prussia erected the massive structure which took shape in the new German Empire, but the new Empire was no longer Prussia, but all Germany, and the spirit which it housed was no longer solely the old imperious spirit of feudal Prussia, but the young critical spirit of modern Germany. The annexations of 1866 had already disturbed the balance of power in the Prussian Monarchy, though they had, on the other hand, assured its preponderancy in the new North German Confederation; and when the Main was bridged by the Treaties of Versailles the South German States imported into the new German Empire a variety of influences all more or less antagonistic to Prussian ascendancy. Militarism, supreme in Prussia, was essentially repugnant to many of the non-Prussian States. Prussia, in spite of a large Roman Catholic population in her Rhenish and Polish provinces, had always been a pre-eminently Protestant State, so long as her centre of political stability was firmly set in the old possessions of the Electors of Brandenburg. But in the new German Empire, not only is one-third of the whole population Roman Catholic, but several of the reigning dynasties profess the Roman Catholic faith; and Bavaria, the second State next to Prussia, is Roman Catholic to the backbone. As Bismarck soon discovered to his cost, the Roman Catholic Church is a force in the German Empire which can neither be ignored nor suppressed. In Prussia the divine right of kings had always overshadowed in practice the constitutional theories and parliamentary compromises to which the Crown had from time to time yielded a half-hearted assent. But even in Prussia liberal ideas had been

scotched, but not killed ; and in many of the other German States, more especially in South Germany, a liberal and even democratic spirit was abroad, to which the portals of the German Empire were flung wide open when the Imperial Diet was constituted on a basis of manhood suffrage.

But more potent and far-reaching than any of these changes has been the economic revolution which Germany has undergone within the last thirty years, for it has introduced new forces which have completely transformed the conditions of the old struggle. The semi-feudal Prussia of before 1866 was an essentially agricultural State, in which the modern forces of industry, commerce, and finance had scarcely any part. To-day they are the predominant forces in the Prussian Monarchy itself, since Hanover, Cassel, Nassau, Frankfort, &c., were added in 1866 to the great manufacturing and mining centres of Westphalia and the Rhine Provinces ; and the German Empire as a whole, with Saxony, Wurtemberg, the Bavarian Palatinate, Baden, Hesse, Alsace, the Thuringian Principalities, and the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, has become unquestionably an industrial and commercial State of the first rank, in which agricultural interests are inevitably relegated to the second place. No city reflects this marvellous change more strikingly than the capital of the Empire. Berlin, thirty years ago a modest 'Residenz-Stadt' of proverbial poverty and unassuming provincialism, is now, perhaps, the most intensely modern of European capitals, as well as one of the most important financial centres on the Continent, and side by side with its military supremacy it parades its new-born wealth with all the vulgar ostentation of an empire-city in the Western States of America.

Thus to the struggle between moral and intellectual forces has been superadded the fierce conflict of material interests, all the fiercer, indeed, in that the lines of cleavage between them are to a great extent identical. In Prussia, and, in a lesser degree, in many of the other German States, the ruling class, military and bureaucratic, has always been recruited almost exclusively amongst the landowning nobility and squirearchy. Half the officers of the German army are, it is true, at present of *bourgeois* origin, and plenty of *bourgeois* names may be found among the officials of the State, and even in the highest ranks of the public service. But as a rule these *bourgeois* elements are speedily assimilated by their surroundings, and the instinct of self-preservation alone must bid them throw in their lot with those upon

whom their advancement depends. It may still be said with almost absolute truth that the State in Prussia begins at the Landrath and the Lieutenant. The commercial and industrial classes, on the other hand, stand as a whole entirely outside the pale of the official oligarchy, and in so far as the latter identifies itself with the protection of agrarian interests, in almost open antagonism to it on economic as well as on political grounds. For though the rapid developement of German trade and industry, and the many outward signs which indicate a higher standard of comfort, and even of luxury, bear ample witness to the transformation of economic conditions in the German Empire, its prosperity is still rather relative than positive.

Indeed Germany, though no longer a poverty-stricken country, is still far from being a wealthy one. In order not to overburden the subject with statistics, we shall confine our observations on this head mainly to Prussia, the most important State of the Empire, and one which may fairly be taken as a standard for the rest, the extreme depression of agriculture in the eastern provinces balancing the exceptional developement of industrial activity and the large mineral resources peculiar to her western provinces. The graduated income-tax and property-tax in Prussia, moreover, afford an excellent gauge for the distribution of national wealth. The first thing that strikes one is that, whereas in England no income-tax is levied on incomes of less than 160*l.*, in Prussia the limit of exemption is drawn at incomes of less than 45*l.*, although the poorer classes have to bear in addition their share of the heavy burden of indirect taxation for Imperial purposes. Yet even with this low limit of exemption, only 8·46 per cent. of the population are income-tax payers, over 91 per cent. of the population of Prussia having to live on less than 45*l.* per annum. If the income-tax limit were drawn in Prussia at the same figures as in England, *i.e.* at 160*l.*, the proportion of income-tax payers to the population would be under 1 per cent., incomes between 45*l.* and 150*l.* forming over 87 per cent. of all taxable incomes. The next class, consisting of incomes between 150*l.* and 300*l.*, comprises another 8 per cent. of all taxable incomes, and the next again, 300*l.* to 475*l.*, another 2 per cent. Incomes of over 475*l.* are therefore confined to 1 in every 550 of the population, and, out of a total population of 32,000,000, some 37,000 individuals, all told, with incomes of over 1,525*l.*, represent relative affluence, and a bare hundred of these, with incomes of over 25,000*l.*, very consider-

able wealth. Similar results are shown by the property-tax leviable on real and personal property of over 300*l.* capital value. Only 3·72 per cent. of the population possess property to the taxable amount, and of these almost exactly one-half belong to the lowest category, viz. property of between 300*l.* and 1,000*l.* value, and in the three highest categories, with property to the value of 25,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*, 50,000*l.* to 100,000*l.*, and over 100,000*l.*, are to be found only 0·71, 0·29, and 0·15 per cent. respectively of the aggregate property-tax payers. In other words, only some 14,000 individuals out of a total population of 32,000,000 possess property of over 25,000*l.* value. The distribution of both income-tax and property-tax in the urban and rural districts respectively proves conclusively that even in Prussia the centre of fiscal stability has been shifted entirely from the latter to the former, and that the real sources of national wealth are to be found no longer in agriculture but in commerce and industry. In the lowest category of income-tax payers (45*l.* to 150*l.* income) the proportion of urban to rural taxpayers is as 3 to 2, and in the higher categories the relative proportion increases progressively until, for incomes of over 475*l.*, it reaches 5 to 1. The aggregate capital value of property liable to the property-tax is estimated at 2,133,050,358*l.*, nearly three-fourths of which represent urban or industrial and a little more than one-fourth rural property. But to thoroughly grasp the straits to which landed property is reduced, one must turn to the statistics of land mortgage. Landed property valued at 484,693,190*l.* is mortgaged to the amount of 172,093,310*l.*, i.e. to over 35 per cent. of its value, and in the purely agricultural regions of Prussia, Pomerania, Posen, and the two provinces of East and West Prussia, mortgages exceed on an average 50 per cent. of the valuation, reaching in the Bromberg district a maximum of 57 per cent. Nor does it appear that the rapid developement of commerce and industry in the German Empire has hitherto enriched the country to the extent often hastily assumed. German imports have risen from 28,142,803 tons in 1890 to 36,410,257 tons in 1896, with an aggregate value of 204,350,000*l.* and 227,900,000*l.* respectively, and German exports have risen in the same period from 19,365,081 tons to 25,719,876 tons. But the aggregate value of exports has only risen from 170,475,000*l.* to 187,690,000*l.* So that the balance of trade against Germany has actually increased during the last seven years from 33,875,000*l.* to 40,210,000*l.*

A considerable amount of German capital is undoubtedly invested abroad, and especially in Russian, Italian, Austrian, Greek, Mexican, and other foreign Government securities. But it is very doubtful whether, considering that on the basis of the Prussian returns the aggregate income derived in the German Empire from funded property can barely amount to 80,000,000*l.*, the total amount of German capital invested abroad yields anything like the 40,000,000*l.* required to compensate the adverse balance of foreign trade. It must be borne in mind also that no small portion of the foreign trade is artificially sustained by a costly system of bounties and premiums; the sugar industry, for instance, with its enormous export trade, alone costing the German taxpayer over 5,000,000*l.* per annum. All is not gold that glitters, and brilliant as have been the achievements of German commercial and industrial enterprise, the goal of assured prosperity has not yet been reached, and might, possibly, never be reached if the agrarian influences were to prevail which underlie the political programme of Prussian Conservatism.

That every extreme form of Conservatism, coupled with agrarianism, is confined almost exclusively to Prussia, or, rather, to the eastern half of the Prussian Monarchy, *i.e.* to the cradle of the dynasty, is one of the most significant and dangerous features of the situation; for it tends to identify the rulers of Prussia with a reactionary movement against which are arrayed all over the Empire, as we have just shown, on economic grounds, because it represents the excessive protection of agricultural interests, all the trading and industrial classes; on political grounds, because it represents a return to absolutist traditions, the educated and liberal middle-classes with a leaning towards constitutional government; on intellectual grounds, because it represents obscurantism, a considerable section, at least, of the professional and learned classes; on religious grounds, because Bismarck's disastrous 'Kulturkampf' identified Prussian ascendancy with the persecution of the Roman Catholic Church, the whole Roman Catholic population, without distinction of class or race affinities; on particularist grounds, because it is indissolubly connected with the hegemony of Prussia, all the disaffected elements in Hanover, Holstein, Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, and the South German States, that are not yet, or are only partially, reconciled to the unification of Germany under a Hohenzollern sceptre; and, lastly, on a variety of grounds too

obvious to require enumeration, but mainly because it represents to them the drill-sergeant and the policeman, the democratic and socialistic masses. Nor from this muster-roll of hostile forces should we omit the Jews, whose subtle and ubiquitous influence pervades every branch of literature, and especially the press and the drama, and the whole artistic world, as well as the world of finance and commerce.

All such generalisations as the above must of course be subject to exceptions. Conservative tendencies prevail among most of the German Princes, if only from dynastic considerations, though some of them are men of personally moderate views and by no means enthusiastic admirers of Prussian ideals. The essentially military and bureaucratic classes in every German State are cast more or less in the Prussian mould. There are a few Roman Catholic magnates with whom the traditions and prejudices of their caste are paramount, and some agrarian districts may be found scattered all over Germany in which the instinct of economic self-preservation may over-ride all antagonistic tendencies of creed or race or class. Nor must we omit a few great capitalists and employers of labour whose governing sentiment is a dread of revolutionary upheavals. But when ample allowance has been made for all these conflicting influences, the forces arrayed throughout the Empire against the dominant forms of Prussian Conservatism remain sufficiently formidable to bid the Crown pause before it commits itself irrevocably to a conflict for which its constitutional resources might soon prove inadequate, while a resort to extra-constitutional measures would be fraught with unprecedented dangers.

There is unfortunately only too much reason to believe that it is upon the ultimate necessity of a resort to unconstitutional measures that those who now urge upon the Crown a policy of 'no surrender' are deliberately speculating. Yet even the most passionate champions of absolutism can hardly overlook the fact that the Crown represents to-day not merely the Prussian Monarchy but the German Empire. The King of Prussia as monarch of a single strongly centralised State might venture in certain circumstances to place his own construction on the meaning of a Constitution technically stated to have been granted by his predecessors of their own free will, 'octroyirte Verfassung,' or even to revoke it altogether. For the German Emperor, the head of a confederation of sovereign States

still in many respects loosely welded together, himself, at least in theory, merely *primus inter pares*, to tamper with a Constitution based on solemn treaties between equal contracting parties and placed under the collective guarantee of the official representatives of the German Governments in the Federal Council and of the elected representatives of the German peoples in the Imperial Diet, would be an adventure little short of desperate. It is however, often argued that with the overwhelming power of Prussia at his back, the German Emperor must always remain practically master of the situation. Mr. Lowell, for instance, in the otherwise admirable section which he devotes to Germany in his valuable work on Continental Governments and Parties, seems to consider the ascendancy which Prussia secured for herself under the Constitution of the Empire as practically tantamount to complete supremacy. But we are inclined to think he does not discriminate sufficiently between the positive and negative power which she wields. The latter is practically unlimited. Without her consent and approval, no State in the German Empire can move hand or foot. But the former is most distinctly limited. It is very great and far-reaching, but by no means supreme. To account for its limitations one has only to go back for a moment to the circumstances in which the Constitution of the Empire was drawn up. Its author's main concern was to devise a scheme which should disarm the mutual suspicion and distrust of the States about to be federated. The Prussians of the old type, and foremost amongst them the King himself, were at the outset strongly prejudiced against the Imperial idea, associated as it was in their minds with the revolutionary spirit of 1849 and the Democratic Parliament which sat in the Paulskirche at Frankfort. They demanded ample guarantees that Prussia's individuality should not be lost in the new collective entity. The other States, traditionally and not unjustifiably jealous of Prussia's aggressive tendencies, were equally determined that under the plea of unification Germany should not be purely and simply Prussianised. In the same way the German Princes wanted safeguards against the encroachments of the democracy on their inherited rights and privileges, while to have excluded the popular element from all representation in the new State might have prematurely checked the great wave of national feeling which was needed to bear down the resistance of particularist and dynastic prejudices. As a result of these conflicting influences, the Constitution was so framed as to

provide an elaborate system of checks and counter-checks with just a sufficient motive power to keep the machinery going in ordinary circumstances. In extraordinary circumstances, this system of checks and counterchecks can easily produce an absolute deadlock, but it is difficult to see where the motive power to drive through that deadlock is to come from. Prince Bismarck doubtless relied on his own powerful personality and prestige to supply it, or rather to avert the necessity of supplying it. But Prince Bismarck is gone, and though the present Emperor may have resolved to be in reality his own Chancellor, he has yet to show that he can be the Chancellor that Bismarck was.

The powers vested in the Emperor *qua* Emperor are little more than nominal, except in military matters, though as King he may be said to wield the whole power of Prussia. But Prussia herself, we must repeat, only wields a power to which, great as it undoubtedly is, certain definite limits are set. Prussia enjoys in many ways a moral and material ascendancy which has always been admitted and recognised. But it is ascendancy, not supremacy. The Imperial dignity conferred upon the King of Prussia has not vested in him the sovereign power of the Empire. That is expressly vested in the Federal Council of the Empire, or to use the language of the Constitution, 'the Federal Council is the organ through which 'the Federal States collectively exercise the sovereign power 'of the Empire.' This Council consists of fifty-eight members appointed proportionately and severally by the Federal Governments in accordance with the schedule embodied in the Constitution. They are the delegates of their respective Governments, and are bound to cast the undivided vote of the States they respectively represent in accordance with the instructions of their own Governments. Prussia presides and has seventeen votes; Bavaria has six votes, Saxony and Wurtemberg four each, Baden and Hesse three each, Brunswick and Mecklenburg-Schwerin two each, and all the other seventeen small States one each. Practically Prussia disposes absolutely of twenty votes, for, besides her own seventeen, she commands the two votes of Brunswick through the Regent of the Duchy, who is a Hohenzollern Prince, and the one vote of Waldeck through her special convention with that Principality. She can also rely almost invariably on the votes of several other small States, whom she geographically, economically, and politically dominates. She may therefore be said to control virtually

the bare majority which, in ordinary circumstances, is all that she needs to carry the measures which she initiates, and reject those of which she disapproves. But in extraordinary circumstances, *i.e.* if, by endeavouring to carry into practice the most reactionary doctrines of Prussian Conservatism, she were to jeopardise the internal peace or the economic interests of the Empire, even that bare majority might melt away, and in extreme cases, *i.e.* if she were to attempt to override opposition by introducing changes into the Constitution, the bare majority, were she able to retain it, would be of no use to her. A minority of fourteen is sufficient to reject any amendment of the Constitution, and if such amendment affects the rights of any individual State, it cannot be carried without the consent of that State. It is therefore obvious that if, on the one hand, Prussia can by her own vote defeat on any constitutional question a hostile combination of all the other Federal States, it does not, on the other hand, require a combination of anything like all the other States to defeat her on a similar question. Nor is there any way open to her of evading for a time by dilatory tactics the control of the Federal Council. Not only is the Emperor bound to convoke it at least once a year during the session of the Imperial Diet, but he is also bound to convoke it at any time at the instance of one-third of its members.

We have hitherto considered the Federal Council only as the executive power of the Empire. But it also exercises legislative functions in co-operation with the Imperial Diet. Here, again, in the relations between these two assemblies the Constitution provides a similar system of checks and counterchecks, which may in given circumstances produce a deadlock, but it provides no way out of such a deadlock. The Federal Council originates all legislation submitted by the Government to the Imperial Diet, but the Imperial Diet is perfectly free to reject it. In the same way private Bills, and resolutions demanding the introduction of specific legislative measures, can be passed in the Imperial Diet, but the Federal Council can reject the Bills and ignore the resolutions. The popular assembly, moreover, has one inalienable hold over the executive, *viz.* the right of supply. Now, assuming for the sake of argument that the majority of the Federal Council might be willing to follow the lead of Prussia to any extent short of constitutional changes, is there the slightest prospect that the majority of the Imperial Diet would accept legislative measures of a reactionary

nature? That is a crucial question, for if, as we contend, the Federal Council opposes an insurmountable barrier to any amendment of the Constitution curtailing the rights or modifying the essential character of the Imperial Diet, then the Imperial Diet holds the field against any attempt to promote a reactionary policy by legislative enactments within the four corners of the Constitution. We need not, therefore, apologise for trying to analyse somewhat closely the forces which it represents.

If the Imperial Diet does not fulfil by any means all the functions which we associate with a popular chamber, it unquestionably reflects with considerable fidelity all the different strata of popular feeling throughout the German Empire. It is elected by direct manhood suffrage and secret ballot. The elections are, as a rule, much more free from official pressure than in most continental States, though in the rural districts of Prussia the combined influence of the bureaucracy and of the landed interests is frequently exercised with almost irresistible force in favour of the Conservative candidates. There are only two features in the electoral system of the Empire which are calculated to vitiate at present, to some extent, the representative character of the Diet. The one is the second ballot, which often produces strange coalitions between parties united solely by common enmities. The other is the distribution of seats. The existing constituencies were created in 1870 on the basis of one member to every 100,000 inhabitants. Since then the population has not only largely increased in the aggregate—viz. from under forty to over fifty-two millions—but it has still more largely shifted, with the result that most of the large cities and industrial centres are, in some cases ludicrously, under represented, and many of the rural districts are proportionately over-represented.

Parliamentary institutions are of such recent growth in Germany, and are still so immature, that the formation of political parties can hardly be said to rest on any solid historical foundations. As, and even more than, in most other continental States, they have been and still are in a state of flux, and in many cases their evolution appears to be governed more by the personal idiosyncrasies of their leaders for the time being than by the influence of definite and settled principles. Hence they have constantly shown a tendency to split up into small groups and fractions, which in turn have joined with others to form equally ephemeral combinations. This instability is doubtless chiefly due to

the low vitality of parliamentary institutions severed from parliamentary government. Another, and still more unhealthy, result of the artificial conditions to which their growth has been subjected, is the predominance of local and sectarian and racial and class influences in the formation of political parties. About half the Imperial Diet, as at present constituted, consists of parties who collectively enjoy the cumbrous designation of 'Sonderinteressen-vertre-tende Parteien'—i.e. parties whose *raison d'être* and essential object are the defence of interests and the pursuit of aims either incompatible with, or lying beyond the pale of, the recognised social and political institutions of the Empire, and whose policy is governed by considerations antagonistic, or at least foreign, to their nominal allegiance to the State.

But so many are the lines of cleavage in German politics, and so irregular their points of intersection, that a brief investigation of the history and developement and present position of parties, as represented in the Imperial Diet, is almost indispensable to a proper understanding of their peculiarities of stratification. The reader will see for himself that no similarity of nomenclature must be taken as implying anything more than a distant analogy with political parties bearing the same name in England. Conservatives of the Prussian type are, in the British Islands, as extinct as the dodo, and very few German Liberals or Radicals would be passed as 'sound' by the political committee of the National Liberal Club on the Thames Embankment. They differ as widely from their English namesakes as the conditions of political life in the two countries which have produced them.

There are no less than ten recognised parties in the Imperial Diet, and the following list gives the number of seats they obtained, and the aggregate number of votes they polled throughout the Empire, at the last general election in 1893.

1. Old Conservatives
(' Deutsch-Conservative Partei ')
61 seats 1,038,353 votes.
2. Moderate Conservatives
(' Deutsche Reichspartei ')
27 seats 438,435 votes.
3. National Liberals
(' National-Liberale Partei ')
50 seats 996,980 votes,
4. Moderate Progressists
(' Freisinnige Vereinigung ')
14 seats 258,481 votes,

5. Radical Progressists		
	('Freisinnige Volkspartei ')	
	24 seats	666,439 votes.
6. South German Progressists		
	('Deutsche Volkspartei ')	
	12 seats	166,757 votes.
7. Roman Catholics or Centre		
	('Centrumpartei ')	
	101 seats	1,468,501 votes.
8. Poles		
	('Fraction der Polen ')	
	19 seats	229,531 votes.
9. Anti-Semites		
	('Deutsch-Soziale Reformpartei ')	
	13 seats	263,861 votes.
10. Social Democrats		
	('Sozial-Demokratische Partei ')	
	45 seats	1,786,738 votes.

Besides the above there are a score of members who do not belong to any of the recognised parties, such as the irreconcilables from Alsace-Lorraine, the Guelphs from the old kingdom of Hanover, and other particularists, as well as a few eccentric nondescripts, who are lumped together under the official designation of 'Wilde,' or unattached.

The Old Conservatives are an almost essentially Prussian party, though their milder counterparts, few in number and far inferior in influence, may still be found in most of the German States. They were originally an artificial growth fostered by the Court and the bureaucracy, out of which they sprang, to counteract the influence of liberal organisations. They were intended to play, in this respect, a part somewhat akin to that played by the semi-official newspapers in the press. They were to be the channels through which statesmen, whose position was deemed incompatible with direct intercourse with the people, were to reach a wider public than was accessible to the mere publication of royal ordinances and ministerial circulars. In accordance with their origin, and in natural antagonism to the liberal current of opinion they were created to stem, they were such jealous champions of the prerogatives of the Prussian Crown that they viewed with grave misgivings all schemes for the unification of Germany which should merge Prussia into a German Federal State. Yet it was their staunch loyalty and unflinching determination to deserve the appellation they had themselves assumed of 'Regierungspartei,'

which enabled the Prussian Government to fight through the 'Period of Conflict' (1862-66) and forge the weapon which was to unify Germany with the assistance of those who dreaded German unity as involving a *diminutio capitis* for Prussia, and in the teeth of the Liberal parties who had been its first and most fervent apostles. The majority of Prussian Conservatives accepted the political results of the wars of 1866 and 1870 with less enthusiasm than perhaps any other party in the State. Disgusted with the democratic basis upon which the new Imperial Legislature was framed, and embittered by the consciousness that Bismarck, whom they had looked upon as one of themselves, had merely used them for his own purpose, and was prepared to throw them over, now they were no longer wanted, in favour of the National Liberals, whose support he required for his campaign against the Ultramontanes, the extreme right wing at last broke out in 1876 into open revolt against the Chancellor's policy. But *amantium iræ redintegratio amoris*, and when, abandoning the Cultur-*'kampf'*, Prince Bismarck gave the cold shoulder to the National Liberals, the Conservatives were only too eager to step into their shoes and they henceforth gave their unqualified support to the reactionary and protectionist policy to which he gradually reverted. Protectionist measures of the most drastic kind, increased corn duties for the benefit of the landowners, repressive measures against Socialism, the excommunication of all opposition parties as enemies of the State, far-reaching concessions to ecclesiastical influences—everything seemed to point to a Conservative millennium. Their hopes rose still further on the accession of a young sovereign, who was believed to be in full sympathy with their principles and aims. Death had removed the Emperor Frederick, the one man whom they chiefly dreaded and hated. The Chancellor was with them; through Count Waldersee at the General Staff they more than ever ruled the army; the country had given them an exceptionally strong position even in Parliament, and the young Emperor was to be their bondsman, by inclination as well as by force of circumstances. But they had reckoned without their host. The Emperor speedily developed an independence which allowed no party to consider him its bondsman. The collapse of the 'Cartell' at the elections of 1890, the recriminations and revolt of their former allies, the dismissal of Bismarck, the transfer of Waldersee to a provincial command, shattered one by one all their fondest hopes. The non-

renewal of the anti-socialist laws, the introduction of a progressive income-tax, the reduction of the corn duties, the withdrawal of Baron Zedlitz's Education Bill in deference to popular protests, the liberal economic policy embodied in the commercial treaties with Austria and other Central European States, followed by a similar treaty with Russia opening up the German market to the competition of Russian cereals, rapidly fanned their smouldering discontent into open rebellion. A campaign of unprecedented violence, directed ostensibly against Count von Caprivi and his coadjutor at the Foreign Office, Baron von Marschall, was in reality levelled over their heads at the Sovereign himself. Agrarian aristocrats joined hands with Anti-Semite demagogues, and the language used by both frequently savoured not a little of *lèse-majesté*. The Conservative party was only partially appeased by the propitiatory sacrifice of Caprivi, of which the effect was temporarily to some extent counterbalanced by the simultaneous dismissal of the Conservative Premier of Prussia, Count von Eulenburg. Within the last year the notorious Tausch trials have partially disclosed the desperate intrigues to which the extreme Conservatives resorted in order to prejudice the Emperor's mind against the more moderate advisers of the Crown, and their success, foreshadowed by the evident determination of the Court to hush up the second case, has been signally attested by the recent dismissal of the two so-called Liberal ministers, Baron von Marschall and Herr von Bötticher. Though the anti-revolutionary Bills have been for the time being defeated in both the Imperial and the Prussian Diet, they still hold the field, and with them the rest of the extreme Conservative programme—constitutional reform in a reactionary sense, *i.e.* restriction of the franchise for the Imperial Diet, repressive legislation, and in default of it, administrative measures against social democracy, the amendment of existing commercial treaties in the interests of agriculture, the creation of State granaries, the further State regulation of financial and Stock Exchange operations, the rehabilitation of silver, the developement of indirect as against direct taxation, the revival of industrial and trading guilds under bureaucratic control, the curtailment of 'Freizügigkeit' for agricultural labourers, *i.e.* of their right to leave the district in which they are settled without official authorisation, or, in other words, the artificial lowering of agricultural wages by preventing the labourers from taking their labour to the best market. Essentially a Prussian party in its origin and spirit, and

recruited almost exclusively from the landed and military aristocracy and gentry, and their dependents, it is only in the eastern half of the Prussian Monarchy, and in some of the adjoining districts of Mecklenburg and Saxony, that its numerical strength is sufficient to secure its representation in the Imperial Diet. But fundamentally hostile as it is to the whole spirit of parliamentary institutions, its real influence must not be sought in the Legislature, where it would cut but a sorry figure if official support were withdrawn from it, as once happened in Prince Bismarck's time. Its strength lies in the personal and social influence it exercises at Court, in its control of the land-owning interests, and of the military and bureaucratic element all over the country, in its clerical sympathies, in the alliances it has contracted even outside Prussia, with the Conservative particularists in Saxony, with the Ultramontane aristocracy in Bavaria, with the Anti-Semites in Hesse-Cassel and Nassau.

Little need be said of the Moderate Conservative party. Originally composed of distinguished representatives of the aristocracy of birth and of intelligence, large landowners and the heads of great industrial firms, experienced officials and tried soldiers, it seemed at one time fitted to play a conciliatory part in German politics, but its last show of independence was displayed in its opposition to the Education Bill of 1892, and since then agrarianism, bimetallism, and repressive legislation have found some of their most enthusiastic champions on the benches occupied by the 'Deutsche Reichspartei.' Its tone, however, is somewhat less violent and less specifically Prussian than that of the Old Conservative wing.

In the Liberal group the first place belongs unquestionably—in virtue, however, of its early promise rather than of its later achievements—to the National Liberal party. Formed, after 1866, by the fusion of the Left Centre with the more moderate elements among the Old Progressists, or 'Deutsche Fortschritts-Partei,' who were anxious to make their peace with the Government, and to co-operate heartily in promoting a closer union with the Southern States, as a preliminary to the complete unification of Germany, its policy was practically that of the 'National-Verein,' a Liberal club founded by its distinguished leader, Herr von Bennigsen, in 1859 to revive and promote the principles advocated in the Frankfort Parliament by the 'Partei des deutschen Hauses,' or Liberal Imperialist party, and to fight equally against reactionary and particularist tendencies. In its new shape

it gave expression to this twofold purpose by assuming the name of 'National' and 'Liberal,' and by putting the former in front of the latter it emphasised the paramount importance it attached to the completion of German unity. The hour had come, and the party. Never was a party founded under more favourable conditions and amidst greater enthusiasm. It presented itself as the embodiment of all the aspirations of the educated and patriotic German middle classes, time after time encouraged, and in turn disappointed and sternly repressed, since 1813. The doctrinaire Liberals were left out in the cold, and from 1866 to 1879 the National Liberals practically monopolised the representation of German Liberalism, and leaders like Bennigsen, Lasker, Völk, Bamberger, and Forchenbeck, shed auspicious lustre on the parliamentary life of new Germany. It reached its high-water mark in 1874, when it returned 155 members to the Imperial Diet, the nearest approach to a clear majority (198) ever obtained by any single party. But it had become essentially a Bismarckian party, and when the Chancellor, alleging the necessity of providing for increased expenditure on the army, began to draw nearer to the Conservatives and to favour a more strongly protectionist policy, it drifted along helplessly in his wake, and the further it drifted the more its influence waned in the country. Except Bennigsen, nearly all the ablest and most active of its adherents retired from public life or seceded to the Progressists, who were once more standing forth as the real exponents of German Liberalism. It had sacrificed everything to Prince Bismarck, and his fall left it defeated and discredited, a veritable derelict. Of late, however, a sense of national peril has infused new energy into its ranks. The strong and successful stand which, in spite of every form of pressure, the small body of National Liberals in the Lower House of the Prussian Diet has made against the Government Bill for Amending the Law of Association, and the bold and uncompromising language of its chief organs, the 'National-Zeitung,' and especially the 'Kölnische Zeitung,' seem to show that the party has at last resolved to retrace its steps, and resume its old position as the representative of the German *bourgeoisie* in the coming fight against Prussian Conservatism. It may not easily recover the influence which it once wielded throughout the western provinces of Prussia, but in Bavaria, Baden, and Hesse Darmstadt it still retains a strong position in the local legislatures, as the champion of German unity against

clerical and aristocratic particularism, and the support which it commands among the industrial and commercial classes, as well as among liberal professors, and schoolmasters, means a powerful backing of wealth and of intelligence.

The Progressists, whatever the precise denomination of the section to which they owe immediate allegiance, approximate more closely than any other German party to a type with which we are familiar in England. There are few of their principles to which Liberal Unionists like the Duke of Devonshire might not be inclined to subscribe, and the critical sternness and infallible righteousness of Mr. Leonard Courtney would find many points of contact with their veteran leader, Herr Eugen Richter. They are the only resolute champions of constitutional government and parliamentary control as we understand them. They are pledged to free trade and gold monometallism. They are opposed to militarism, though they recognise the necessity of strong defensive armaments, in view of the geographical and political situation of Germany, and, as determined foes to every form of State particularism, they are sound Imperialists. Socialism, whether in the shape of Social Democracy or in that of State Socialism, is abhorrent to them; but they do not believe in repression any more than in grandmotherly legislation. Given freedom of combination to the employer and to the workman, and fair protection to the latter against the consequences of accidents, inseparable from his calling, the operation of economic laws must, they believe, be left to settle the relations between capital and labour. Condemned under the existing system to perpetual opposition, they lack practical experience of public affairs, and their uncompromising adherence to principles has earned for them the reputation of unpractical doctrinaires. They have seen many of their supporters fall away from them, on the one hand, under the glamour of Prince Bismarck's tremendous personality, towards the National Liberals, and, on the other hand, in search of a more aggressive form of opposition, towards Social Democracy; but through long years of evil fortune a stout phalanx has remained proof against either temptation. It was not till 1893 that what Bismarck's scornful jibes and threats had failed to achieve was effected by his successor's conciliatory policy. Although opposed to any excessive increase of military burdens, a section of the Progressists declined to jeopardise Caprivi's position for the benefit of reactionary opponents by helping to reject the Army Bill, more especially as the reduction to

two years of the term of service with the colours fulfilled one of the traditional demands of German Liberals. Herr Richter, however, remained intractable, having no confidence, he declared, in the permanency of Caprivi's moderating influence at the head of affairs. How far his obstinacy may have played into the hands of the reactionary parties, it is difficult to say, but the event seems to have justified his scepticism. The split in the Progressist party saved the Army Bill, as, after the general elections, the dissident Progressists who returned from the polls under the name of 'Freisinnige Vereinigung,' were able to turn the scale in its favour; but it did not in the end save Caprivi. The course of events since then has gone far to heal the temporary breach, and the two sections will, doubtless, on the next occasion stand again shoulder to shoulder together, as well as with the 'Deutsche Volkspartei,' which is merely a South German organisation, confined to Wurtemberg and Baden, of a slightly more advanced complexion than their fellow-Progressists in the North.

We now come to a party which occupies a position as strange as it is powerful, for it stands outside of all other parties, though it comprises so many shades of opinion that if the one tie which holds it together were to give way, there is scarcely a single party towards which some of its fragments would not naturally gravitate, and it has now for many years past invariably held the balance of power between them. The Roman Catholic Centre comprises aristocratic magnates and landowners, with distinctly conservative and agrarian leanings, and merchants and employers of labour, who have many interests in common with the classes from which the National Liberals are recruited, as well as priests and advocates and professors, whose advanced Liberalism on all but one question would entitle them to sit on the Progressist benches. It contains Prussians from Silesia and Westphalia and the Rhenish Provinces, as well as Bavarians, Wurtembergers, and Badensers. It numbers among its adherents free-traders and protectionists, bimetallists and monometallists, particularists and Imperialists. The one indissoluble bond of union which has hitherto proved firmer than all dissolvent influences is unity of creed. They are, first of all and above all things, Roman Catholics, and to the interests of their Church all other considerations are subordinate.

The political activity of the Roman Catholic clergy in its modern form, first made itself felt in the '40's by the

foundation of working men's clubs in the Rhenish Provinces, and the famous Bishop of Mainz, Dr. von Kettler, was only the most prominent of many distinguished clergymen who laboured to turn the rising tide of German democracy into channels which the Church could control and direct. The total eclipse of the Liberal parties during the great reactionary decade between 1849 and 1859 left the Roman Catholics in sole possession of the parliamentary arena, as the guardians of popular rights, and for ten years the 'Catholische Fraction' was, in fact, the only solid group which could offer any effectual resistance in the Prussian Diet to the overwhelming reactionary majority. The revival of Liberalism in 1861 took the wind out of its sails, and its position was still more seriously shaken by the events of 1866 and 1870, for the great wave of national enthusiasm which swept over the country, threatened the very existence of a party which viewed with ill-concealed alarm and distrust the consolidation of a great Protestant empire in the heart of Europe. Even the accession of the large Catholic voting power in the South German States only enabled the Centre to secure fifty-eight seats in the first Imperial Diet of 1871. It was then that Prince Bismarck himself saved it from inevitable disintegration by committing the great political blunder of his career. His anti-clerical policy and the vexatious measures he enforced against the clergy gave the party new life and welded the whole Roman Catholic electorate of the Empire into one homogeneous mass. In vain he subsequently made his peace with the Vatican, and sought to enlist its influence in his favour by practical concessions and graceful compliments, such as submitting to the arbitration of the Pope his difference with Spain on the question of the Caroline Islands. Neither he nor his successors have shaken the cohesion of the Centre or disarmed its suspicions. Windthorst, whose powers of organisation and imperious leadership made the party what it is, has passed away, but its machinery remains, apparently, as perfect and its discipline as admirable as in the days of stress and storm. One of the most powerful moral forces in the State has been to all appearances irrevocably estranged, and even in the struggle against Social Democracy, though the Church has anathematised its revolutionary doctrines, nothing will induce the Roman Catholics to help arm the Government with the keen weapon of repressive legislation which it once used against themselves.

Closely connected with the Centre by their common creed, as well as by a certain antipathy to Prussian centralisation, though with a distinct organisation of their own, are the Poles, who form a small but compact parliamentary group both in the Imperial and in the Prussian Diet. As an aristocratic party, it is in touch with the Court and with conservative society, and it has frequently shown a disposition to purchase the favours of Government by supporting it on questions connected with the maintenance of the armed forces of the Empire, and when the Emperor's foreign policy seemed to assume an anti-Russian character it was profuse in its assurances of devotion to the Crown. Whilst Count von Caprivi was Chancellor, it secured in return for its vote on several important occasions a more generous treatment of the Polish element in the eastern provinces, which is the chief object of its political existence, but of late Germanising influences have regained the upper hand at Berlin, and once more driven the 'Fraction 'der Polen' into the cold shade of Opposition.

Not even the Roman Catholic Centre, though numerically the most powerful party in the Diet, has exercised such a subtle and all-pervading influence on the political life of Germany as the Social Democrats. As Count von Caprivi once admitted, not a single Government measure can be framed without a careful study of its possible effects upon Social Democracy. *Post equitem sedet atra cura.* The black care of Social Democracy perpetually haunts the Emperor at the head of his troops and every German statesman in his study. Socialist theories first found a congenial soil in the Rhine Provinces in the stormy days which preceded the popular explosions of 1848-49. The impulse came, however, chiefly from abroad, and the movement was directed from London by Karl Marx, Engels, and other members of the 'Communist League' (1847). The local organisations centred at Cologne, under Liebknecht, still one of the veterans of the party, were soon dissolved by the authorities, and a first era of repression began to drive the agitation underground. It was during that period (1850-59) that the Roman Catholic prelates sought to divert the social movement into clerical channels, and thus to bring the labouring classes into closer touch with the Church. Not long afterwards, Bismarck took a leaf out of Bishop von Kettler's book, and during the constitutional conflict in Prussia he entered into negotiations with Lassalle, the brilliant champion of Opportunist Socialism,

and sought to mobilise the labouring classes against the middle classes, who formed the backbone of the opposition to his policy in the Prussian Diet. Liebknecht wrote articles in the semi-official 'North German Gazette' against the *bourgeoisie*, and Lassalle boasted on one occasion that 'Bismarck is only my plenipotentiary.' But after the war of 1866 the Chancellor had no further use for his quondam friends, and the uncompromising Marxists, with Liebknecht and Bebel as their foremost representatives, and the 'Vorwärts' as their organ, gradually gained the upper hand, and finally settled the programme of the new party at the Congress held in Gotha in 1875. The demands embodied in it were somewhat modified and expanded at the Erfurt Congress in 1891, and the chief immediate objects which the Social Democratic party has in view may now be summarised as follows: Universal compulsory suffrage, with proportional representation; direct legislation by the people, with whom alone must rest the decision of peace or war; universal military training and a national militia to be substituted for standing armies; absolute liberty of speech and thought, a free press and the unrestricted right of public meeting and association; absolute equality of rights between men and women; compulsory, gratuitous and secular education; the withdrawal of all privileges or State recognition from the Churches; religion to be relegated to the domain of individual conscience; elected judges and gratuitous administration of the law; the substitution of a progressive income-tax for all existing imposts; the establishment by law of a normal working day; prohibition of Sunday work and of night work; legislation for the better protection of all classes of labour and restriction of juvenile labour, and of female labour during pregnancy; extension and popular control of the State system of working-men's insurance.

This is the programme 'of perfectly orthodox Marxianism' and boundless democracy,' as Mr. Bertrand Russell aptly describes it in his very interesting and generally impartial lectures on social democracy, which has carried the party by leaps and bounds to the numerically foremost place among political parties in Germany. Prince Bismarck laboured in vain to lay the spirits which he himself had helped to conjure from the vasty deep. Undeterred by the failure of similar measures against the Roman Catholic Church, he took advantage of the Hödel and Nobiling attempts on the life of the old Emperor (1878) to introduce a régime of drastic repression which lasted until his fall in

1890. The organisation of the party had to bend to the storm, but its discipline and courage were unbroken. In the first Diet of the new Empire in 1871 the total number of votes cast in its favour was only 124,727, and it secured only one seat. In 1890, at the end of twelve years' coercion, it obtained 1,427,300 votes and 35 seats. At the last general election in 1893 the Social Democratic poll rose to 1,786,738, and the number of Socialist deputies to 46. No doubt many of the votes thus cast do not represent Socialist convictions so much as a desire to give the most extreme form of expression to a general feeling of discontent, but this scarcely affects the significance of the fact that after some twenty-five years' existence the Social Democratic party now controls a considerably larger vote than any other single party in the Empire. Three or four years ago, under the relaxing influence of recovered freedom, there seemed to be some prospect of a split in the party. Herr von Volmar, the chivalrous leader of the South German Socialists, advocated with much ability the expediency of greater flexibility both in theory and in practice, in order to gain over the agricultural classes, and especially the small farmers, whom aggressive agnosticism and fierce denunciations of property in every form must hopelessly repel. Some slight concessions, however, averted the danger of a schism, and under the influence of recent reactionary threats German Social Democracy has once more closed up its ranks to face whatever the future may bring forth.

The Anti-Semitic movement is the latest and probably the most unwholesome growth developed in German political life by a combination of heterogeneous influences, made up of religious fanaticism, racial hatred, aristocratic prejudices, petty jealousy of commercial success, with a small leaven of justifiable hostility to certain abuses and extravagances, which are especially conspicuous amongst a section of the Jewish community. The origin of the movement is indissolubly connected with the name of the ex-Court chaplain, Dr. Stöcker. After the great financial crisis in 1874, when over-speculation, encouraged by financial adventurers, many of whom were Jews, produced widespread ruin and misery, Stöcker took advantage of the exasperation which prevailed in all classes of society, and especially among the higher classes, to initiate an agitation against the Jews as *fons et origo mali*. With a few congenial spirits of the extreme Conservative party, he founded the 'Christlich-Soziale' group, which aimed at the social, political, and commercial

ostracism of the Jews under the specious plea of regenerating society on an exclusively Christian basis. An Anti-Semitic congress held at Cassel in 1886 pledged itself to the re-establishment of political disabilities against the Jews, and to a series of drastic reforms intended to counteract their financial, commercial, and economic preponderancy. Until then the Anti-Semitic associations, covertly encouraged by the Chancellor, who wanted to make the Jews smart for the sins of his Jewish political opponents in Parliament and in the press, acted exclusively in alliance with the Conservative parties. But the passions to which Anti-Semitism appealed could be just as usefully exploited in the interests of other agitators, and the 'Christlich-Soziale' group soon found a powerful competitor in a new 'Deutsch-Soziale' group, which set up racial Anti-Semitism in opposition to sectarian Anti-Semitism and hunted back to the original taint of Judaism through two and three generations of professing Christianity. On this elastic basis Anti-Semitism expanded into a shamefaced form of Socialism, with all the greed and class hatred of the worst elements, but without the redeeming discipline and logical inflexibility of the Social Democratic party. The 'Deutsch-Soziale Reform Partei' in the present Diet is the hybrid outcome of these and other kindred groups. 'Les extrêmes se touchent,' and whilst on the one hand it has many points of contact with the intolerance of the old Prussian Conservatives, and claims to be the standard-bearer *par excellence* of unsullied German nationalism ('Urdeutschthum'), its denunciations of capitalism, even when confined to Jewish capitalism, are, on the other hand, to borrow Herr Bebel's language, 'capital fertilisers to 'prepare the soil for the good seed of Socialism.'

Prince Bismark is responsible for having first introduced the ominous classification of parties as 'reichsfreundlich' and 'reichsfeindlich,' i.e. loyal to the Empire and disloyal, according as they supported or opposed his policy. If the present Emperor should ever be tempted to identify loyalty to the Empire with loyalty to a personal policy of his own, that classification would certainly acquire a much deeper and more sinister significance. An electoral map of the German Empire shows in a very striking form how closely the great lines of political and economic cleavage once more coincide with the old lines of territorial, sectarian, and racial cleavage. East of the Elbe, except in Silesia and the Polish districts, where Roman Catholic and nationalist

influences prevail, and in the great cities which are Socialist to the core, Prussian Conservatism and agrarianism in their most extreme forms are almost supreme. West of the Elbe only rare and sporadic traces of them can be found. The Roman Catholic centre is unassailably entrenched in Bavaria and the rural districts of the other South German States, as well as in the greater part of the Prussian Rhine Provinces and Westphalia. The National Liberals are somewhat scattered over the industrial districts of Western and Central Germany, but democratic Liberalism has powerful strongholds in Wurtemberg and in many of the small middle States, and Social Democracy has taken apparently permanent possession of almost all the great cities of the Empire, north and south, east and west. Berlin, Hamburg, Breslau, Königsberg, Magdeburg, Brunswick, Dresden, and a whole group of manufacturing centres in Saxony, Munich, Nuremberg, Frankfort, Strasburg, Elberfeld and many others, have successively passed, entirely or very largely, into their hands.

The strength of the Conservative forces, upon whose support the Emperor seems driven to rely more and more exclusively, lies in the fact that they are essentially homogeneous, but their homogeneity is also a source of weakness. Their pride of caste, the narrowness of the material interests which they represent, their aggressive militarism, combine to make them a pre-eminently Prussian party. Yet the position which they take up is not altogether unintelligible nor unjustified. The Prussian *Junker* east of the Elbe, nobleman, squire, or yeoman, embodies all the best qualities and worst defects of this form of Conservatism. Without his strong arm neither Prussia nor Germany would have been what they are to-day. His chivalrous devotion to the house of Hohenzollern through the terrible years of Napoleonic persecution and spoliation is, perhaps, unparalleled in history. Rough, angular, overbearing, he has often been a hard master; but, in former times at least, as hard to himself as to others. It was his stern if narrow sense of duty, his rigid discipline, his self-restraint and thrift, his endurance and resolution, his sturdy faith and loyalty, 'die preussische Zucht,' that conquered for Prussia her position in Germany, and at last translated for Germany into historical reality the scientific theories of her professors and the dreamings of her poets. It was he who, by securing the immunity of Germany from external invasion, opened, however unconsciously, the door to those liberal and democratic forces at

home which seem to threaten him now with political extinction. It was he who, all booted and spurred, laid the foundations of the Imperial Diet, in which his privileges are daily assailed and his prejudices laughed to scorn. It was he who, at the point of his sword, unlocked the treasure-house of France and flooded Germany with a stream of gold which whetted the national appetite for wealth and stimulated the growth of commercial and industrial enterprise, only in turn to blight his own meagre patrimony of unproductive acres. It is to him even now that the country looks to defend in the hour of need all those forms of progress which he despises, and all that prosperity in which he has so small a share. And the sting of it is that he himself has been tainted with the prevailing contagion of luxury; and, while his own standard of life and comfort has appreciated with that of the nation generally, his slender salary and modest rent-roll have relatively, if not actually, depreciated. *Noblesse oblige*, he cannot descend to the counting-house or the factory, and if he has exhausted his powers of mortgage and will not stoop to a rich *mésalliance*, he stands on the kerbstone while the *nouvelles couches* sweep past him in their carriages and fine clothes, and, drawing himself up to his full height in his closely buttoned military tunic or office coat, curses the times for being out of joint. Threatened in his political privileges by the rising tide of democracy, threatened in his material interests by the rising tide of trade and industry, he calls upon the Crown to flog the waves with the iron rod of anti-revolutionary and agrarian legislation:—

‘It is we who have been the makers of Prussia and of the German Empire. It is we, sire, who are the mainstays of your throne, the muscle and sinews of your army, the backbone of your administration. Your Empire was made by us with the sword, and without us it will perish by the sword. Will you allow your loyal liegemen, who have fought and bled for your ancestors, to be sacrificed to the stump orators of Parliament, to the doctrinaires of the Manchester school, to money-grubbing traders and merchants, to the Prussophobe clamour of the Ultramontanes, to the apostles of international revolution? “Burggraf, sei hart!” Be firm, sire, and we will stand by you as our forbears stood by yours. But have a care! If you desert us in our hour of need, if you drive us into sullen opposition, you will be left face to face with the invading hordes of the democracy, and even if you buy them off for a time by piecemeal concessions to the levelling spirit of the age, you will yourself sink to the level of a mere constitutional puppet, a caricature of royalty.’

On the other side there is the bulk of the nation, whose

voice does not penetrate so easily into the royal closet, for its voice is not the strident voice of the high-born Prussian, but, in the mingled dialects of many classes and races, it may be heard clearly enough thundering at the gates of the palace :—

‘Ours are the great ideals, the patriotic yearnings out of which German unity sprang forth. It was our fathers who tramped in serried columns over the mountains of Bohemia and the cornfields and vineyards of France, and acclaimed your grandfather Emperor in the royal city of the Bourbons. Has it not been rightly said time and again that it was the village schoolmaster quite as much as the General Staff who won the day at Königgrätz and Sedan? Is it not we who have borne from year to year the growing burden of the conscription? Is it not our perseverance and intelligence which have opened up new channels for German enterprise all over the world, which have developed German trade and history to the astonishment and terror of our rivals? Without our counting-houses and factories, without the labour of our toiling masses, how could the increasing cost of those vast armaments be defrayed, without which the existence of the fatherland, the safety of your Majesty’s throne would be in daily peril? We are the brains and the hands of the country, and we claim our share in controlling its destinies. We refuse to be spurned aside by a domineering caste that treats us as if we were made of a baser clay, that contemptuously divides all Germans into two classes, not soldiers and civilians (for has not every German to be a soldier?), but themselves and the common herd. We refuse to be kept in perpetual leadingstrings by policemen and bureaucrats. We refuse to see the fruits of our industry, the products of our labour, the prospects of our commerce placed in jeopardy by the freaks of agrarian legislation in the interests of gilded paupers whose own extravagance and proud self-isolation, quite as much as the pitiless operation of economic laws, have reduced to their present straits. We look up to you, sire, as the embodiment of our national unity and of our national prosperity which has been the result of our unity. But both our unity and our prosperity are still young and delicate plants, and might soon be blighted under the blast of the reactionary and agrarian tempest. Have a care, sire! Remember that if you are King of Prussia you are also German Emperor, and that the forces which made Prussia might easily be perverted to the undoing of the Empire.’

Assailed on either side by these two voices it must be specially hard for a man of the present Emperor’s temperament to elect between them. His nature is exceedingly complex. On the one hand he is intensely mediæval, on the other intensely modern. His conception of his kingly office, which constitutes for him an almost providential and quasi-divine mission, his patriarchal or feudal view of society, his military instincts, his traditions and prejudices, his master-

ful disposition, all incline him to the most rigid form of Prussian Conservatism. But his manysidedness, his versatile intelligence, his keen interest in all the social and economic problems of the day, his extensive, if superficial, knowledge of technical arts and sciences, his sound appreciation of the value of trade and industry, and even his dreams of a Greater Germany beyond the seas, open up to him far broader horizons than the typical Prussian Conservative can ever conceive of. He is, however, more impulsive than logical; he listens to the arguments of both sides, but instead of weighing them against each other he is apt to be carried away alternately first by the one and then by the other, and when the reaction comes the pendulum swings back violently from one extreme to the other. No one who has watched at all closely either his internal or his foreign policy since his accession to the throne can fail to have been struck by the suddenness of those oscillations. They have perhaps been more marked in his internal policy, as in matters of foreign policy his hands were naturally tied for him by international engagements, which he could no longer disturb. One has only to recall his early attempts to ingratiate himself with the late Tsar, and then on their failure his determination to 'sever the wire' with St. Petersburg, which was the main cause of his breach with Prince Bismarck; his subsequent bids for a closer understanding with England, and then his attitude in the South African question; his patronising manifestations of sympathy and admiration for Japan throughout the war in the Far East, and then his *volte-face* against her in co-operation with Russia and France; his visit to Greece at the time of his sister's betrothal to the Crown Prince, and then his attitude towards that unfortunate country during the recent crisis; and last, but not least, after a few years of sullen estrangement, his pilgrimage to the Russian Canossa, culminating the other day in his extravagant protestations of devotion at St. Petersburg. In the same way at home his early enthusiasm for the old Chancellor was followed within two years by the latter's sudden and almost ignominious dismissal. Then came a period of reforming zeal. Like Frederick William I. he waxed righteously indignant at the hardships of class inequalities, 'die Injustice derer bemittelten Stände über die unbemittelten.' The anti-Socialist laws were dropped. He was to be the Emperor of the working classes, 'Der Kaiser der Arbeiter.' Social legislation had its brief day. Throughout Count von Caprivi's Chancellorship, which

was intended to be essentially what the French call 'un *ministère d'apaisement*,' moderate and conciliatory tendencies undoubtedly prevailed for a time. Baron von Zedlitz's Education Bill was, it is true, a retrograde incident, but it and its author were promptly thrown overboard as soon as the storm of indignation which it raised throughout Liberal Germany was seen to reflect upon the new régime. The commercial treaties with the Central European States were a distinct recognition of the paramount claims of trade and industry in the German Empire. But when Count von Caprivi signed them he signed his own death warrant as Chancellor, and though Prince Hohenlohe is too great a personage to be treated quite as cavalierly as his predecessor, constant rumours of changes and the actual dismissal of other ministers, such as Herr von Köller, Herr von Berlepsch, Baron von Marschall, and Herr von Bötticher, have shown the growing frequency of seismic disturbances at headquarters.

William II. has now been nine years on the throne, and though it is still the fashion to talk of him as a young man, he is thirty-eight years old, and has therefore reached an age at which the character of most men is deemed to have reached its maturity. Yet few of those who most sincerely admire his many brilliant qualities, and appreciate the better sides of his nature, will deny that he has failed utterly to acquire either general popularity or individual confidence. That relations between the Emperor and his German fellow-princes, even those who are most loyal to the Empire, are not now what they were in the days of his grandfather is an open secret. They come to Berlin from time to time in discharge of their official duty towards the head of the Empire, but their voice, when it is raised, is generally a voice of apprehensive remonstrance, as when, on the occasion of the Emperor's last birthday, they expressed their appreciation of the present Chancellor's services in terms which, for a time at least, averted his fall. The statesmen who serve him, the courtiers who surround him, have witnessed too many and too striking instances of the instability of Imperial favour to entertain that unswerving confidence in their Sovereign's support which nerved Prince Bismarck to his greatest achievements under the old Emperor. When Prince Bismarck himself was suddenly hurled from power, not two years had elapsed since William II., then Crown Prince, but with the crown already within his grasp, had ostentatiously taken advantage of the Chancellor's birthday

to reverse the ordinary course of things, and swear before ascending the steps of the throne an oath of perpetual fealty to 'our great and only Chancellor.' The second Chancellor's dismissal was at the last moment equally abrupt, and its manner in some respects was more undeservedly galling. Count von Caprivi was not the man to cling to office, and he was quite prepared to be sacrificed to the wrath of the reactionary parties banded together against him, with his own colleague, Count von Eulenburg, the Prussian Prime Minister, at their head. But what he felt most keenly was that, on the very day before his dismissal, the Emperor had called upon him, and with many gracious words authorised him to assure the Prime Ministers of the South German States, who had been summoned to Berlin to confer with the Chancellor on certain questions of fiscal legislation, that his Majesty's confidence in him was unshaken, and that all rumours of a change in the chief office of the Empire were unfounded. Count von Caprivi was above all a soldier and a gentleman, though the qualities which he displayed as a statesman were of no mean order, and in stepping into the breach after Prince Bismarck's fall he had served his Sovereign at a very critical moment with a courage and devotion to duty which entitled him to more considerate treatment. A similar fate has recently overtaken Baron von Marschall, the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Berlin society is equally at the mercy of the Emperor's capricious moods. In order to place themselves beyond reach of them, Prince Wernigerode and several other social magnates have closed or disposed of their Berlin residences and retired to the country. One of the strangest features of the so-called Kotze scandals, which for two years rent Berlin society asunder, was the Emperor's extraordinary readiness to entertain on the flimsiest evidence the most painful charges against a high official of his own Court, who had hitherto enjoyed his special confidence and friendship. The unfortunate Baron von Kotze was arrested without any legal process, kept in close confinement for weeks, and when at last his innocence was recognised and his liberty restored to him, he was compelled by the military code of honour to fight a succession of sanguinary duels in order to vindicate his character, which ought never to have been impugned. Even amongst the officers of the army, with all their traditional loyalty to their 'war-lord,' there is a widespread feeling of impatience and discontent, for which

the Imperial mania for 'alarums and excursions' does not wholly account. His soldierly qualities and his brilliant generalship, as far as they can be tested by manœuvres, are universally appreciated, but so are also his feverish activity, his over-weening self-confidence, and his evident anxiety to clear out officers of an older generation, whose experience and prestige might overshadow his personality in the event of a great war. His 'Schneid,' that untranslatable and peculiarly Prussian mixture of arrogance and dash, no doubt appeals strongly to many of them; but even in their eyes it may not entirely make up for the absence of those more sterling qualities which endeared his father as the *beau idéal* of a splendid soldier to the whole German Fatherland. Artistic and literary circles smile more or less scornfully at the self-assurance of his dilettantism, and the professorial and learned classes are too deeply tinged with agnosticism not to feel repelled and alarmed by the aggressive manifestations of his religious orthodoxy. Perhaps the most dangerous of all the gifts with which nature has superabundantly endowed him is his fatal facility of speech. One cannot perhaps apply to him absolutely the converse of what was said of Charles II., but it may be safely asserted that the mediæval ring and the excessive militarism of his high-flown eloquence have done more to irritate the bulk of the people than any of his political acts. His reiterated assertion of the divine right of kings, the 'Regia voluntas suprema lex' adopted as his motto at Munich, his warnings to recruits that they must be prepared at any time to shoot down their fathers and brothers, his comprehensive denunciations of political opponents as 'Vaterlandslose Gesellen,' his injunction that soldiers should consort only with soldiers ('Militär darf nur 'mit Militär verkehren'), are winged words of which the bitterness sinks deep into many hearts in a country where the army is essentially 'the nation in arms.' Other classes again to whom such sentiments are in themselves less repugnant cannot bring themselves to forgive the Emperor for having hurled Prince Bismarck down from the pedestal which their idol had so long and so splendidly occupied. That upon those who are admitted to his intimacy he exercises an irresistible personal fascination, a distinguished Frenchman, M. Jules Simon, who was one of the representatives of the Republic at the Labour Conference of 1890, has borne impartial testimony. When he chooses to unbend, his brilliant conversational powers unite the charm

of unaffected simplicity to that of varied knowledge. Of the delicate and tactful expression which he can give to generous sentiments that seem to spring from the heart many instances could be quoted. But in public he prefers to show himself under a more forbidding aspect. The Olympian brow, the curled lip, the stern chin do not, however, really impress the masses. His morbid restlessness and ubiquitous self-assertion only serve to quicken by contrast the memory of his grandfather's kindly face in the corner window of the old palace 'Unter den Linden,' and of his father's stately presence and easy gentleness of manner. The pungent wit of his own Berliners has dubbed William II. 'Der Reise-Kaiser,' the travelling Emperor, in rhyming contradistinction to William I., 'Der greise Kaiser,' the grey-haired Emperor, and to Frederick, 'Der weise Kaiser,' the wise Emperor. There is the same flavour of good-natured contempt in the popular riddle: 'What is the difference between the Emperor and God Almighty?' to which the sarcastic answer is: 'Gott weiss Alles, aber der Kaiser weiss Alles besser,' 'God Almighty knows all things, but the Emperor knows all things much better.'

If the Emperor has failed to arouse any of that enthusiasm of popular devotion which allows a sovereign to make light of constitutional restraints, it cannot be said that the special aims of his policy, even apart from its reactionary tendencies at home, appeal in other fields to any large body of national sentiment or interests. The idea of a Greater Germany beyond the seas, with its inevitable corollary, a powerful and costly navy, is one with which the German mind is, to say the least, not yet familiar. It finds favour with some of the more adventurous spirits in the commercial and industrial world as opening up new fields for German enterprise; missionary fervour has secured to it some adherents amongst Roman Catholic circles; and the pseudo-Bismarckian and other jingoes of the Fatherland love to flaunt it in the face of 'perfidious Albion.' But nature has not intended Germany to be a seafaring nation, and the vast majority of German emigrants have no desire to fall back at the end of the voyage into the clutches of their own bureaucracy. The possession of colonies and of battleships is still, for most Germans, a luxury in which every self-respecting State is bound nowadays to indulge, but in moderation and with due regard for the necessary virtue of thrift. Jealousy of England is, unfortunately, an all too prevalent passion in Germany at the present time. The reactionary

classes hate this country as the representative of a far more insidious form of Liberalism than any republic, since it has solved the problem which they always declare to be insoluble, by reconciling the free play of democratic forces with orderly progress and unswerving devotion to the Crown; and they entertain for autocratic Russia a corresponding love and admiration, tempered only by an agrarian dislike to the importation of Russian cereals. The trading and manufacturing classes, not content to have become our most powerful competitors, are impatient to enter upon our inheritance, of which they have to their own satisfaction assured to themselves the reversion, whenever some great disaster shall have shaken the foundations of our national prosperity. The Emperor's telegram to Kruger has been probably the most universally popular achievement of his reign, and as far as public opinion at home is concerned, in spite of some misgivings in liberal circles and among business men who value the commercial freedom which German enterprise enjoys throughout our Empire, he may go on twisting the British lion's tail with impunity. But that does not mean that the nation would support him in a policy of foreign adventure. The strongest hold which he still retains upon the gratitude and respect of his people is that, in spite of his military instincts and of all the attractions which the pomp and circumstance of war must possess for one of his temperament, his powerful influence has been exercised so far on the whole in the interests of European peace. And it is peace that the German nation wants. It holds fast to the Triple Alliance because it believes it to make for peace, and for the same reason it welcomes every sign of friendly relations with Russia. The economic revolution which, by transforming Germany from an agricultural into an industrial and commercial State, has had such far-reaching effects upon the internal situation of the Empire, has reacted equally upon its foreign policy. The necessities of its geographical position, and the dread of the French *revanche*, compel the German nation to bear patiently and even cheerfully the burden of enormous armaments, so long as they are directed solely to defensive purposes; but the very magnitude of the burden would at once quicken popular suspicion, should it ever have cause to imagine that it was being made to subserve the aims of personal ambition. Nor must it be forgotten that except for repelling overt aggression the Emperor has no power to make war without the consent of the Federal Council, and that a standing com-

mittee of that body, consisting of representatives of Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtemberg, and two other non-Prussian States, keeps close and permanent watch over the foreign policy of the Empire. Even if the Emperor entertained any such *arrière pensée*, for which there is at present absolutely no evidence, it is inconceivable that either the Governments or the people of Germany would allow him to wilfully create foreign complications as a means of escape from the pressure of domestic embarrassments.

The Emperor must, therefore, deal on its own merits with the internal situation which confronts him. Though it can hardly be denied that he has done a good deal to aggravate its difficulties, it would be unfair to say that he has created it. The energy of the forces which are now gathering together in hostile array is largely due to the removal of the one all-powerful influence which for more than a generation forcibly arrested their natural operation and developement. The iron hand of Prince Bismarck held them in its grip, releasing or confining them at his will with almost unerring sagacity to serve his immediate purposes. But his statesmanship, great as it was, was pre-eminently self-centred. Just as in drafting the Constitution of the German Empire, he relied mainly upon his own genius and prestige to supply the motive-power of its complicated machinery, so during his long tenure of office he seems to have persistently put away from him the thought of what would happen when he was no longer there to himself supply that motive-power. One of his favourite taunts was that parliamentary parties, although adepts in destructive criticism, were incapable of constructive statesmanship. But was it not he himself who for a whole generation excluded parliamentary parties as soon as they showed any signs of independence from all voice in the government of the country, and withheld from them every opportunity of acquiring that sense of responsibility which the tenure or expectation of power can alone give, and which is the beginning of all constructive statesmanship? Even when he promoted prominent members of the parliamentary parties that supported him to the ministerial bench, their political ties were not perhaps *ipso facto* severed, since the object of such appointments was to keep the parties thus honoured in good temper for the time being and secure their votes in the Diet, but they practically ceased to belong to their party in order to belong henceforth exclusively to him. In fact, in Prince Bismarck's time, ministers were merely his departmental subordinates. Even in theory the Chancellor is

the only responsible minister of the Empire, all other ministers being only his representatives, and Prince Bismarck took good care that the practice corresponded to the theory. He himself was responsible only to the Emperor, and until there came an Emperor who insisted upon rendering his responsibility something more than nominal, and a Parliament that he could no longer bend to his will, the system worked entirely to his satisfaction. But it stunted the growth of parliamentary parties, and blighted their capacity for constructive statesmanship. It created a host of docile officials, who are excellent professional administrators, but lack the sense of personal independence and responsibility, which can alone give weight to their counsels as advisers of the Crown. It debauched the public press by converting it, to a great extent, into a mere subsidised branch of the executive. By playing in turn upon the passions and prejudices of class and race and sect, it intensified all the divisions to which the German character is in itself already too prone, and went far to neutralise the advantages of national unity. Germany now reaps the fruits of this masterful policy.

It had, indeed, already exhausted itself before its author disappeared from the stage. Bismarck, even in the heyday of his power, had always been careful not to strain it to the breaking-point. Though frequently at loggerheads with the Federal Council, as well as with the Imperial Diet, he invariably steered clear of a constitutional conflict in the Empire. When his measures were rejected, he assumed an air of contemptuous indifference for the folly of parliamentary wiseacres, and loftily washed his hands of the consequences, unless he felt certain of securing a reversal of their verdict by an appeal to the country. So thoroughly did he understand the temper of his countrymen that not until 1890 did a dissolution fail to give him a working majority in the new Diet. Had he remained in office, he would have had for the first time to face a majority fresh from the polls directly pledged to oppose his policy, and his fall unquestionably saved him from the necessity of grappling with the very situation which it had been his chief anxiety to avoid ever since he had become Chancellor of the Empire.

Yet it is that very policy, condemned six years ago by no one more strongly than by himself, that the Emperor seems bent on reviving. The whole tendency of recent legislative measures, abortive though they have been, shows that after

the 'neuer curs' under Count von Caprivi, the 'zick-zack' 'curs' under Prince Hohenlohe is gradually paving the way for a return to the 'alter curs,' but without Prince Bismarck, and, it is to be feared, without the saving clauses of his statesmanlike self-restraint and shrewd opportunism. What can it lead to? We have already seen the first-fruits of this policy rejected, even by the Lower House of the Prussian Diet—i.e. by a chamber composed of such docile elements as to have been hitherto looked upon as a natural stronghold of reaction, a chamber elected by an indirect system of election, in which a limited franchise, based on a singularly erratic form of tax-paying qualification, secures an enormous preponderance to the vote of the classes over that of the masses in the one State where the classes are most strongly permeated with the same ideas that inspire the Emperor's policy. What prospect is there in the present temper of the country that the general elections to be held next year, both for the Prussian Diet and the Diet of the Empire, will weaken rather than stiffen their resistance? With regard to the Imperial Diet, at any rate, there can be no doubt that its opposition can only be broken by a wholesale curtailment of the popular franchise. But that would mean an amendment of the Constitution of the Empire, and we need not again point out the overwhelming difficulties which would attend any attempt to lawfully amend it. There remains, of course, the possibility of a forcible amendment—i.e. of a *coup d'état*—and the extreme Conservative circles, which are supposed to have the ear of the Sovereign, have not hesitated of late to advocate the expediency of anticipating the 'revolution from below' by a 'revolution from above.' But is a collective *coup d'état* conceivable that requires the co-operation of twenty-five sovereign States whose origin and traditions and institutions represent a whole gamut of divergent interests and sentiment, ranging from the military absolutism of Protestant and agrarian Prussia to the latent separatism of Catholic Bavaria, the frankly democratic spirit of Wurtemberg, and the patrician republicanism of the great mercantile Hanseatic cities? Yet without the co-operation of the other States a *coup d'état* by the German Emperor would mean nothing less than a Prussian *coup d'état* directed against them. The monarchical sentiment is still a very powerful factor throughout Germany, but it is a local rather than an Imperial sentiment, and as Herr Richter reminded the Diet of the Empire not long ago, amidst thunders of defiant

applause on all but the Conservative benches, the Imperial dignity is but an office dating no further back and having no higher claims to reverence than the Constitution which created it, and with which it must stand or fall.

Hitherto, however, with all his impulsiveness the Emperor has never irretrievably committed himself to any position from which he might be unable to retire without an intolerable sense of personal humiliation. So far he has been content to sacrifice obnoxious ministers to the clamour of the reactionary parties without surrendering the policy of the Empire into their hands, and there are some who still think that, whatever his language may be, his acts will be governed by the principle upon which the most cynical of his ancestors dealt with the Junkers of his day: 'Man lasse den Leuten Wind wenn man zum Zweck kommt'—'Give the fellows wind so long as I can reach my own goal.' Whether, in the long run, the Junkers of to-day can be pacified by the shadow without the substance remains to be seen. But the question remains: What is the goal he has in view? In his recent speeches at Coblenz there can be little doubt that William II. merely translated into eloquent periods the strange jargon in which Frederick William I. described his own purpose: 'Ich komme zu meinem Zweck und stabiliere die Souveränität und setze die Krone fest wie einen Rocher von Bronze'—'I shall reach my goal and establish the sovereign power and make fast the crown like a rock of bronze.' The German language has improved since then, and William II. wields it with consummate mastery, but the voice and the spirit are the same. If his Coblenz speeches are to be taken as a manifesto of the policy upon which he is relentlessly bent, a conflict is impending of which it is impossible to foresee the issue. It must in any event involve a terrible strain to the political structure of the Empire, and impatient as he may be to curb *per fas et nefas* the growing discontent of the German people, he cannot possibly disguise from himself the ultimate consequences of a fighting alliance with Agrarianism on the economic prosperity of the country. Just as we are closing this article, a striking reply to the last Imperial utterances comes from the same Rhineland to which William II. addressed his haughty appeal. The reply does not come to us accompanied by the same blare of trumpets, nor does it, of course, deal directly with the Emperor's claim to a semi-divine authority, but its meaning and significance are none the less unmistakable. The occasion was a conference held at Cologne of the Society for Social

Politics, the speakers were men who can hardly be suspected of any revolutionary taint. Herr von Berlepsch was only a short time ago himself a Minister of the Crown, Herr von Rottenburg, who is now Curator of the University of Bonn, was formerly one of the ablest officials of the Imperial Home Office, and for many years the head of the Imperial Chancery under Prince Bismarck. Both are men of conservative rather than democratic tendencies, and workers rather than talkers. That men of that position and of those antecedents should take part in a political controversy is looked upon in Germany as in itself 'an event,' more especially when they take up, on a concrete political question which has aroused a storm of public feeling in the country, an attitude of open and uncompromising opposition to the Government. Herr von Berlepsch, speaking in favour of the right of political association, declared that the struggle of the working classes for emancipation which marked the close of the nineteenth century as that of the middle classes had marked the close of the eighteenth century was based on justice, was necessary in the interests of healthy progress, and therefore deserved sympathy. Herr von Rottenburg drew the same moral from the beneficial effects of the freedom which reigns in this respect in England. The German working man participated in legislation by universal suffrage, and in the land of universal military service his life was given to the country. When the democratic forces to which the Emperor opposes his kingship by right divine meet with encouragement and approval in such quarters, it is surely too late to think of putting the clock back in Germany to the absolutism of the past.

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